

DOCUMENTARY LIFE
OF
NATHAN HALE

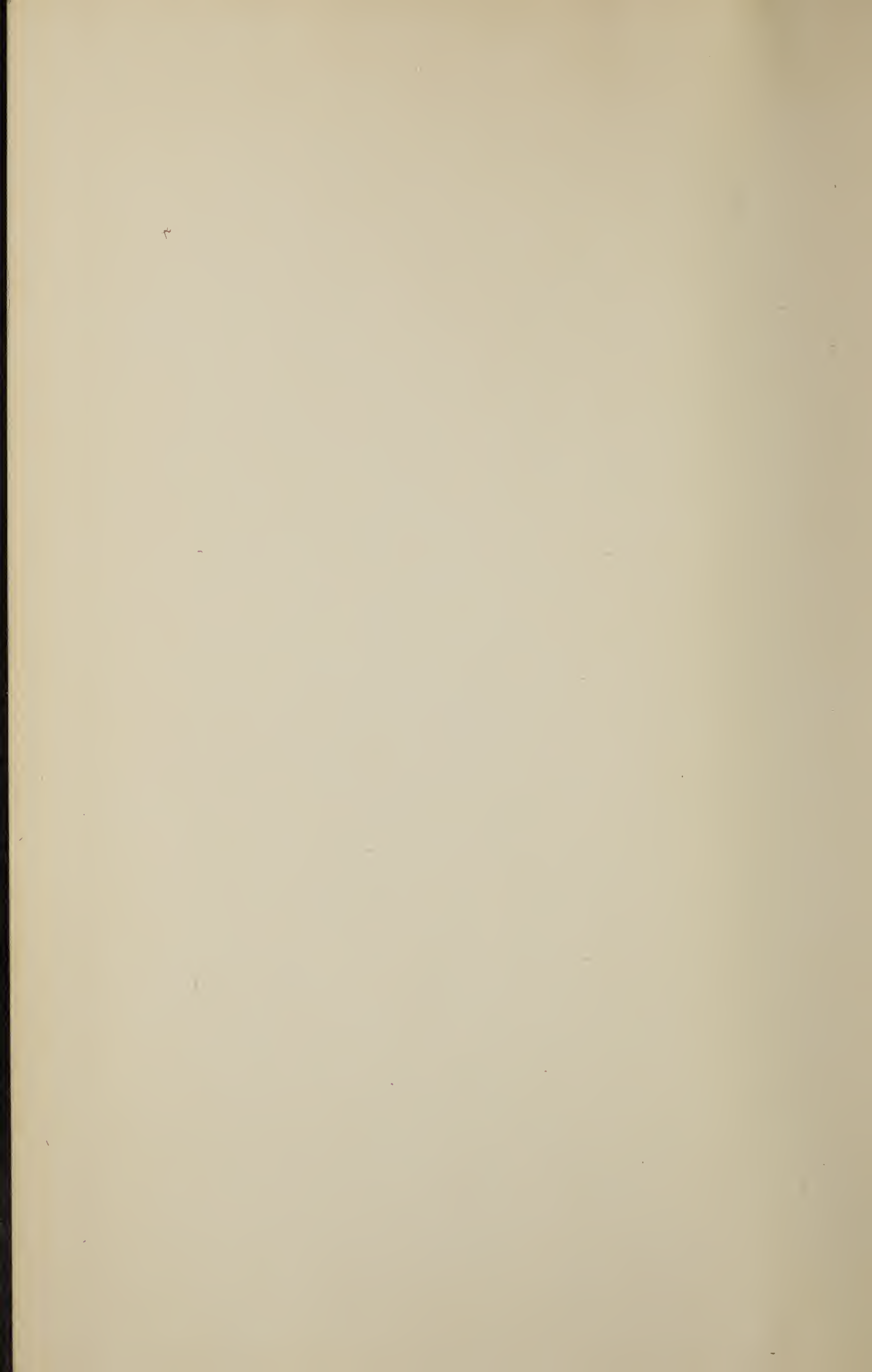
GEORGE DUDLEY SEYMOUR

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 06626 2814

GC
929.2
H13SG



DOCUMENTARY LIFE OF
NATHAN HALE



THE SHADOW PORTRAIT OF HALE

FOUND TO BE INCISED ON AN OLD PINE DOOR

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AN HOUR OR SO AFTER THE PORTRAIT WAS UNVEILED
BY THE REMOVAL OF THE PAINT WHICH HAD CONCEALED IT FOR UPWARDS OF A
CENTURY

THE SHADOW PORTRAIT OF HALE

From a photograph made April 10, 1914, in the old studio, in New York, of John Le Farge, an hour or so after the portrait had been unveiled by Mr. Hammond Smith by the removal of the old paint that had concealed it for a century. This, indeed, is just what Hale's niece, Rebeckah Hale, afterwards Mrs. Abbot, saw as a girl on the door of the chamber in the Hale homestead that she occupied with her mother. She never forgot the impression she then received of her unfortunate Uncle Nathan. The letter written by her that led to the author's discovery of the "Shadow Portrait" is printed herein (page 351).

This "Shadow Portrait" is believed to be the only portrait of Hale in existence and will serve as the Frontispiece of this Documentary Life of Hale.

HALE AS A COMRADE KNEW HIM*

"I will now make some observations upon the amiable & unfortunate Capt. Nathan Hale whose fate is so well known; for I was with him in the same Regt. both at Boston & New York & until the day of his tragical death: & although of inferior grade in office was always in the habits of friendship & intimacy with him: & my remembrance of his person, manners & character is so perfect that I feel inclined to make some remarks upon them: for I can now in imagination see his person & hear his voice—his person I should say was a little above the common stature in height, his shoulders of a moderate breadth, his limbs straight & very plump: regular features—very fair skin—blue eyes—flaxen or very light hair which was always kept short—his eyebrows a shade darker than his hair & his voice rather sharp or piercing—his bodily agility was remarkable I have seen him follow a football & kick it over the tops of the trees in the Bowery at New York, (an exercise which he was fond of)—his mental powers seemed to be above the common sort—his mind of a sedate and sober cast, & he was undoubtedly Pious; for it was remark'd that when any of the soldiers of his company were sick he always visited them & usually Prayed for & with them in their sickness.—

A little anecdote I will relate; one day he accidentally came across some of his men in a bye place Playing Cards—he spoke—what are you doing—this won't do,—give me your cards, they did so, & he chopd them to pieces, & it was done in such a manner that the men were rather pleased than otherwise—his activity on all occations was wonderful—he would make a pen the quickest & the best of any man—

Innumerable instances of occurances which took place in the Army I could relate, but who would care for them: Perhaps it may be thought by some that I have already been at the expense of Prolixity: nobody in these days feels as I do, left here alone, & they cannot if they would. but to me it is a melancholy pleasure to go back to those Scenes of fear & anguish & after the laps of 50 years (1826 was in my 78th year) to ruminate upon them which I think I can do with as bright a recollection as though they were present—One more reflection I will make—why is it that the delicious Capt Hale should be left & lost in an unknown grave & forgotten—"

* Description of Hale by Lieutenant Elisha Bostwick, written on his Commission, discovered in his Pension Papers on file in Washington. (See page 412 of the Documentary Section.)

DOCUMENTARY LIFE
OF
NATHAN HALE

Comprising
All Available Official and Private Documents Bearing
on the Life of The Patriot

Together with an Appendix, showing the background of his
life; including his family circle; his college friends;
his friends made as a school-master and in the
army; with many illustrations, portraits
and buildings that knew his
footsteps

By
GEORGE DUDLEY SEYMOUR

NEW-HAVEN

Privately Printed for the Author

1941

THE
JAMES H. HARRIS

THE TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

TO THE HONORED MEMORY
OF
LAURA MARIA RIPLEY

“The Old Countess”

“Oh, call back yesterday, bid time return!”

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

THE SHADOW PORTRAIT OF HALE (Frontispiece)	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xix
INTRODUCTION	xxi
NATHAN HALE: HANGED BY THE BRITISH AS A SPY SEPTEMBER 22, 1776	xxv

DOCUMENTARY SECTION

LETTERS WRITTEN BY HALE AND TO HALE	1
From Benjamin Tallmadge, [1772]	1
From Benjamin Tallmadge, July 9, 1773	3
From Elihu Marvin, Dec. 6, 1773	5
From Timothy Green, Dec. 21, 1773	7
From William Little, Jan. 17, 1774	8
From William Robinson, Jan. 20, 1774	10
From Ebenezer Williams, Jan. 24, 1774	12
From Timothy Green, Feb. 4, 1774	12
From Timothy Green, Feb. 10, 1774	13
From Elihu Marvin, Apr. 8, 1774	14
To Thomas Mead, May 2, 1774	15
From Ebenezer Williams, May, 1774	17
From Enoch Hale, May 10, 1774	17
From Elihu Marvin, May 24, 1774	17
From Ebenezer Williams, June 7, 1774	18
From Benjamin Tallmadge, July 4, 1774	20
From James Hillhouse, July 11, 1774	21
From Ebenezer Williams, Aug. 3, 1774	22
From Benjamin Tallmadge, Aug. 6, 1774	23
From Elihu Marvin, Aug. 14, 1774	24
To Enoch Hale, Sept. 8, 1774	24
To Major Samuel Hale, Sept. 24, 1774	25
To Dr. Æneas Munson, Nov. 30, 1774	26
From Ebenezer Williams, Jan. 11, 1775	27

	PAGE
To the Proprietors of the Union School, New London, Feb. 22, 1775	29
From Benjamin Tallmadge, Mar. 1, 1775	30
From Richard Sill, Mar. 5, 1775	30
From John Hale, Mar. 20, 1775	32
From Roger Alden, Apr., 1775	33
From Ebenezer Williams, Apr. 20, 1775	35
From Ezra Selden, June 25, 1775	36
From Benjamin Tallmadge, July 4, 1775	37
To the Proprietors of the Union School, New London, July 7, 1775	40
From Lieutenant John Belcher, July 27, 1775	40
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Oct. 2, 1775	41
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Oct. 9, 1775	42
From John Hallam, Oct. 9, 1775	44
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Oct. 16, 1775	45
To Betsey Christophers, Oct. 19, 1775	46
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Oct. 23, 1775	47
From Betsey Hallam, Oct. 29, 1775	48
From John Hallam, Nov. 12, 1775	48
From David Mumford, Jr., Nov. 26, 1775	50
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Nov. 27, 1775	50
From Roger Alden, Nov. 28, 1775	52
From John Hallam, Dec. 2, 1775	53
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Dec. 4, 1775	54
From Thomas Updike Fosdick, Dec. 7, 1775	55
From John Hallam, Dec. 10, 1775	56
From Ensign George Hurlbut, Dec. 11, 1775	58
From Elihu Marvin, Dec. 15, 1775	59
From George Hurlbut, Dec. 17, 1775	61
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Dec. 18, 1775	62
From Robert Latimer, Dec. 20, 1775	64
From George Hurlbut, Dec. 28, 1775	65
From George Hurlbut, Jan. 4, 1776	66
From Rev. William Robinson, Feb. 19, 1776	68
From Timothy Dwight, Jr., Feb. 20, 1776	70
From Elihu Marvin, Feb. 26, 1776	71
From Robert Latimer, Mar. 5, 1776	73
From Elihu Marvin, Mar. 17, 1776	74
From Gilbert Saltonstall, Mar. 18, 1776	75

Table of Contents and Illustrations

xiii

	PAGE
From Church & Hallam, New London, Mar. 26, 1776	75
From "P. H.," May 14, 1776	76
To Enoch Hale, May 30, 1776	77
To Enoch Hale, June 3, 1776	79
To "P. H.," [fragment, June, 1776]	81
From Elihu Marvin, June 11, 1776	82
To Enoch Hale, Aug. 20, 1776	83
Two Unpublished Letters to Hale	85
To [?]	88
A Missing Letter Written by Hale	88
List of Letters Mentioned in Hale's Diary	89
Verses by Nathan Hale	90
I. The Tryst of Haddam Landing	90
II. To Benjamin Tallmadge	90
III. Description of Camp Scenes, 1775	92
Yale College Quarter Bills	95
Minutes of the Linonian Society	108
Linonia Orations by Billings and by Nathan Hale	145
List of Linonia Books in Hale's Handwriting	151
Commencement Day of Hale's Class	154
Hale Visits his Uncle and Returns to Teach School	156
Colonel Green's Picture of Hale as a School-Teacher	158
Bill Form in Hale's Handwriting	159
Mrs. Thomas Poole's Tribute, 1837	160
Testimony of Frances Manwaring Caulkins	161
Hale's Appointment as First Lieutenant	162
Hale Assigned to his First Company	163
Pay Roll of Hale's First Company	164
Colonel Charles Webb's Orderly Book	167
Hale Receives an Allotment of Ammunition	171
Hale Requisitions Canteens for his Company	172
Hale's Army Diary	173
Hale's Army Accounts	200
Hale's Book of Receipts for Equipment	236
Hale's Book of Muster Rolls	279

	PAGE
British Headquarters Order, Sept. 22, 1776	290
Diary Entry of Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie, Sept. 22, 1776	292
Excerpts from the Diary of Enoch Hale	293
From the London Courant and Westminster Chronicle, Dec. 4, 1780	300
A Grisly Custom of War, with Excerpts from Enoch Hale's Diary	301
Account of Hale in the Essex Journal, Feb. 13, 1777	303
Letter of Samuel Hale, the Tory	304
General Hull's Account of the Last Hours and Last Words of Hale	307
Sergeant Hempstead's Account	311
The Testimony of Asher Wright	315
Lieutenant Elisha Bostwick's Narrative	319
The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser, May 17, 1781	326
Excerpt from A Summary History of New-England, by Hannah Adams	328
LETTERS CONTAINING PRIMARY INFORMATION	331
Rev. Enoch Hale to Capt. Joseph Rose, May 16, 1833	331
Deacon Jasper Gilbert to Cyrus P. Bradley, Nov. 7, 1835..	333
Deacon Jasper Gilbert to Cyrus P. Bradley, Jan. 9, 1836 ..	337
I. Holbrook to Dr. Nathan Howard, Feb. 19, 1836	341
Deacon Jasper Gilbert to Cyrus P. Bradley, May 7, 1836..	342
Hon. William Hale to Cyrus P. Bradley, Sept. 21, 1836...	344
Leverett Saltonstall to Cyrus P. Bradley, Jan. 7, 1837.....	346
Leverett Saltonstall to Cyrus P. Bradley, Jan. 17, 1837 ..	347
William W. Saltonstall to Cyrus P. Bradley, Mar. 1, 1837.	349
Letter of Rebeckah (Hale) Abbot, Mar. 5, 1856	351
Hale in Ballad Poetry	355
A Rare Hale Item: Poem Attributed to Dr. Æneas Mun- son, Sr.	357
Descriptions of Hale by Dr. Eneas Munson, Jr.	364
Excerpt from "The Conquest of Canaan" by Timothy Dwight	366
References to Hale in the Pension Papers by Men of his Company	367

Table of Contents and Illustrations

xv

PAGE

Hale's "Last Words" Derived from Addison's "Cato" (by G. D. S.)	376
"I Can't Hear, Sir, that You are about Mounting the Desk" (by G. D. S.)	383
Letter from Hillhouse—the First Plays Produced by Yale Undergraduates and Many Digressions (by G. D. S.)..	385
Bostwick's Description—an Account of its Discovery (by G. D. S.)	412
Hale's Shadow Portrait (by G. D. S.)	415
They Knew Hale (houses associated with him) (by G. D. S.)	430
Hale's Commission as Captain	432
The Story of Hale's Commission as Captain (by G. D. S.)..	433
Where and by Whom was Hale Captured: an Inquiry by James Grafton Rogers	435
From the Diary of Captain William Bamford, Sept. 22, 1776 (with a Note by J. G. R.)	446
"A Child I Sot Much by but He is Gone"—Letter of Richard Hale to his brother, Mar. 28, 1777	448
The Execution of Captain Nathan Hale (by G. D. S.).....	450

APPENDIX

Preface	457
Colonel Samuel Talcott (with portrait)	459
Barber's Engraving of Hale Mansion	461
John Warner Barber (with portrait)	462
Services of Hale's Brothers in the Revolution	463
Major John Hale (with portrait)	464
Reverend Enoch Hale	466
Enoch Hale's Diary Fixes Date of the Hale House	467
Reverend David Hale	469
Hale's sister Joanna (with silhouette)	470
Dr. Nathan Howard (with silhouette)	472
Rebeckah (Hale) Abbot (with picture)	474
Shadow Portrait of Hale (with photograph)	476
Elizabeth Hale (Rose) Gilbert (with picture)	478

	PAGE
Asher Wright	479
Asher Wright Memorial (illustrated)	480
Deacon Jasper Gilbert (with portrait)	482
Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale (with photograph)	484
Cyrus Parker Bradley	486
"Holy Grove"	487
Laura Maria Ripley	488
Rev. Joseph Huntington	491
Letters from Deacon Richard Hale to his sons Enoch and Nathan in College	493
Yale College (from 1786 engraving)	495
Timothy Dwight (with portrait)	496
Colonel George Wyllys (with portrait)	498
Isaac Gridley	501
Major Roger Alden (with portrait)	502
James Hillhouse (with portrait)	504
The Yale Diploma of James Hillhouse (illustrated)	506
Benjamin Tallmadge (with picture)	508
Dr. Æneas Munson, Sr. (with portrait)	510
House of Dr. Æneas Munson, Sr. (illustrated)	512
Dr. Eneas Munson the Younger (with picture)	513
The Hale Schoolhouse at Haddam Landing (with picture) ..	514
The Hale Schoolhouse in New London (with picture)	516
Hale's Penmanship (illustrated)	517
Sergeant Stephen Hempstead (with picture)	518
Captain David Nevins (with portrait)	522
Mary (Hubbard) Nevins (with portrait)	524
Captain Gilbert Saltonstall	526
Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Knowlton	527
General Washington (with portrait)	528
Captain Alexander Hamilton (with portrait)	530
Captain John Montresor (with portrait)	532
William Hull (with picture)	534
The Marquis de Lafayette (with portrait)	536

Table of Contents and Illustrations

xvii

	PAGE
Page from British Orderly Book (illustrated)	538
Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie (with portrait)	540
Dr. John Waldo	541
Major Robert Rogers (with picture)	542
A British Soldier's Tribute to Hale	545
Lieutenant Elisha Bostwick (with portrait)	546
The Hale Cenotaph in Coventry (illustrated)	548
Hannah Adams (with portrait)	550
Nathan Hale (photograph of head and bust)	552
The Hale Federal Stamp	554
Hale's Army Trunk	556
Hale's Letter of June 3, 1776 (reproduction)	557
Hale's Belongings Reach Home	560
The Hale Statue (illustrated)	562
The Hale Homestead To-day (from a photograph)	564
Four Pictures of the Interior of the Hale Homestead	565
The Untrodden Snow (with picture)	567
The Hale Romances	568
The Story of Hale's Alleged Engagement	571
The Letters of the Reverend Enoch Hale	577
Sentiments of Alice (Adams) Ripley Entered on Blank Pages of Hale's Receipt Book	583
The Unaddressed, Undated and Unsigned "Love Poem" Not in Hale's Handwriting	587
Taft, Theodore Roosevelt and Harding	589
The Martyrdom of Nathan Hale from "The Book of the Yale Pageant" (by G. D. S.)	594
The Author in Boyhood (picture)	596
Epilogue	597
Hale's Fate and Fame, by Francis Miles Finch	598
 A FRAGMENT OF ANOTHER LETTER BY HALE	 601
GLOSSARY	603
INDEX	607

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has been so long in the making that perforce the writer cannot hope to thank everyone who has lent a hand.

First of all he would be remiss if he did not pay his respects to Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, historian and archivist and official keeper of manuscripts of the New York Public Library. I doubt if Dr. Paltsits' interest in Hale antedates my interest, but he probably began to collect items of interest about Hale before I did, and for that matter was in a far better position to do so. For many years we have been friendly enemies, so to speak. He permitted me to use extracts from two letters to Hale in his collection. I am sorry not to have the full text of his five letters to Hale for use in my book, but I do not blame him for withholding them for his own book on Hale. At one time I hoped we might join forces and publish a definitive life of Hale but that plan seemed at the time not to be feasible. I hope that his material may be acquired by Hale's Alma Mater, where it would be treasured.

I must pay a debt of thanks to Dr. Andrew Keogh, Librarian Emeritus, of Yale, for unfailing interest and helpfulness, and to Miss Anne Pratt, the Research Assistant in the Library, who called my attention to the official "Quarterly Bills" of the College, which had not been consulted heretofore by students of Hale history.

I must also thank Mr. Albert C. Bates, for many years Librarian of The Connecticut Historical Society, for help in many ways, and to Mr. Thompson R. Harlow—Mr. Bates' successor as Librarian. I have been so fortunate as to interest Professor James Grafton Rogers, First Master of Timothy Dwight College, who has furnished the chapter on Hale's capture, of which there is no *official* record.

I must also thank Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey for calling my attention to a hitherto unknown letter about Hale, in the "London

Courant" of Dec. 4, 1780, showing a sympathetic interest in Hale by a British soldier, whose letter had lain unnoticed, undiscovered by students of Hale's history, since Hale's death.

I must also thank Mr. Jacobus, who copied the Linonia Minutes for me many years ago, and who has undertaken to verify the Hale letters and other records and to arrange the material in this book.

I wish to thank my long-time friend, Mr. Robert Cathcart Latimer, for invaluable service in editing the articles in the Appendix, and, not the least, in curbing an antiquarian's tendency to introduce matters not germane to the meaning.

My grateful thanks are also due to Mr. Bernhard Knollenberg, Librarian of the Yale University Library, for advice and encouragement; to Mr. Kenneth Roberts, who made Hale's captor, Major Rogers, the hero of his stirring book entitled "Northwest Passage"; to Miss Eleanor M. Murray and Mr. Milo S. King, both members of Mr. S. H. P. Pell's staff at The Fort Ticonderoga Museum; to Mr. Arthur S. Hodges of the *Nassau Daily Review Star*; and finally to Mr. A. J. Wall, Librarian of The New York Historical Society, who has for many years been interested in Hale's story, which is so much a part of the story of New York.

Nor can I forbear acknowledging my debt to Mr. Sidney T. Benham, of The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company, without whose unwearied assistance this book could not have been produced.

In conclusion, I cannot forbear reference to my secretary, Mr. Alois Charles Prihoda, for his skill and unfailing patience with a client so afflicted as the author.

INTRODUCTION

It must have been fully twenty-five years ago that my friend and neighbor, Professor Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury, first urged me to undertake the preparation of this Documentary Life of Hale. At about the same time, as it happened, I acquired the Birth-Place of Hale, and as I had from boyhood been interested in old houses, as well as in Hale, it was but natural that I should first turn my attention and efforts to redeeming the old house from neglect and decay. My hope was to make of it a national shrine to perpetuate the name and fame of the patriot, and I have found it a time-consuming and expensive task. Only recently have I been able to feel that I could consider it even measurably accomplished.

I should explain too that through a close friendship with Professor Henry Solon Graves I had become much interested in the problems of forestry. Professor Graves had come to New Haven about 1900 to be the first Director of the Yale School of Forestry, founded by Mr. Gifford Pinchot, then National Forester, and upon him had fallen the task of planning the new school and shaping its policy. He took an interest in my enterprise at the Birth-Place, where he was a frequent visitor, and together he and I worked out a plan for enshrining the Birth-Place, as it were, in a setting of woodland that should at once be a demonstration of practical forestry for owners of woodland and for students of forestry, and constitute a game preserve and bird sanctuary. The place as a whole might then have a two-fold educational appeal: First, in history and patriotism, and second, in the utilization of Connecticut woodlands as a source of recreation.

Meanwhile, during all the busy intervening years, I had borne in mind Professor Lounsbury's advice and had built up a body of material for a Documentary Life of Hale.

The aim is to bring together all of the documentary material, in the broadest meaning of the word, everything bearing upon the life of Captain Nathan Hale, including every word known

to have been written by his own hand, letters written to him, and accounts of him written by those who knew him personally, as well as by others, tributes to him in verse, official documents, portraits, buildings which knew his footsteps.

The author's concept of a documentary life is a book containing a history of each document as well as a careful transcription of it. This is an almost impossible goal, and, although it has not been reached, the author has done the best he could under trying circumstances, and hopes to be judged accordingly.

It was important that this material should be compared with the original documents as far as possible, or with photostat copies thereof. I therefore entrusted the task of comparison and arrangement to a Yale scholar and antiquarian, Mr. Donald Lines Jacobus, known to be an expert in reading Eighteenth Century handwriting, and therefore peculiarly qualified for the work. Some four years ago, when Mr. Jacobus was engaged upon the work of preparing my material for the press, I was overtaken by an illness that has seriously hampered my work of notation and amplification. The value of the documentary material itself, however, has happily not been affected or impaired. It can be evaluated only by the measure of its completeness and by the accuracy of its transcription. To these matters we have paid unremitting attention and whenever possible have consulted the original documents or photostatic copies of them. The Connecticut Historical Society, the Library of Yale University, and other holders, both public and private, of Hale material have been cooperative, and I feel that I have succeeded in bringing together substantially all of the documentary material relating to Hale that is now known. The one notable exception is five letters to Hale that are held by another student of Hale's story, which I had hoped some patriotic Yale alumnus would acquire, along with other pertinent material, if any, in the same hands, and present to Yale. In this I have been disappointed, and I regret that I am consequently unable to include the letters in the present volume, but I am satisfied that they would not change the picture of Hale in any important respect.

This book prints for the first time so much of the Minutes of the Linonia Society, a Yale undergraduate secret fraternity, as are in the handwriting of Hale; the list in his handwriting of the books in the Linonia Library, together with the names of the "brothers" who gave them; his (Hale's) Army and Personal Accounts; his Book of Muster Rolls, and Book of Receipts for Equipment Furnished the Men of his Company, all covering many pages in his handwriting.

These are the main contributions now made for the first time to the history of Hale.

It is clear from Hale's Diary and from his correspondence that he wrote many letters, but unfortunately only about a dozen of them have come to light, and it is doubtful if others will ever be found. From those we have it does not appear that Hale can be ranked as a good letter writer. All of his letters are matter of fact, unrelieved by humor or lightness of touch, and the same thing must be said of all the Hale family letters that appear in this collection. It is a fact too that whereas some of the letters written to Hale are *free*, Hale's own letters are wholly circumspect.

Most of the letters, both by Hale and to him, have been printed before but not as accurately as now, and I have chosen to arrange them chronologically, which has not been done before. I have been constrained too to reprint early notices of Hale to be found in newspapers and books. These do not, of course, as I well understand, have the value of original material, but they do have the value of showing what was thought of Hale soon after he met his fate. I cannot fail to mention particularly a hitherto unknown letter about Hale that my friend, Mr. R. T. H. Halsey, discovered in the files of the *London Courant* and *Westminster Chronicle* (Monday, December 4, 1780), one of the papers that took the side of the colonists during the war. Who wrote the letter will in all probability never be known. It may well have been some British officer who, while serving with the British army in America, had heard Hale's story and been moved to sympathy by his sacrifice.

My friend, Professor James Grafton Rogers, Master of Timothy Dwight College, has become greatly interested in Hale, par-

ticularly in the still unraveled story of Hale's capture. It is clear now that Major Robert Rogers, a Tory relative of the Professor, had a part in Hale's capture. Robert Rogers was born in Methuen, Massachusetts, November 7, 1730, and after a life of almost unparalleled adventure, died in London, May 18, 1795. At my request Professor Rogers has made an effort to unravel the story of Hale's capture and has kindly furnished me, for inclusion in this book, an article rehearsing the evidence, but he has still, perforce, not solved the problem. That any *official* account of Hale's capture will ever come to light seems to me extremely unlikely.

The author had hoped to get out this book, which has occupied his thought so many years, without any apology for its shortcomings, but he feels that in justice to the subject, as well as to himself, he should explain that over four years ago, before he was fairly started upon the work, his health failed to such a degree that he has been heavily handicapped. Unwilling to give up a work so many years in contemplation, however, he has persisted, and he feels that, unworthy of the subject as it must be, the Documentary Record is now measurably complete, and a remarkable record it is for a life of only twenty-one years—a record due in large part to Hale's early formed habit of order. Hale was fortunate in his parents and in his early training in what Dr. Horace Bushnell called "Christian Nurture." He was fortunate, too, in his training at Yale and in the friendships he formed there. His idealism, I venture to think, was derived from the heroes of the ancient world, as brought before him by the Classics.

In conclusion it remains only for the author to explain that he is constrained to place his own account of Hale, prepared for the "Dictionary of American Biography" at the request of Professor Allen Johnson, ahead of the documentary material, so as to give a general picture into which the details can be fitted by the reader.

NATHAN HALE: HANGED BY THE BRITISH AS A SPY SEPTEMBER 22, 1776

(Originally written, at the request of the late Professor Allen Johnson, for the Dictionary of American Biography, in which it appears in condensed form.)

Captain Nathan Hale, hanged by the British September 22, 1776, long known as the "Martyr Spy" of the American Revolution, has in recent years emerged as the ideal youthful hero of the Republic—after the flag its most stirring symbol of patriotism. To-day his name evokes in every breast the picture of his tragic fate on the gallows, and his immortal last words, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country," constitute a priceless heritage of universal appeal.

Hale was born June 6, 1755, at Coventry, Connecticut, among the hills of Tolland County, "east of the River." His father, Deacon Richard Hale (1717-1802) was a substantial farmer, a man of affairs, and an untiring patriot throughout the American struggle for independence. His mother, Elizabeth Strong (1727/8-1767), a native of Coventry and a woman of uncommon strength of character, belonged to a family conspicuous for generations in all of its branches for brains, solidity of character, and devotion to public affairs. On both sides of the house the forbears of Hale were people of energy, education, and character. They sprang from what one writer has called "Earth's best blood," albeit a religious, rather than a patrician aristocracy. Richard and Elizabeth Hale had nine sons and three daughters. Six of the sons took part in the Revolutionary War and three responded to the Lexington Alarm. As a farmer's son, living on a large farm, a member of a large family, Nathan must have helped with the chores and such parts of the work about the house and on the farm as could be done by a boy of his age. But there was time for sport—for hunting, fishing, swimming in the neighboring pond.

With his next-older brother, Enoch (1753-1837, Yale College 1773, grandfather of the Reverend Dr. Edward Everett Hale), Nathan was prepared for Yale by the village minister, the Rev. Joseph Huntington (1735-1794, Yale College 1762), in a stately house still standing in Coventry. The two boys were fortunate in their preceptor, noted for his urbanity in an "Age of Homespun," a classical scholar. There is reason for believing that Hale's easy and engaging manners and his interest in the heroes of antiquity—Cyrus the Great and Philip of Macedon—are traceable to the influence of Huntington. The two boys matriculated at Yale in September, 1769, riding horseback down the sixty-odd miles to New Haven, then a two days' journey—accomplished to-day in two hours! The boys lodged in Connecticut Hall (A. D. 1752) the only Yale building now remaining that Hale knew.

We shall not, I am sure, go astray in believing that in college Hale joined heartily with his fellow students in the sports of the day. Stuart tells that he excelled in running, jumping, wrestling; and legend says that the marks of a prodigious broad-jump that he made one day on the upper reaches of the old New Haven Green were long preserved and pointed out.

Early in his sophomore year, on "November 7.th A D 1770," he was elected to membership in Linonia, a secret fraternity founded in 1753, devoted to "incitement to literary exertion." Less than two months afterwards he was chosen "Scribe," and from that time forward, it is not too much to say, he was one of the outstanding figures in the fraternity. He was recognized as such at the Centennial Celebration of the founding of Linonia in 1853. He organized, if he did not actually found, the famous Linonia library; at one time or another he held all of the offices of the fraternity, including that of Chancellor or President, beyond doubt the peak of college social honors of his day. He seems to have been almost constantly on his feet as a speech maker in those cherished secret meetings. The minutes of the Society, preserved in the University Library, contain many pages in his firm clear handwriting.

It was too, no doubt, as a member of Linonia that Hale formed his intimate friendship with Timothy Dwight, who was to be

Yale's great president. Another bond between them may well have been that they had had respectively as preceptors the Rev. Joseph Huntington and his brother, the Rev. Enoch Huntington, both men of marked individuality. Then too, Hale's mother was a Strong, and Dwight had the same blood, and that may have been still another bond between them. I feel warranted in concluding that Hale and Dwight worked together in building up the Linonia library.

Hale was an omnivorous reader; the "Iliad," "History of Philip" (of Macedon), "Thompson's Memoirs," "History of the Late War" (Entick's), "Travels of Cyrus, Prince of Persia" (M. de Ramsay), "British Instructor" (used by him when a schoolmaster) are some of the titles gleaned from his diary and correspondence. The letter of his Yale classmate, Roger Alden (1754-1836), alone stamps Hale as an ardent reader of books of all sorts. Dr. Æneas Munson the elder (1734-1826, Yale College 1753), in his fine monody on Hale, emphasized Hale's glowing interest in the great figures of the classic stage.

He with rapture read those polished lines,
Where Grecian wit and Roman genius shines,
Where the great worthies of the former age
Live in the poets' and historians' page.

One cannot doubt that Hale himself selected the books bought by subscription for the Linonia library after he took hold of it. The list in his handwriting is in the Linonia minutes. Hale's heroic temper appears to have been derived from, and to have been nourished by, his reading of the classics, firing his imagination.

Hale was neither valedictorian nor salutatorian of his class, but he was among the best scholars in it. The main feature of the graduation exercises at the public Commencement, September 3, 1773, held in the old brick meeting-house of Center Church, was a forensic debate by Hale, Robinson, Sampson, and Tallmadge, on the then pertinent question, "Whether the Education of Daughters Be Not, Without Any Just Reason, More Neglected Than That of Sons." Some writers have said that Hale took the side of the daughters, and the present writer cannot doubt that

he did. We know him to have been a general favorite of the sex and he was by nature a progressive.*

Immediately after graduation, Hale journeyed (on horseback, of course), to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to visit his uncle, Major Samuel Hale (1718-1807, Harvard College 1740), preceptor of the famous Latin School there. Beyond any doubt, he now met for the first time his cousin Samuel Hale (1746-1787, Harvard College 1766), practicing law at the time, who later became an incorrigible Tory, and who was charged—even in the very day and time of it—with having betrayed Nathan when he was apprehended at New York, where Samuel was then serving General Howe as Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, and occupying a ticklish position indeed.

Returning home from Portsmouth, Hale taught school in East Haddam ("Modos") from October, 1773, to March, 1774, and from March, 1774, to July 1, 1775, in New London. He won all hearts in both places, and as a teacher was successful and popular, apt, tactful, engaging in his manners, and very happy as a disciplinarian. In New London we again see the young man engaged in amazing athletic stunts, vaulting fences and jumping from one hogshhead out into another and from that into another and so out. These displays of athletic prowess must have made a salutary impression upon any boys in his school who, in an age of practical joking, had dreamed of "putting something over on teacher." Hale writes from New London to his Uncle Samuel and to Dr. Munson of summer classes of young ladies who came to the schoolhouse from five to seven in the morning—attracted, as we may imagine, more by the collegian's handsome person and winning address than by any passion for the "three R's."

The outstanding event of his life in New London, where he made many friends among all classes, was the speech he made for liberty and independence at a town-meeting called on the arrival of the news of the thrilling behavior of the "embattled farmers"

* In this view I presented some years ago to the Connecticut College for Women at New London a picture of Hale, which the President and Faculty warmly received, accepting Hale as an early champion of female education.

at Lexington, April, 1775. Here Hale's training as a debater and speaker at Yale served him well. He made the most of the opportunity and by his "noble demeanor" and impassioned utterance he greatly impressed the company.

July 1, 1775, he received a lieutenancy at the hands of the General Assembly of Connecticut. After two months of recruiting we find him at Cambridge with the Continental Army, participating in the siege of Boston. His activities there are reflected in his diary and correspondence, which reveal an alert, serious, young officer, keenly interested in everything that went on, albeit with time for social intercourse with fellow officers, for correspondence with family and friends, for entertaining visitors to camp, for a little reading, and for wholesome manly exercise and sports—football and wrestling, "Jabbers and Chequers," all entered into with refreshing zest. We could not well spare the following entries in his diary. "Evening prayers omitted for wrestling." The wisdom of this precautionary measure appears in an entry two days later—"grand Wrestle on Prospect Hill no wager laid." A few days later this entry occurs—"Wednesday 8th. Cleaned my gun—pld. some football and some chequers." It is refreshing to find that Hale was not "too nice" to use the slang of the day. Winter Hill, we read, was "stumped" to wrestle Prospect Hill.

January 1, 1776, he was promoted to a captaincy (the original commission is now at Yale, his Alma Mater). On the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, the Colonial Army was moved to New York, and Hale arrived there April 30th. Before the middle of May he had executed the feat of cutting out a sloop loaded with supplies from under the very guns of the British man-of-war *Asia*, a brilliant exploit attended with no little danger. In this "high adventure" Hale was supported by "sailors and skippers" in his company. The exploit may have been a factor in his selection to a command in a picked regiment, "Congress's Own," better known as "Knowlton's Rangers," organized directly after the disastrous Battle of Long Island. Hale's selection by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Knowlton (1740-1776), of Ashford, Connecticut, to be one of the four captains of this new command is one of the best proofs we have that he had already impressed his superior

officers with a sense of his natural leadership, resourcefulness, judgment, and devotion.

In this "darkest hour of the Revolution," Washington felt it to be imperative that at any cost he should be advised as soon as humanly possible of the strength and designs of the enemy; a man of ability and devotion had to be found to enter the enemy's lines as a spy; spy service under the rules of war cannot be commanded; it must be volunteered or paid for. In this desperate strait, Washington turned to the gallant Knowlton, who in turn called upon the captains of his "Rangers" for volunteers. To the first call no one responded; upon a second call Hale alone volunteered. His intimate friend and comrade-at-arms, Captain William Hull (1753-1825, Yale 1772), of Derby, Connecticut, endeavored by every argument to dissuade Hale from yielding to Colonel Knowlton's urgent solicitation. Hale's reply, as recorded by Hull, was, "I wish to be useful, & every kind of service, necessary to the public good becomes honorable by being necessary." Whether Hale received his instructions directly from Washington, which is probable, or from Knowlton, is a moot question. About September 12th he left the camp on Harlem Heights and with his close friend, Sergeant Stephen Hempstead (1754-1831), of New London, proceeded in a roundabout manner to Norwalk, where he was ferried across the Sound in a sloop by Captain Pond, of Milford, and landed at Huntington, Long Island, where Hempstead left him, to see him no more.

Hale took with him into the enemy's lines his college diploma as an introduction to his assumed calling, since he had determined to act the role of a schoolmaster. Nothing is known of Hale's roustabouting in the British lines, but the preponderance of available evidence indicates that, after accomplishing his mission, he crossed over from Long Island to New York, where, on September 21st, within a short distance of his own picket lines,*

* When this was written, the author had not seen the entry dated September 22, 1776, in Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie's diary, nor the entry, also dated September 22, of Captain Bamford in his diary. Both of these diarists specifically mention our man—one called him Nathaniel Hales and one called him Nathan Hales.

he was apprehended as a spy, and taken before General Howe, whose headquarters were then in the Beekman mansion—always thereafter associated with Hale's fate. Sketches and other valuable military information having been found upon his person, "He at once declared his name, his rank in the American Army, and his object in coming within the British lines." Howe, without the form of a trial, gave orders for his execution the next morning. According to tradition, he was confined in the greenhouse of the Beekman mansion that night.

When brought out for execution the next morning (Sunday, September 22d), he attracted the notice of Captain John Montresor (1736-1799) Chief Engineer of his Britannic Majesty's forces in America, who had a marquee on the parade ground, "near the fatal spot." Montresor's initial interest in the young man was doubtless professional, since Montresor, being an engineer, was accustomed to making drawings of just the character of those which had been found on Hale's person. This point, never before made, explains Montresor's initial interest in Hale. Montresor forthwith asked William Cunningham, Howe's brutal Irish Provost Marshal, if he might offer Hale the protection of his tent while preparations for hanging the prisoner were being made. Cunningham assented. And so it happened that Hale on his way to the gallows became the guest for a brief space that Sunday morning of Montresor, a fine gentleman, whose humanity provides the only bright spot in Hale's story from the moment of his capture to his end.

Hale's innate heroism now sustained him with such gentle dignity and composure of bearing and so lifted him above the sharpness of the hour, that Montresor was filled with admiration and compassion for the young captain in his tent. So calm was Hale that he asked Montresor for writing materials and wrote to his brother Enoch and to his commanding officer, Colonel Knowlton, who had, though Hale did not know it, already made the "supreme sacrifice," on Harlem Heights a few days (September 16th) before. Says Hull, who got the particulars from Montresor a day or two after the execution, "He was shortly after summoned to the gallows. But a few persons were around him, yet his

characteristic dying words were remembered. He said, 'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.' " It seems clear that at the gallows he "made a sensible and spirited speech" of which these "last words" were but the conclusion.

His training in the Linonia debates prepared him for talking on his feet—for his speech at New London and his speech at the gallows, in which he is reported to have said that he entered the enemy's lines at the behest of Washington. One cannot doubt that he did so. Hale's last words were undoubtedly derived from Addison's tragedy of "Cato," where Cato says, "What pity is it that we can die but once to serve our Country." The writer cannot place Addison's tragedy in Hale's hands but it was in the College library in Hale's undergraduate days, and Hale's quotation from it shows that he was familiar with it.* No theme could have interested him more than its theme!

After his death, Hale may have been stripped to his body linen and buried in the vicinity of the gallows, even as André was at Tappan. If so, his dust reposes—probably near Sixty-Sixth Street and Third Avenue—in the City of New York. What is clear, however, from the evidence at hand is that for some days his body was left hanging—a warning to rebels.

It was generally believed at the time and by his own family, that Nathan was betrayed by his Tory cousin Samuel, who was at the time of his capture, as before stated, in New York, serving General Howe as Deputy Commissary of Prisoners. The weight of evidence, as the writer reads it, supports the view that Hale was betrayed in the sense of being identified by his Tory cousin, who later fled to England, where he died in 1787.

The two letters written by Hale in Montresor's tent and his college diploma were afterwards shown by Cunningham to Hale's Yale classmate and correspondent, Major John Palsgrave Wyllys (1754-1790), the *beau sabreur* of Hartford, when he was in captivity in New York. His college diploma probably led to his identification by his Tory cousin Samuel when he was apprehended. Neither of the two letters was to Alice (Adams) Ripley,

* See also the letter written to him by Betsey Hallam, Oct. 17, 1775.

Hale's step-sister, to whom it is claimed by some writers, without any proof, that he was engaged. Romance has indeed been busy with his name, but his "first biographer," so to speak, Deacon Jasper Gilbert (1785-1856), postmaster of Coventry, 1826-1837, who consulted the family and wrote in 1835-36, asserted that "Nothing is known respecting his calculation on matrimony."

Hale fairly steps before us in the graphic word-picture of him in the reminiscences (long hidden in the pension rolls in Washington and happily brought to light by the writer) of his friend and comrade-at-arms, Lieutenant Elisha Bostwick (1748-1834), of New Milford, Connecticut.

Bostwick's description of Hale is confirmed by a shadow-portrait incised on the panels of a door in his father's house, which was re-discovered by the writer from clues furnished by a letter written in 1856 by Hale's niece, Rebeckah (Hale) Abbot (1781-1860), a daughter of his brother, Lieutenant Joseph Hale (1750-1784).

The moss-grown headstone—a cenotaph—placed in the burying-ground in Coventry as early as 1794, says of Hale that "he resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty at New York, Sept. 22^d, 1776 Etatis 22^d".

DOCUMENTARY SECTION

The following "Letters Written by Hale and to Hale" have never, until now, been collected together. They here are printed in chronological order, and tell their own story of Hale's family life and of Hale's college and army friends. That so many letters can have survived of a young man who ran a brief course over a century and a half ago bespeaks an unusual personality and character.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY HALE AND TO HALE

[All of the following letters have been compared either with the original letters or photostatic copies of them, except where otherwise stated.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

[1] N² Friendly Sir,*

In my delightful retirement from the fruitless Bustle of the Noisy, with my usual Delight, &, perhaps, with more than common attention, I perused your Epistle. Replete as it was with Sentiments worthy to be contemplated, let me assure You, with the strongest confidence of an affectionate Friend, that with nothing was my Pleasure so greatly heightned, as with your curious remarks upon my preceeding Performance. Which, so far from carrying the appearance of a censuring Critick's empty amusement, seemed to me to be wholly the result of unspoted regard & (as I may say) fraternal Esteem. Equall certain (If I know you[r] Disposition) That the same liberty will be allowed on your Part; I shall always (in Terms not unworthy of a friend) take the Liberty to inform you wherever our Judgments materially disagree. Nevertheless, as your Permission has not been expressly granted me on this head, & nothing, essentially different from my own opinion, appearing in Your Letters, I have no occasion, at present, of pointing out any Inacuracy in your own Composition. Still, assuming the Privilege (which no Person, either accused or condemned, can reasonably be denyed), v..z, of defending my own assertions, I hope to make reasonable, what before seemed somewhat needless.

You intimated in your last, that my using the Comparative Degree was somewhat needless, alledging That the sincerity of my friendship would not be rendered more conspicuous by the use of the [2] Comparative. Had I endeavoured in good earnest to leave it as an undoubted Truth, that I exceeded you in regard & esteem as much as I did in comparison, I allow it would have been bordering upon arrogance, & needless Superfueties; But I assure you

* "N²" is in Hale's hand, meaning, apparently, letter No. 2 from Tallmadge. The date, from the address and the text, may be 1772.

this was far from being my intent & Design. True, I would be glad to be ranked in the number of your best & most intimate Friends, but I did not think that method would be any ways contributory to that End. I therefore stiled myself in that manner, for want of a better Epithet (not deeming it of great Importance whether there be any or not) & perhaps with a view to conclude with a Compliment somewhat jocose. Retracting, partly, what I before said about criticising upon your own Performances, I can't but acquaint you with one observation You seemingly dislike the Character which I assumed, & immediately after refuse to change yours; rightly thinking that my judgment will not be founded on the Character which you apply to yourself. Allowing that the Term by which a person is called ought to be esteemed of no Importance, you still, mildly, & curiously, reprimand me for using a particular Term. If I ought to look upon yours to be of no importance, you ought to be as favourable to me & esteem mine of as little.

My applying the reasons, offered for not corresponding, as Motives for my undertaking this particular Employment you also think somewhat needless.—The End of my former Epistle, was mostly to offer the reasons which had induced me to correspond; Now had I omitted one of the most powerful motives to this undertaking, you would not have been fully acquainted with my views, & the advantage which I hope to receive, & so perhaps would not have been equally contributory to my proposed Schemes & real Profit—

[3] Thus much have I wrote, more out of curiosity than any thing else, not supposing that you absolutely condemned what I have been defending. But Still this method of writing is not wholly destitute of every advantage. In the first Place, it affords an opportunity, as well as gives a Person a Disposition, carefully to scrutinize into all manner of writing; while it will be a monitor to himself to avoid defects manifest in the same. And Secondly it may be of advantage to us, in causing us carefully to consider what we assert, that so we may be able to defend the Same, against the captious Wills & the insidious words of our adversaries—To obtain advantage myself, & to be contributory, as much as I am able, to your improvement, was certainly my whole Design in

undertaking this Exercise; & I doubt not but that the Same reasons were your greatest Inducements—To this End, I make no doubt, you freely gave me your Judgment in your last Epistle, & with the same Views I make you this return; which may perhaps answer your reasonable Expectation & yet fall wholly short of Your Desire—

I have so far exceeded my design in treating upon the preceeding Topics, that I must omit many things, which I determined to have discoursed upon at this Time, to be considered in Some future Paper.

In haste From Yours &c

Damon*

[4] To

B: T—

M^r Nathan Hale

N. South Stairs

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

[1]

Dear Sir

the Reception of your Epistle, dated June 25th as sensibly encreased my happiness, as perhaps any one accidental Circumstance which hath hapened to me since my first arrival. Although my Company & present Condition, is far from tending to Melancholy & Dulness; yet in a place where few intimate Friends, or even acquaintance are at first to be found; that absolute Contentedness of Mind, which is so necessary to true Happiness, is not so readily obtain'd. But perhaps I am more than commonly delighted with the Perusal of such friendly Epistles. Indeed I know of no one Circumstance which would tend more directly, to make me contented in any particular Place than the Correspondence which I should hope to maintain with some of my most intimate Friends. *That* which has for some time subsisted between you & myself, I desire may never have an End; and although I

* Tallmadge and Hale corresponded under the names of "Damon" and "Pythias," the friends of classical legend.

have not [2] so much Time as I could desire, in order that I might make my letters both e[n]tertaining & instructive to my absent Friend, Yet I hope you will by no means suffer your pen to be in doleness (if by such frequent use you have learnt it to work of its own accord) so long as you can be both contributory to my advantage & happiness.

My present Situation is very agreeable, & I think more so than what I expected. Perhaps, in no Place is there more distinction with regard to Company. The Pedagogues of this Place, have the Honour to be admitted into the Number of those who are of the first Rank. In such Company we have not only the advantages of friendly Intercourse, Jollity, & Mirth; but it may also be rendred very useful & instructive—The female part of this Place, you have often, heard, [3] is very agreeable—Singing I think is by no means the least agreeable Exercise of the Lords Day—My School is indeed very large, about 60 : 70 : 80 : & 90 but I hope Soon to have a Collegue (of the fair Sex) settled under me, (or rather over me,) for She will dwell in the 2^d loft—I, at present, dwel with M^{rs}. Lockwood, where I have all things co[n]venient. But Time would fail me to enumerate all my Circumstances; what remains I must reserve for the next Epistle. These Lines come in greate haste & with much love & regard, from your Sincere Friend, & constant Well-wisher

Weathersfield July 9th. 1773—

Damon : B : T—

P : S : tell Shelton not to fail of writing me a letter & I will send him an answer. Give my regards to your Room-mates, & tell them to write. By all means let Me know the Day of our Examination.

[*Addressed*] To

M^r Nathan Hale

Student at Y¹ College

pr fa^r. of M^r Lockwood—

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*]

B Tallmadge N H 1773 July

[Courtesy of the New York Public Library.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
ELIHU MARVIN

[Dated 7 Aug. 1773; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 3 Apr. 1906; present ownership not known to the compiler.]

NATHAN HALE FROM ELIHU MARVIN

Dec 6 E Marvin

1773*

[1]

Kind & Friendly Sir

Just now recieved your's, & was agreeably surprised with the reception thereof, as well as with the innocent raillery contained therein—I plead guilty—& as you have been so free with me—shall not make excuses—When I go into school I am obliged to spend a good deal of time, & spare a great deal more, in scolding to keep the Boys from their nonsense, however I may indulge myself in it—you have the sentence—I will now attempt to explain it—though perhaps I shall not give the idea I then had for it is so long since I wrote it, that I have forgot what it was—I have no copy—& if I had whether this sentence has any connection with the rest I know not—

But then to be regular in the explanation—

1^{stly} I did not mean any treason against the King his crown or dignity; by that blind sentence you have refered to me for an explication of—which you will understand me to be speaking about througall my series of 1^{tly's} & 2^{cdly's} & C. & if they should happen to be infinite (that is if those firstlies & secondlies should)

[2] you must not be surprised, as the sentence is so *vastly important*, not to say intricate as to require it—Well I must call in the Boys & set them to work, for you [*know*] we must not neglect our main business—& then I'll endeavour to go on with the explanation—

2^{cdly} I did not mean thereby to express any thoughts or inclinations of my mind tending to enslave my country or any way to assist or abet the enemies of my Country—nor yet to introduce

* This endorsement is in Hale's handwriting.

the *Tea* imported by the *East India* Company—These things I say I did not mean for two reasons 1st. they are not contained in the sentence—2^{cdly}* I never had any such intentions & designs therefore I can safely say I had no such meaning though I have forgot the precise Idea I then had—But to proceed

3^{rdly} I think, indeed I am fully persuaded though I would not be too positive that I did not intend any affront to common sense—or the understanding of my friend

[3] To be brief—in the 4th. place, In s^d sentence is contained no witchcraft—nor any thing which inevitably proves & demonstrates that the writer had any thing to do with evil spirits—in any way means or manner whatsoever—

Thus much I thought proper to say negatively lest I should be misunderstood—Now when I come to speak on the other hand if I should not be clear & plain you'll consider it is the midst of schooltime & I have many other things to explain at the same time—

& now as I come to talk in the affirmative I hope you will give your attention while I briefly explain what I take to be the meaning of s^d. sentence.

1^{stly}. the boys were given to make, or apt to make noise—

2^{cdly}. twas necessary that they should be still

3rd. for that reason I was obliged to spend some time in scolding—

4^{thly}. 'Twas necessary to spare some time which I must have spent in scolding if I had kept them still to learn them—This what I think was [4] ment by spare some time & C. which as you hinted may not be an improper thing to introduce into your school—

But I have been Junkerizing so long with my 1^{stlies} & 2^{cdlies} that M^r. Pike is come & I must conclude myself as ever

Your Friend & Hum^{bl} Serv^t

Dcb^r.

Elihu Marvin

6th. 1773

Norwich

* Meant for ^{cdly} but miswritten.

P.S. I guess I am in a hurry
You'll excuse pointing as I have no time now
& do not point as I write

[Original letter owned by George Dudley Seymour.]

NATHAN HALE FROM TIMOTHY GREEN

[1] New London, Dec^r. 21. 1773.

S^r—

I have shewed M^r. Huntington's Letter and the Sample of your writing enclosed in it, to several of the Proprietors of the School in this Town; who have desired me to inform you that there is a Probability of their agreeing with you to keep the School; and for that Reason desire that you would not engage yourself elsewhere till you hear further from them, [which you may expect will be in about a Week's Time*]. But should you think proper to ride to this Place immediately upon the Receipt of my Letter, the matter might be sooner determined; and in which Case I will see that you are at no Charge while here.

Your very HleServt

Timo Green

P. S.

Dec^r. 23^d. S^r. Since writing the above M^r. Phineas Tracy of Norwich, has took our School for 3 months, but I dont think it probable he will continue in it longer than that and should you take a ride here it might be to your advantage

[2] To
M^r. Nathan Hale
at
East Haddam

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] T Green Dec 21 1773

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

* The clause in brackets is crossed off.

NATHAN HALE FROM WILLIAM LITTLE
(1749-1831), Yale 1777.

[This petulant, not to say acrimonious, letter indicates that Hale had written a forthright letter to Little, an older man. It is a pity that we have not Hale's letter which so annoyed Little, and for the additional reason that we have no letter by Hale which could conceivably evoke such a sarcastic reply as Little's. Little, we may think, promptly destroyed Hale's so offensive letter.]

[1]

East Haddam January 17th 1774

Sir

yours I receiv'd by M^r Hale, the date it bore I dont at present recollect. Upon first reading I did not so well Comprehend your meaning, but after A second perusal I think I obtain'd something of your design, And if I am mistaken in part I would Desire your Correcting hand, to guide me into the true & genuine meaning of your Letter, but if I fall short in the whole I will rely on your generosity to forgive my attempt in answering of it. Permit me sir to make some few remarks on the first part of your Letter. you "read it in general with pleasure" and at the same time you Disapprove of the whole. "candid corrections you can bear" but what was nothing relateing to you; you was pleased to term "Palpable reflections" And what was wrote with Integrity you call criminal raillery. I would by no means say that these are inconsistant; much less then will I say that you Contradict yourself, for if you form things criminal out of what I then wrote this indeed would be unpardonable.

What I wrote concerning "your presuming forwardness &c" you say you cannot understand which is some thing strange, but more so since you have such A wonderfull faculty at guessing, which you sometimes make use of, as Occasion requires. But to make it more intelligible, I would by no means appear to have assumed the station of A Prince, and to have Ranked you in common with the peasant nor would I exalt myself as A preceptor and consider you as a pupil; Neither parental Dignity on the one hand [2] nor filial deference on the other; nor did I think that this Correspondence needed a great matter of Ceremony and

preamble; but to be brief as possible; I wrote in answer to A passage in your first letter where you suspected that I should “think you some what forward in writing the first letter and that so hastily”

As to what you say in Vindicating of your methods of bestowing rewards; I would by no means have you think, nor would I give you the least Intimation, that I reconed, that there was any kind of reflection, in what you said of those “Masters that would take upon them to lessen the merits of others”—I believe you may have the appro[ba]tion of those that send their Children to you, of the method of Granting rewards, and no doubt they will tell you it is an excellent method of exciting ambition in your scholars, and that Emulation let the motive be what it will answers the end. I grant it does the end of the scholar. They will no doubt encourage their children in the pursuit of the Rewards perhaps more out of A mercenary view than the true praise of Virtue, knowledge, or what ever is placed before them that they shall have the preference in. Cicero did A great deal to gain the esteem of Pompey, his Courteous and obligeing disposition no doubt was approved of by Pompey, for A season, and perhaps when Cicero was present, but those very acts of Benevole[n]ce seem to be the occation of A “secret contempt” that Pompey had for Cicero, because the[y] were superfluous. I would not pretend to say that you [r] Case [3] is parellel with this in every particular, but I think it similar in general, for those persons that we go out of an ordinary way to gain the esteem of, will often look upon us with contempt, tho’ they will professedly accept acts of benevolence with gratitude. I would not be understood that our whole Design ought to be how we shall gain the applause of the people, exclusive of the real advantage that might accrue to our scholars by the instructions of A skilfull hand; neither ought we to be so anxious for the good of those that are to be instructed as to use those things that are non essential, which have A tendency to make us appear Despicable in eyes of those that employ us.

You desire my method of Exciting ambition in children it is far from being A secret, but you say at the same time it will be

"kindly excepted" be so good Sir if you please as to explain yourself. I have not so happy a Talent at guessing as some. Perhaps you will think this too trifling to spend much time upon, therefore I will not trouble you much more at present.

As family prayer is most generally held as A duty, be so kind as to Instruct me in the Divine warrant for it. If it is not Disagreeable to your Inclination, and A thing that will be too much trouble; please to teach me what it is to eat and Drink worthily at the Lords table, or Whether an unregenerate person may prudently Join himself in full Communion.—Excuse my unconnectedness, overlook my erroneous Judgment, Correct my mistakes, or lump it together and Condemn the whole.—

W^m Little

[*Margin*] P. S. the Reason of my delay, was because I expected you would go to N. London before I could have an opportunity to write, and concluded I could do it while you was gone.—But A speedy answer will greatly Oblige your humble Servant

W^m Little

[4] [*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*]

M^r Little Jan 17 *AD* 1774

East Hadam

[Original letter owned by George Dudley Seymour.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE WILLIAM ROBINSON

[1] Windsor (not East) Jan^y 20th 1773 [1774]

Sir

In my present unlucky situation, I have just rec^d. yours of Day after Thanksgiving; from which I am at a loss to determine whether you are yet in this Land of the living, or removed to

some far distant, & to us unknown region; but thus much I am certain of, that if you departed this Life at *Modos*, you stood but a narrow chance for gaining a better;

At the top of the page I denominate my present situation *unlucky*, in one sense it is so; but upon many accounts I can't but say that I am well pleas'd with it; By confining myself to a School I am depri- [2] ved of the pleasure, of many agreeable rides, among my Friends about the country, in which I had determined to spend the Winter; with this farther aggravation, that till now, you have not known where to direct for me, & perhaps have entertained suspicions, that I was careless about returning an Answer to yours; on the other hand, my School is not large, my neighbours are kind & clever (& summatim) my distance from an house on your side the river, which contains an object worthy the esteem of everyone, & as I conclude has yours in an especial manner, is not great; such being my situation, why should I complain? for no other reason, but that I cannot enjoy the company of yourself, with some other 'special Friends.

[3] I have lately seen your Brother, the other side of the river, who informs me that he is well pleas'd with his school, & further, that Lyman tarry'd with him the Sabbath before last, in his return home from Hatfield, by whom we rec^d. intelligence, that being occasionally at Sunderland not long since (to use his own expression) "I was there informed, that our Friend Cooley had left his School at Deerfield, & had taken one at Sunderland, where he was *married* to one Polly Clary, & liv'd with his Father in Law— I did myself the honor (you may be sure) to pay the old gentleman & his lady a Visit; at first sight of me he seem'd much disconcerted; but soon recollecting himself he put on as bold a countenance as pos- [4] sible; but his Glory is departed from him, he cannot (as you may well guess) appear before his old intimates as he used to do, You may perhaps wonder how all these things came to pass:"

But

"that secret I am somewhat jealous
a *Boy* will come next month to tell us."

Thus far, Sir, & I conclude by wishing you, in your business,
the greatest success,

Your sincere Friend
& hum^e. Ser^t.

W^m. Robinson

[5] [*Addressed*] M^r. Nathan Hale
at
East-Haddam

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] W. Robinson Jan 20 AD 1774

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE EBENEZER WILLIAMS

[Dated 24 Jan. 1774; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 23 Jan. 1915; owned by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.]

NATHAN HALE FROM TIMOTHY GREEN, ONE OF THE PROPRIETORS OF THE UNION SCHOOL IN NEW LONDON

[1] N London, Feb . 4 . 1774

M^r. Hale

S^r.

I received your Fav^r. by M^r. Belding, and observe the
Contents.

In Case you had not wrote I shou'd have sent you a Line this
Week, which I think was agreeable to my Promise when you
were here; but was glad to receive a Line from you as it may
serve to quicken the Proprietors of the School to act upon the
matter.

You may remember it was said, that soon after the rising of
the Gen. Assembly you shou'd receive a definitive Answer from

the Proprietors of the School—Those of them who were at Hartford have returned, but as Esq: Law (who is Judge of the County Court which is now sitting at Norwich) was obliged almost immediately [2] to attend the Court there, it has so happened that we have not as yet had a meeting of the Proprietors; but expect that something will be determined by the time M^r. Belding goes from hence next Week; if so, you may depend on hearing from me then, and I cannot but hope you'll wait one Week more before you engage in another School.

I shall communicate your Letter to the Proprietors, and conclude at this Time (in great Haste) by subscribing myself S^r.

Your moHleServt

[3] To Timothy Green
M^r. Nathan Hale
East Haddam

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] T. Green Feb. 4th

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM TIMOTHY GREEN

[1] N London, Feb. 10, 1774.
S^r.

Since my last to you, the Proprietors of the New School House in this Town have had a meeting, and agreed that you shou'd take the School for one Quarter, at the Rate of 220 Dol^s. p^r. Ann. to be paid at the End of the Q.tr of which I am desired to acquaint you—Am not able to inform you when M^r. Tracy's Quarter will expire, but this I will do when I'm acquainted by a Line from you whether we may depend on your taking the School, which you will please to write me p^r. first Oppo.—

It is the desire of the Proprietors that you wou'd come down two or three Days before M^r. Tracy's Quarter expires that they may be certain of the School's being immediately supplied with a

Master—In which Case it is [2] agreed that your Wages shall commence from the Time of your arriving here.

I am S^r.

Your mo Hble Servt.

Timo Green

[3] M^r. Tracy's Time will be up about the middle of March.

To
M^r. Nathan Hale,
at
East-Haddam

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Timothy Green February 10th.

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE ELIHU MARVIN

[1]

Norwich April 8th. 1774—

Dear Sir.

I have at present only just time to acknowledge the Receipt of yours as I did not know that Cap^t. Waterman by whom I send intended for N. L. till about 4 minutes ago, he is now rigging—Why hant you had one wrote before you say? I'll tell you since I recieved I have been extreem busy preparing for Quarter-Day which was yesterday I have not time to give particulars we had various kinds of exercises among the rest speaking—The Dialogue between Humphry & Pounce was Delivered to the great satisfaction of spectators— After exercises I had the pleasure to drink tea with an agreeable circle of young Ladies—Then went to Wedding at a near Neighbours spent the evening in brisk exercise—sometimes eating, sometimes Drinking—sometimes Dancing—& at almost all times sweating as 'twas very warm—so that this morning I feel not a great deal different from what is cus-

tomary after Quarter—So you will excuse me the trouble of correcting and pointing—You mentioned to me a grammar which you have by you—if I mistake not the British instructor but whether I have got the Name right or not if you can spare it a few days as will as not, & will send it up by Cap^t. Waterman today—I shall be much obliged to you—I believe I need not tell you I will [2] be careful of it—I would not have you put yourself out of the way about it. If you can as well spare it a few days as not with the Book send me a line how long you can & I'll endeavour to send it by the time—

Im

Your Ser^t

El. Marvin

[3] To

M^r. Nathan Hale

N. London

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Elihu Marvin April 8

[Courtesy of Yale University.]

**NATHAN HALE, ONE OF THE QUINTUMVIRI, TO
HIS CLASSMATE THOMAS MEAD ALSO
ONE OF THE QUINTUMVIRI**

[1]

S^r,

This is the first opportunity I have had of acknowledging your favour of last winter. I was, at the receipt of your letter, in East-Haddam (alias Modos), a place, which I at first, for a long time, concluded inaccessible, either by friends, acquaintance or letters. Nor was I convinced of the contrary untill I re[cei]ved yours, & at the same time, two others from Alden and Wyllys.—Which made me, if possible, value your letter the more.—

It was equally or more difficult, to convey anything from Modos. True, I saw the bearer of yours (M^r Medcaff) some few days before he set out for New Haven, and desired the

favour of se[n]ding some letters by him. Accordingly I had written letters to you, Alden, and Wyllys with one or two others; but upon enquiry, [2] I found that M^r Medcaff was gone too soon for me. Since which I have scarce had an opportunity of sending towards N. Haven,—

I want much to receive a letter from you and a full history of the transactions of the winter. I have heard many flying reports, but know not what to conclude as to the truth of them. Upon the whole I take it for certain, that the *Quintumviri* have been massacred, but in what manner I have not been sufficiently informed.—From what I can collect, I think probable you have had some *high doings* this winter, but expect a more full account of these matters in your next.

I am at present in a School in New-London. I think my situation somewhat preferable to what it was last winter. My school is by no means difficult to take care of. It consists of about 30 Scholars; ten of whom, are Latiners and all but six of the rest are writers. [3] I have a very convenient school-house, and the people are kind and sociable.—I promise myself some more satisfaction in writing and receiving letters from you, than I have as yet had. I know of no stated communication, but without any doubt, opportunities will be much more frequent, than while I was at Modos.—For the greater part of the last year, we were good neighbours, and I always thought, very good friends. Surely so good on my part, that it would be matter of real grief to me, should our friendship cease.—The only means for maintaining it is constant writing: in the practice of which I am ready most heartily to concur with you; and do hope ever to remain, as at present,

Your Friend and

Constant Well-wisher

New-London, May 2^d

Nathan Hale

AD 1774,

M^r Mead.

[Courtesy of Yale University.]

**NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
EBENEZER WILLIAMS**

[Dated May 1774; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 23 Jan. 1915; owned by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.]

**ENOCH HALE TO NATHAN HALE AT
NEW LONDON**

[1]

Lyme, May 10th, A.D. 1774

Dear Brother,

A few words by the hand of friend Noyes. You see I am at Lyme: but I could not come by New London. I left home last Thursday. Mother and Sally in a poor way, I fear not so well as when you was there. I came by the way of Lebanon, left Billey with Mr. Huntington to learn the Blacksmiths trade. I b[r]ought no books for you, I had no conveniency but left word to have them sent to you, if opportunity presented, Pope's Iliad & the 5th Vol. of the late war, which I found among the books and placed in my chest.

I stand in need of a pair of breaches, I know of no better place to purchase cloath than at New London. If you will oblige me so much as to go with Noyes & get as good & fashionable as you can but not too costly: for it is for every day, therefore cheeper the better, & likewise trimmings. Squire Noyes would be glad to see the History of the late war, so if you will send some of the Volumes if you don't want them, you will oblige him & me.

Enoch Hale

[From the original letter in the estate of the late Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale. The compiler has not been able to verify the text.]

**NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
ELIHU MARVIN**

[Dated 24 May 1774; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 12 Nov. 1913; owned by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
EBENEZER WILLIAMS

[1]

Wethersfield June 7th 1774

Soho Friend Nathan!

“What you too Brutus!” said Cæsar when he saw his naked sword. What you too Nathan! says Ebenezer when he finds you engaged the amorous pursuit. What is there in your *London* air, that so powerfully instagates the young People to such Buisness, which we are destitute of here in the *little Village* of Wethersfield? In the air I say, because I am positive it can be nothing else.

For 'tho' I would allow Miss Adams every charm which was in the power of Nature to bestow, or Art to polish, yet still I must insist that amongst all the great variety with which this *brilliant Town* abounds, some might be found whose engagements are not greatly inferior even to hers. And yet I do not find even Keyes, all amorous as he is, engaged in any particular pursuit. And sure I am that your friend Williams 'tho' he lives in the House with one or two of the very first rank is far from such engagements.

What then (I repeat it once more) What is there in your *London* air, that should make a constant settled spark of you. You whose pursuits, I am sure, were once far different. At Yale your Character was certainly that of a Scholar, & not of a Buck!

[2] I am sensible however that your conduct is not unprecedented! so far from it, that your Predecessor affords a recent instance. You will not, however, carry matters to so great a length as he did I hope & trust. For a Wife without an Employment is not the most desirable acquisition. I will therefore do more honour to your Judgment than to suppose you entertain designs of marrying at present. But will for once suppose you mean only to endeavour to fix the affections of the young Lady, that you may be in no danger of loosing her while engaged in different Parts. For surely Sir, you do not pay your addresses to the young Lady merely that People may have something to

say about you. But at our Time of Life I know it is difficult to avoid attachments of this kind. I am persuaded that, were my lot to have fallen in some place where I should have been acquainted with one & only one of our Wethersfield Ladies, I must & should have paid my addresses to her, but variety is my protection. And happy it is that Variety, or any thing else can protect me. For, in my present situation, I should esteem it the greatest of misfortunes to be captivated with the charms of any particular Lady. And I dare say she would be of my mind.

But Enough of Courtship & the Ladies for the present. They are all gone from here to take the small pox 26 Wethersfield Persons are now in the Hospital at Duck-Island. mostly Ladies. Heavens with what pleasure a Man might take the [*torn*] at present.

[3] But to the point. I din'd at your father's on Monday the week before last, where I expected to have found Pri.* But he was gone to Lyme some time before. You have likely heard from home since that time, or I would tell you that your Mother & Sister-in-Law were unwell, the rest of the family in usual Health. By the way, have you ever receiv'd a Letter from me dated Wethersfield May 1774 which came by way of the Pomfret Post, Postage-free? If so I'm sure it's your turn to write now, but that's no matter. You will have as fine an opp^y to write by the Bearer as you can desire, & I shall accordingly expect a long & particular answer to this long scroll of your real Friend

E. W— J^r.

[Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California; HM 22509.]

[The Miss Adams referred to in this letter must have been Elizabeth Adams, daughter of Pygan Adams, one of the most prominent citizens of New London. Her mother was Anna Richards, a sister of Mr. John Richards, one of the Proprietors of the Union School and Hale's landlord. Miss Adams lived with her uncle and aunt, and therefore was an inmate of the same household with Hale. She married Thomas Poole. In 1837 she furnished William W. Saltonstall, for Cyrus P. Bradley's projected "Life of Hale," a beautiful tribute to

* Abbreviation for *Primus*. In college, Enoch Hale, being the elder, was "Primus," while Nathan was "Secundus."

Hale, first published in full in the compiler's "Hale and Wyllys" (pages xvii and xviii).

Stephen Keyes, also mentioned in this letter of Ebenezer Williams, was another classmate.—*G. D. S.*]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

[A letter from Tallmadge to Hale, dated Wethersfield, July 4, 1774, was sold a few years ago, and the following extract was printed in an auction sale catalogue of Thomas Birch's Sons, Philadelphia, Stan. V. Henkels, auctioneer.]

Friend Hale,

How do you do this cold weather? I should be very glad to have some direct news from you, I do assure you: for by the last accounts you was all over (head and heels) in love. Now if you did not get shifted in the *scrape*, I should be very glad to know of it. I can say, as the Irishman has said before me, "I know you are not dead, for if you was you would have sent me word before now."

[From Johnston's "Nathan Hale 1776," page 58, the following line, evidently the last of the letter, is reprinted.]

. I have only time to subscribe myself your real friend &c.

[We have not succeeded in locating the original of this letter, which at one time was owned by a Mr. Wierner. Prof. Johnston had a copy, which also has disappeared. He did not print the letter in full, considering some of the passages too "free." Evidently Tallmadge had heard the report that Hale was attracted to Miss Elizabeth Adams (see Ebenezer Williams's letter dated June 7, 1774), and took the occasion to jibe or twit him about it, perhaps with the intention of drawing Hale out and of learning whether his friend was seriously interested in the young woman. Tallmadge's letter, for some reason, was slow in reaching Hale, or else the latter preferred to disregard it, for Tallmadge's next letter (printed herein), dated Aug. 6, 1774, shows that Hale wrote him on July 17th without mentioning it. Tallmadge assumed that Hale had not yet received his letter of July 4th, and wrote, "I would have you prepare yourself for the Reception of an extraordinary Epistle. Let the *stomach* of your Mind be empty & prepared for a good digestion. You will find that I have said something in *that* about proper food for digestion, both for *Body & Mind*." This sounds like a jocular apology for the "freedom" or impertinence of his previous letter. It is pleasing to know that Hale, although serious and high-minded, was not so prudish as to take offense at the indecorous, albeit good-natured, raillery of a classmate; for his friendship with Tallmadge continued unabated, as the subsequent correspondence attests.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE JAMES
HILLHOUSE, ONE OF THE QUINTUMVIRI

[1]

New Haven July the 11th 1774

Dear Sir

How to account for your Lon [Long] silence I know not,—It cant be you did not know the place of my abode; or that your Letters would not be acceptable. It is Impossible you should have so soon forgot, that there was such a person in the world as old Friend Jacob—The only reason then, is becaus [*sic*] you Thought me unworthy your notice, which I can hardly believe, but must, unless you soon clear up the point; which, I hope, you will be able to do to to [*to duplicated*] satisfaction—But least you should be tempted to retort what I have sayed upon myself, I will save you the trouble by telling you I should have wrote many months ago, had I known where to have found you—One while I heard you was keeping school at windsor, & had prepared a letter to send you; at another you was at Providence; & very lately at New London—& thus you post about the world, & nobody is able to find you, forming to yourself new Friends and acquaintance, who in length of time may Root out old ones—

The Friendship which subsisted between us when at Colledge, I should think sufficient [*sic*] to warrant a Correspondance—I am sure it was sincear on my part—what can be more pleasing, since our Collegiate Life is at an end, than to embrace the only [2] Remaining method of enjoying each others Thoughts; for tho' we shant be able to comprehend half we want to say in this narrow Compass of a Letter, yet we, or at least *I*, sall [*shall*] reap much Pleasure & advantage from a Correspondance with you—

The study of the Law I find to be a very Intricate and difficult study, that Requirs much Labour & Patience—I now wish I had improved my time to better advantage when at Colledge—

Liberty is our reigning Topic, which loudly calls upon every one to Exert his Tallants & abilities to the utmost in defending of it—now is the time for heroes—now is the time for great men to

immortalize their names in the deliverance of their Country, and grace the annals of America with their glorious Deeds.

You are now living in my Native Country, Instilling into the tender minds of youth, the early seeds of Virtue and Piety, which I hope is very agreeable to you—I should take pleasure in seeing you there—Alden is engaged in the same business with yourself—Wyllys is the man of Pleasure, and applys himself intirily to the acquirement of knowledge, for which you know he has an Insatiable Thirst—

All other Friends are well—I am S^r.

To Nathan Hale

Your sincear Friend
& affectionate Clasmate

[*Addressed*]

James Hillhouse

To

Nathan Hale, A. B.

at

New London

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*]

James HillHouse [*sic*]

N. H July 11th

[Courtesy of the late Lloyd Waddell Smith. Formerly in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet. The text has not been verified by the compiler.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE EBENEZER WILLIAMS

[Dated Wethersfield, 3 Aug. 1774; autograph letter, signed, folio, 2 pages; supposed to have been sold at auction in Philadelphia, 10 May 1915; untraced. The following extract is from the catalogue of the dealer, Stan V. Henkels.]

I desire Sir to know by what figure of speech you would make anything in my letter inform you that you have lost the character of a scholar and acquired that of a rake. * * * No Sir, be not deceived. Your friend Eb has nothing, to object to a polite inter-

course with the fair sex. 'Tis against *particular* connections he would caution you. Such connections at our age, friend Nathan, are dangerous. We are too apt to gaze with pleasure on anything Beautiful. We are little able to withstand any Evil that comes in the form of a beautiful female. * * * * You say you are weaned from home and your connections become more general. The first part of your assertion is, I am informed, much more true than the last. That you are more weaned from home I have little reason to doubt, since I am credibly informed that you have connections as particular with a young lady in whose presence you once affirmed you had seen nothing in N. London to be smitten with. It seems you have seen something else however, etc., etc.

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

[1]

My Friend

After I receiv'd your letter of July 17th. I thought I would send you one long enough To make up for the loss of those which you made mention of.—By your last, I rather think that you have never yet come across *it*. However I would have you wait with Patience, for I dare warrant you the Perusal of it in less than $\frac{1}{2}$ a Century this time. If this should chance to find you (or you *it*) first, I would have you prepare yourself for the Reception of an extraordinary Epistle. Let the *stomach* of your Mind be empty & prepared for a good digestion. You will find that I have said something in *that* about proper food for digestion, both for *Body* & *Mind*. But you must satisfy yourself about these things when the letter arrives.—I am much obliged to you for those Tables which you sent—I have not seen the other Gentlemen yet, to deliver your Present to them, for I have but just received them.— I herewith send you my Geographical Cards, Which I

suppose your scholars can copy off. I am daily using them, but if you will be so kind as to return them in about 3 Weeks or a Month I can do very well. By that time you may have a number of Copies from them, & they will be needed by your sincere friend &c

Benjⁿ Tallmadge

Wethersfield. August 6th. 1774—

[2] To

Mr. Nathan Hale
New London

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*]

Mr Tallmadge

Aug. 6th AD 1774

[Original letter owned by George Dudley Seymour.]

NATHAN HALE FROM ELIHU MARVIN

[Dated 14 Aug. 1774; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 23 Jan. 1915; owned by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.]

NATHAN HALE TO HIS BROTHER ENOCH HALE

[New London, Se]pt 8th 1774

Dear Brother,

I have a word to write and a minute to write it in. I received yours of yesterday this morning. Agreeable to your desire I will endeavour [to] get the cloth and carry it over Saturday. I have

no news. No liberty-pole is erected or erecting here; but the people seem much more spirited than they were before the alarm. Parson Peters of Hebron, I hear, has had a second visit paid him by the sons of liberty in Win[d]ham. His treatment, and the concessions he made I have not as yet heard. I have not heard from home since I came from there.

Your loving Brother

Nathan Hale.

M^r E Hale Lyme.

[Original letter in possession of A. H. Greenly, Esq., of Chicago, Ill.]

**NATHAN HALE TO HIS UNCLE
MAJOR SAMUEL HALE**

New London, Connecticut, September 24th AD 1774

Respected Uncle,

My visit to Portsmouth last fall served only to increase the nearness of your family, and make [me] the more desirous of seeing them again. But this is a happiness, which at present, I have but little prospect of enjoying. The most I now hope for is, that I may now and then have the satisfaction to hear from my Uncle and Cousins by letter.

I can tell you but little of my Father or his family, being situated above 30 miles from them. I have not visited them for near three months; but have heard from them, somewhat indirectly, within a few days. I understand they are well.—My eldest sister (Elizabeth) was married last winter (as you have doubtless heard) to Sam^l. Rose, son to Doct^r Rose, and has, as I suppose, a prospect of a very comfortable living. As to any further particulars, of my Father or his Family, I can mention nothing.—My own employment is at present the same that you have spent your days in. I have a school of 32 boys, about half Latin, the rest English. The salary allowed me, is 70[£] $\pounds$ Annum.—In

addition to this I have kept, during the Summer, a morning school, between the hours of five and seven, of about 20 young ladies; for which I have received 6^s a scholar, by the quarter. The people with whom I live, are free an[d] generous, many of them gentlemen of sense and merit. They are desirous, that I would continue and settle in the school; and propose a considerable increase of wage: I am much at a lost whether to accept their proposals. Your advice in the matter, coming from an Uncle, and from a man who has spent his life in the business, would, I think, be the best I could possibly receive. A few lines on this subject, & also to acquaint me with the welfare of your family, if your leisure will permit, will be much to the satisfaction of

Your most dutiful Nephew

Nathan Hale

P. S.—Please to present my duty to my Aunt, and my fondest regards to all my Cousins. If no other opportunity of writing presents, please to improve that of the Post.

[*Addressed*] To Maj^r Samuel Hale at Portsmouth

[This letter is now owned by the Groton School, Groton, Mass., and a photostatic copy was kindly supplied by Dr. Endicott Peabody, making possible the correction of printed copies.]

**NATHAN HALE TO DR. ÆNEAS MUNSON,
NEW HAVEN**

New London, November 30, 1774.

Sir :

I am very happily situated here. I love my employment; find many friends among strangers; have time for scientific study, and seem to fill the place assigned me with satisfaction. I have a school of more than thirty boys to instruct, about half of them in Latin; and my salary is satisfactory. During the summer I had a morning class of young ladies—about a score—from five to

seven o'clock; so you see my time is pretty fully occupied, profitably I hope to my pupils and to their teacher.

Please accept for yourself and Mrs. Munson the grateful thanks of one who will always remember the kindness he ever experienced whenever he visited your abode.

Your friend,

Nathan Hale.

[From Lossing's "Two Spies," 1886, where the last sentence is given in facsimile. Mr. Lossing states that he copied it from the original in possession of Dr. Munson, son of the person to whom the letter is addressed. Years ago the author made a determined effort to locate the original, but without success, and apparently it has not been seen since 1848, when Lossing speaks of copying it.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE EBENEZER WILLIAMS

[1]

New Haven January 11th 1775

Dear Nathan,

When I receiv'd your last, I determined to improve the first Opportunity to answer it. But as it was a very interesting piece, I thought best, on more mature consideration, to let it rest 'till I could get leisure to answer it at large. Since that time, a variety of engagements (both *general* and *particular*) have so engross'd my attention that I have omitted it to a degree that I shall not pretend to excuse. However, If I have done wrong in times past, I trust you will not insist on my doing so any more.

Perhaps If I were to send you another letter in the strain of my two last we might begin to misunderstand one another in earnest. And I am apprehensive that I might be misrepresented to Miss Adams or some other young Lady [as] an officious meddler in affairs that did not concern me. However you may be assured that had I really believed all that I heard concerning your Engagements, I should have wrote much in the same strain which I then used. If you would know the real motive of my writing to you in the manner I did, I must tell you that it was

as much to convince my own reason (which was then in a wavering condition) as yours, of the danger of such a situation.

Now Sir, as this subject has introduced some confusion in our Ideas at least, I would propose the dropping it altogether. And would Just inform you that I am now, & probably shall remain for this Winter in New-Haven—I have a Chamber in New-College, to which no son of Adam would be more heartily welcome than a quondam friend vulgarly call'd Nathan Hale.—

[2] Nor do I take it to be a meer matter of form when I make you this Invitation for You have not rode out much since you went to N. L. And it is high time that you should have a vacancy. The ride is not a large one, & N. H. was once (before the remarkable change in your character) agreeable to you. You will find here a considerable number of your Class mates & old Companions, & your brother will probably be willing to ride with you. We have still all those agreeable Circumstances that used to render a College Life pleasant & are free from those restraints which sometimes made it uneasy. Were but a few of my Class (whom I could mention) here, I should hardly wish for a happier situation. As it is I can't expect one.

I have my mellancholly times now & then, & I really think them as agreeable as any thing at all, perhaps I am singular in my opinion, & as I doubt not but you have yours also, I should be glad to know what you think of it.

I am peculiarly subject to these turns when employed in writing Letters to absent Friends. And, as I feel one now commencing, will not trouble you with it but divert myself by writing you a Copy of a Love Letter which was lately sent me by a young Gentleman who supposed I might have occasion for it—

If you should be engaged in that way (notwithstanding all that has been said upon the subject) I can recommend it to you as a most excellent form; And advise you by all means to make use of it——

And if it does not procure* you success, then my Name is not

Eb. Williams—

* "procure" is written over "warrant" which was crossed out.

[3] [The copy of the "Love Letter" occupies the entire third page, and is omitted herein.]*

[4] [*Addressed*] To

M^r: Nathan Hale
New-London

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*]

Eb Williams
New-Haven Jan. 11th
1775

[Courtesy of Morgan Bulkeley Brainard, Esq., of Hartford, Conn.]

NATHAN HALE TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THE UNION SCHOOL, NEW LONDON

John Winthrop Esq^r
Cap^t Guy Richards
Duncan Stewart, Esq^r
Cap^t Robinⁿ Mumford
M^r Roger Gibson
Winthrop Saltonstall Esq^r
Cap^t Joseph Packwood
Cap^t William Packwood
Cap^t Richard Deshon
M^r John Richards
Richard Law Esq^r
M^r Timothy Green

Cap^t David Mumford
Thomas Mumford Esq^r
M^r Silas Church
Cap^t Michael Mellaly
Cap^t Thomas Allen
Cap^t Charles Chadwick
M^r Samuel Belden
Jeremiah Miller Esq^r
Cap^t Russell Hubbard
M^r Nath^l Shaw, Jun^r
Cap^t John Crocker
Doct^r Thomas Coit

* Be it noted that the letter or form, which Williams says he is enclosing, he is careful to make clear, is not of his own composition, but was handed to him by a friend. This enclosed letter turns out to be a studied play upon the terms commonly used in Latin Grammar, employed in such a punning way as to produce a scurrilous result. As Williams was studying for the Ministry in New Haven at that time, it should have brought a blush to his cheeks, and so it did, for he appends the note: "Dear Nathan, forgive the scurrility for the sake of the humor of the piece." Williams died in Dedham, Massachusetts, after being inoculated for Small-Pox, and was the subject of a fulsome tribute in "The Independent Chronicle," and the "Universal Advertiser," Boston, Thursday, June 12, 1777.—G. D. S.

Gentlemen Proprietors of Union School are desired to meet at the School House next Friday Evening (Feb. 24th) 6 O'Clock, agreeable to adjournment from the 3^d Inst. to the rising of the Court.—The matters proposed to be considered were, the Act of Incorporation—the choice of proper Officers as Committee Clerk &c—procuring a Bell, and what else might be thought proper. The Occasion of the Adjournment was the smallness of the Number present,—That there might not be the same Occasion for another, more early Notice was directed to be given, by, Gentlemen

Your Humble Servant

N Hale

Wednesday Feb. 22^d AD 1775

No Meeting on account of bad Weather.*

[Catalogue No. 1343 of Stan. V. Henkels, Philadelphia, Pa., advertising an auction to be held January 17, 1924, states that the above letter was sold by the same firm "over thirty years ago" for \$1275.00. Johnston's "Nathan Hale 1776" states that in 1901 it was in possession of the late Mr. W. F. Havemeyer of New York.]

**NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
BENJAMIN TALLMADGE**

[Dated 1 Mar. 1775; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 8 Apr. 1908; present ownership not known to the compiler.]

NATHAN HALE FROM RICHARD SILL

New Haven 5th. March 1775

[1]

Kind Sir

Take this as a return for yours of Feb 9th which I received with great satisfaction, you seem somewhat unwilling I should

* "In the correspondence respecting Hale, Connecticut Historical Society archives, mention is made of a school-meeting call issued by him in December, 1773. He was then at East Haddam."—Note in Johnston's "Nathan Hale 1776," p. 178.

thank you for the kindness you did me, but if you are contented I'm sure I have no reason to complain. Your reason for not being the first in introducing a correspondance I look upon as quite sufficient—You say you have been somewhat deficient in the Letter-writing way but I rejoice to hear you are reformed, I trust it will be to my great satisfaction as well as your other friends. I have not as yet experienced the parting with my Classmates & tis an old observation that one knows not how to esteem a benefit 'till he is deprived of it but I perceive by my present connections, that it will be a thing very disagreeable* to part, & that then there will be various roads for my letters to travel (i e) if the connection on their is† side be as strong as 'tis upon mine, then perhaps I can adapt your own words—The millitary Art just begins to dawn in the generous breasts of the Sons of Yale (pardon bombast for 'tis allowable if we may take all those who have written upon this subject, as a rule) College Yard constantly sounds with, *poise your firelock, Cock your firelock* &c these warlike noises are continually in College, from which we may gather as great evidence, war will be proclaimed soon, as from a Noise which was lately heard in the Air in divers places, there is this circumstance which these College noises want in order to terrify the Vulgar, that is I dont learn that any fire follows them, which some say did the other—which hath the greatest force to convince a rational mind of the approach of war I leave you to say—We have two Regular Soldiers to instruct us and I trust our progress is not small considering the shortness of the time. & so much for millitary [2] I cant hear Sir that you are about mounting the Desk, M^r. Beckwith is now in town who has a Call to Preach up at Richmond nigh Albany & is now upon his Journey—

News I have none except this will answer, You know NHaven hath had the name of entertaining a great number of Tories, take this in some measure in their Justification—It was reported in Town that Redgfield & Newtown Deputies were Tories. This

* Written 'disagreeable,' with the second 'e' crossed off.

† The word 'is' is clearly written here, though it obviously does not belong in the sentence.

Town met & pass'd a Vote that they should have no entertainment in it, but they got entertainment in Town the first night where they were not known & the next day declared themselves true Sons of Liberty—What the Assembly have done or will do you'll perhaps hear as soon as you receive this—Your returning this the first opportunity will greatly oblige your sincere friend and Well wisher

R S

N. B— I put only the two first letters of my name trusting you can suggest the rest & not knowing into what hands this may fall before it reaches yours & ashamed any one should read this but a friend in whose generosity I can trust

[3] [*Addressed*] To

Mr Nathan Hale

New London

[From photostatic copy kindly supplied by A. C. Goodyear, Esq., of New York City, the owner of the original.*]

JOHN HALE TO HIS BROTHER NATHAN HALE

[1]

Coventry 20th March 1775

Dear Brother I Send you these lines to acquaint you that I am in good health at Present tho' some of our folks are not at lest Richard is very Sick with the Canker but I hope not the worst Sort he was taken last Monday his throat is very much Sweald So that he cant Swallow but a very Lettle but I hope he will get better sone but I am very much concern about him the rest of us are in as good health as we were when you was at home Enoch Larrebe has lost Three cheldren lately with the Throat Destemper and Two or Three otheres that have been very Sick but are geting better I want you should get M^r Green to put an Advertisment in his paper for me and I will Satisfy you for it I would have the Advertisment be Something after this sort without you can alter it for the better

* The compiler has an article on this letter of Sill in his forthcoming book entitled, "New Haven," also printed herein, see p. 353.

All Persons having Accounts against the Estate of M^r Elijah Rip[ley] late of Coventry Deceased are desired to bring in the same to the Subscriber who will attend said Business at the Dwelling house of Eph^m Root Esq Inkeeper in said Coventry on the first Tuesday of April Next and so on every Tuesday till the first of June Next And all Indebted to said Estate are desired to make Speedy payment to

John Hale Administrator

I shall write no more at Present so remain your Loving

Brother John Hale.

[2] [*Addressed*] To

M^r Nathan Hale
New London

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] John Hale Mar 20 1775
Coventry

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

**NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE ROGER
ALDEN, ONE OF THE QUINTUMVIRI**

[1]

Newhaven Evening after Fast—

Friend Hale

I feel very much refreshed, it was not many Hours since, that I seemed to be cursed, with a dull, sour Melancholy Temper, which seemed to communicate the Contagion to every thing that I either wrote or thought of, but however my writings may differ, my Mind feels very much changed—I hope you have spent this Day in such a Manner as that you will not be troubled with any Convictions of Conscience—you must excuse me for the present, as I am interrupted—

Thursday Morning after Fast

I suppose that you rose very early this Morning have been perusing some agreeable as well as profitable Book, & not many Minutes since, felt for your Watch Chain, with your Eyes intent

on your Book, until you had brought your Memento* about the length of your Book from its Habitation [2] & found it to be just 59 Minutes after 8 O'Clock, if that was not the most disagreeable Time in all the Day, tell me in your next, it seems to me that you pictured out at once all the Troubles that you was to encounter—This I am certain that your reading after that did not profit much—especially if you was in the Middle of some diverting scene in either History, Plays, Novels, Romances or whatever you please, it is not the Trouble of keeping School that brings this uneasiness, but being confined to particular Hours, I have frequently experienced all these Feelings, & have as much dreaded the Hours of Nine & Two, as ever I did the Morning prayer Bell, or Saturday Noon Recitation, but Friend Nathan what is it that makes things that are real good & agreeable in themselves, so unpleasing to us, every delightful Diversion every profitable Study we see oft disaffects & disgusts us, not you & myself, but every rational Creature on Earth, I mean those that are called rational to distinguish them from lower Orders of created Beings but methinks we have as small [3] Pretences to it, as the meanest Animal living, for such Principles & Practice, which we experience every Day we live, contradict Common Sense & basely degrade what is so frequently stiled the greatest Excellence of human Nature, human Reason— But is a common Observation & as true as it is old, that Mankind may be led, but will never be drove—this we may observe in every Stage of Life, from the Infant to fourscore Years & Ten—this which seems to be innate & born with us, appears to me the greatest proof of universal Depravity & Original Sin, that I can conceive of, but is so always was & always will be—I would not have you think that I send this as a sample of my good Writing, or good Sense, not that [it] is deficient in either of these Points, but rather a Proof of my Friendship when you have read all this Srole, I hope you will

* Was the "memento" referred to at the outset of this letter the watch mentioned in Hale's Diary, and also by Deacon Jasper Gilbert, the same watch that he took with him into the British lines? Hale's watch is but one of Hale's belongings that have been offered for sale to the compiler; all, of course, without proof that Hale ever owned them.—G. D. S.

Having got into the Class, in the News way, I come Next to speak of Williams, of whom I have nothing further to say than that he proposes to be at Hartford at Election, & the week after at N. Haven again, where if he cannot hope for your Company, he would at least be glad to hear from you by every Opportunity, & mean time remains your sincere

Friend & H^{ble} Serv^t.

E. W————

[Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California; HM 22521.]

**NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
EZRA SELDEN**

Roxbury Camp June 25th 1775

S^r

I Just have remembran[c]e of my engagement to you as well as to Numbers of others which I cannot fulfill We came into Roxbury on Sunday about Five oClock they have been firing upon Roxbury a great Part of Saturday killed one Man June 24 have been firing upon Roxbury Saturday afternoon and killed two Men with small arms which through presumption attempted to set on fire their guard house supposing that they had quited their house but they ran in great numbers from behind the house fired upon them both of which were taken one of them was run throug[h] with Bayonets and carried of in that manner none others hurt they made some shingles fly and some dust & a small matter of Dust with their Bums* though our people fear^d them but tryfling one marched up and pulled out the fuse carried the Bum to head Quarters the chief of the Ball would be taken up before they had done roling. The Inhabitance have done comeing out of Boston almost The number of those Slain in the Battle between Putnam and the Gagites is uncertain By letters from Gentlemen in Boston Gage has his Army Sixteen hundred worse than before the Engagement. Putnam By the Doctors Account

* Bombs.

has and will Lose 150 Men some number of those Provincials that were taken Prisoners have sent out letters by way of the Guards both ways The Contents if any I cannot Procure further than that they are very well treated Sunday night June 25th A number of Rodisland Men under took to set on fire their Guard house upon Boston neck but were prevented some fires were exchanged on both sides but I dont learn as any were hurt on either side

The Soldier live in houses as many as can & more also But are not so healthy as those in Tents of Which number we are I dont learn any thing worth mentioning Our fort upon the hill near the meeting house contains about 1 & 1-4 acre of Land we have another Batery where the rode part that comes out of Boston have also two more upon the neck one of them against the Burying Yard——

S

Ezra Selden

N B Cap^t Ely's & Clefs Companies came in on Sunday

[*Addressed*] To

M^r Nathan Hale

New London in Connecticut

[Original letter in possession of the Boston Public Library, by which a photostatic copy was kindly supplied. A line was omitted in the copy printed in Johnston's "Nathan Hale 1776," following the Library's "Monthly Bulletin," November, 1900.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Dear friend

actuated by Principles of the most sincere regard, & called on by the ties of Gratitude & friendship, I have set apart an hour of this far declining evening for the purpose of writing an Epistle to one whose regard I highly prize, whose welfare I shall always endeavour to promote. Mr. Richard's Determination to ride early in the morning makes it necessary for me to improve the present moments (which for certain reasons I could gladly spend in a different way) for the purpose before mentioned.

You may perhaps have heard of my late Journey to the Eastward. Would time permit I should give you some history of my late travels, the state of our military arrangement, & the wonderful Phenomena observable by every gaping Spectator. However the barrenness of these parts for News & my own disposition at present (which can hardly afford from its treasure things new & old) must excuse this neglect. Let such currency pass; I have things of more importance to treat of; a subject wherein you are by no means unconcerned, & the community has a vote among the rest. By your good Landlord* I am informed that you are honoured by the Assembly with a Lieutenant's commission. I can't say that you will hesitate a moment in your own mind about accepting or refusing; but you have a matter of no trifling consideration which presents itself for calm reflexion, mature deliberation, & a wise conclusion. Private Interest must be far removed, & the community, with the good thereunto accruing by your present choice, must sway your mind. Good indeed had it been for mankind if such principles as these had influenced their conduct. Hardly, my friend; hardly had we seen the present awful & gloomy day: a Day big with some great Event; a Period which will decide the fate of millions, & productive of great Emolument to but few. But not to digress, I shall endeavor to suit myself to your condition & situation in life, & a[d]vise you as I think I should act myself. You must already be considered as acting in a publick capacity, and in a sphere which no one can say is of no avail to the Publick. Liberty is closely connected with learning; and when I peruse the Volumes of Antiquity, and see how the greatest absurdities have found a good & welcome reception, when assisted by profound ignorance, I can heartily thank my God (though not with the Pharisee of old) that we are not in this land, ignorant beyond measure, senseless dupes, &c By this I am not for asserting that we rise immoderately high in the lists of the Learned, but that there is a greater equality among the People, & consequently a more equal share in the current useful knowledge of the Day. But this by the bye. When I consider you as a Brother Pedagogue, engaged in a calling, useful, honorable, &

* John Richards.

doubtless to you very entertaining, it seems difficult to advise you even to relinquish your business, & to leave so agreeable a circle of connections & friends. But when I consider you as acting in that capacity to the good acceptance of all concerned, & to your own applause (and far be it from me to flatter a friend) the difficulty is still greater. On the other hand when I consider our country, a Land flowing as it were with milk & honey, holding open her arms, & demanding Assistance from all who can assist her in her sore distress, Methinks a Christian's counsel must favour the latter. You have I conclude some turn for the military art, which being greatly improved by practice, may render you highly serviceable to act in that Department. Since our late distresses have come upon us, I have turned my attention somewhat into the same channel, & find myself highly entertained in such pursuits. Was I in your condition, notwithstanding the many, I had almost said insuperable, objections against such a resolution, I think the more extensive Service would be my choice. Our holy Religion, the honour of our God, a glorious country, & a happy constitution is what we have to defend. Some indeed may say there are others who may supply your place. True there are men who would gladly accept of such a proposal but are we certain that they would be likely to answer just as good an end? Could this be certainly known, though we all should be ready to step forth in the common cause, I could think it highly incumbent on you not to change your situation. These hints, thrown together in great haste, proceed from a heart ever devoted to your welfare, & from one who shall esteem it his happiness to promote yours. I hope to hear from you soon & to know your determination; in the mean time I remain your constant friend &c &c

Wethersfield, July 4, 1775

B. Tallmadge

Per Mr. Richards

[*Addressed*]

To

Mr. Nathan Hale

New London

[Formerly in the possession of Hon. Simon Gratz, Philadelphia. The compiler has not been able to verify the text from the original.]

NATHAN HALE TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THE UNION SCHOOL, NEW LONDON

Gentlemen,

Having received information that a place is allotted me in the army, and being inclined, as I hope for good reasons to accept it, I am constrained to ask as a favour that which scarce anything else would have induced me to: which is, to be excused from keeping your school any longer. For the purpose of conversing upon this, and of procuring another master, some of your number think it best there should be a general meeting of the Proprietors. The time talked of for holding it, is 6 O'Cl this afternoon at the School House. The year for which I engaged will expire within a fortnight, so that my quitting a few days sooner I hope will subject you to no great inconvenience.

Schoolkeeping is a business of which I was always fond; but since my residence in this Town, every thing has conspired to render it more agreeable. I have thought much of never quitting it but with life; but at present there seems an opportunity for more extensive public service.

The kindness expressed me by the people of the place but especially the proprietors of the School, will always be very gratefully remembered by

your Humble Serv^t

Nathan Hale

Friday, July 7th [1775]

[Formerly in the possession of Hon. Simon Gratz, Philadelphia, Pa. The compiler has not been able to verify the text from the original.]

NATHAN HALE FROM LIEUTENANT JOHN BELCHER

Stonington, July 27th 1775.

Sir,

These may inform you that since I saw you, Ensign Hillard and myself have enlisted Twenty two Men, and as my cash is pretty much exhausted, should be glad of a Supply as soon as

possible, and should be glad you would inform me by a Line what progress you have made in the Enlisting Way, and when I must stop my hand, and should be glad if our Company is not near compleated, you would send me over some more Blanks, as I expect next Monday, to make my Number, 30, at least, and I understand we are to march next week, and the greatest part of the Men I have enlisted are destitute of Guns, suitable to carry, which we ought to make timely provision for. These from your humb^{le} serv^t—

John Belcher—. .

[*Addressed*] To

Lieu. Nathaniel Hale
New London.

[Original letter formerly in possession of the late Mr. W. F. Havemeyer, New York. The compiler has not been able to verify the text from the original.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

[1]

[New London, Oct. 2^d 1775]

Esteemed Friend.

Yours of 28th. duly Rec^d. am obliged for the Information therein, hope you will continue to inform me of anything new that turns up, for you know Hempsted retains nothing—

By a Rhode Island Packet w^h. arriv'd here from N. York w^h. Flour for the Camp we learn, y^t. General Schuyler had attack S^t. Johns and carried the Outworks, that Guy Johnson was kill'd in the Engagem^t. We every Hour expect to hear they are in possession of S^t. Johns, w^h. Charlton &c.

Inclose you a New York Paper by w^h. you'll see how matters go on to the Northward.

If you can handily, should be oblig'd if you wou'd send me the Rank of the Regim^{ts}; in the Continental Army; I hear it is settled, and handed about in Printed Handbills—

I went to Lyme last Week to see David &c the Girls express'd a regard for you which I thought but a few removes from Love.

My Compliments to Ensign Nevins and any other old Friend of mine you shou'd chance to stumble upon As to Home News we are quite barren—We are extremely dull—Sunday reigns thro' the Week—I am with Sincerity

Your Friend &c
Gilbert Saltonstall

Lieu^t; Nathan Hale
Roxbury

[2] [*Addressed*] To
Lieut^t. Nathan Hale
Roxbury

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] G. Salt^{ll}. Octo^r. 2^d. N. Y. 1775

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

[1] New Londⁿ. Oct^o. 9th. 1775

Dear Sir

By yours of the 5th. I see you're Stationd in the Mouth of Danger—I look upon y^r. Situation more Perilous than any other in the Camp—Should have tho't the new Recruits would have been Posted at some of the Outworks, & those that have been inured to Service avanc'd to Defend the most exposed Places—But all Things are concerted, and ordered w^h. Wisdom no doubt—The Affair of D^r. Church is truly amazing, from the acquaintance I have of his publick Character I should as soon have suspected M^r. Hancock or Adams as him.

Last Saturday a Ship of 200 Tun run aground off Stonington loaded w^h. Wheat, it's the Ship that some Time ago purposely fell into the Hands of Wallace at Rhode Island w^h. a Load of Flower, she is owned by Christ^o. Champlin of Newport, when the Fishing Boats hail'd them they gave no reply, and soon after run

on the Shoals as above, the Coms^r of Stonington went to unloading her immediately, & sent off for Cap^t. Niles who lay in this Harbour to come round to Stonington to protect her against any small Tender that shoud happen that way, he up Anchor and went round forthwith; the Ship is now in this Harbour (came in this Morn.) her Cargo is principally taken out in Lighters and sent to Norwich, where She will follow as soon as the Wind permits, for she can't beat up, having lost her Masts in the Gale the 10th. Sept^r.

By young Dav^d. Mumford this Morn,g from Phil^a. but last from New York w^h. he left Yesterday Morn,g (Sunday.) We have N Y Saturd^r Paper from w^h. I give you the follow,g Extracts

"New York Oct^o. 7th. Extract of a Letter from Schenectady Sept^r. 25th."

[2] "This afternoon an Express arrived at Albany from our Army; w^h. mentions they have met w^h. great Success & taken a Schooner well manned & armed, killed all the People on board, & possessed themselves of a 12 Pounder Two Companies of New England Men landed at S^t. Johns and engaged a party of Regulars going to the Fort w^h. Carts, Cattle, & Provisions, w^h. they took & defeated the Regulars, Cap^t. Yates Commd^r. of a Company of Germans, & one Lieut^t. Van Slyk of this Town have greatly distinguished themselves, w^h. has recommended them to the notice of Genr^l. Montgomery. Fifteen Hundred Canadians have voluntarily join'd our Army.

"Extract of a Letter from Genr^l. Schuyler to the Provincial Congress at New York Dated at Ticonderoga Sept^r. 29th. 1775.

"I am still confined w^h. an inveterate Disorder. I have this Moment rec^d. a Line from Gener^l. Montgomery; he holds S^t. Johns besieged. The Canadians are friendly to us, and join us in great Numbers. We have taken 15 Prisoners, Seven of which are Soldiers, and the rest unfriendly Canadians and Schotchmen in the Service of the Ministry."

I have extracted all the material News should have sent the Paper but it's the only one in Town and every one is Gaping for News.

You'll excuse the writing, as I am in a great hurry I scratch away as fast as I can.

Inclose you N Y Thursdays Paper there is nothing material in it, but that you'll see for yourself

Maj^r. Mifflin pass'd thro' this Town Saturday last on his Way to the Congress.

Your Sincere Friend

Gilbert Saltonstall

[*Addressed*] Lieut^t. Nathan Hale.

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] G. Salt^{ll}. Octo. 9th. 1775.

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM JOHN HALLAM

[1]

New London Oct^r. 9th. 1775

Dear Sir

I rec^d. your two Letters by Cap^t. Packwood & the post, am extremely glad you bore travelling & arriv'd at the Camp so well—I wrote you to send by the Last Post but he omitted calling, which I have now sent by Col^l. Sage—you must excuse the Letter as I had no more paper

I wrote you that it was reported that Col^l. Guy Johnson was dead, which is a mistake it is Mathias Johnson that was commander of the Escort of 13 Waggon Load of provisions which we defeated at Chambli & took all the Provision—On Saturday a Ship who Sail'd from N. Y^k. Bound for Falmouth with 8000 bush^{ls}. of Wheat—put in for Stonington but run a ground of the mouth of the Harbour (She lost her Main & Mizen Masts in the Storm on the 10th. of Sep^r. & these Easterly winds drove her in to Stonington) our Committee sent Cap^t. Niles [2] in the Arm'd Schooner & Several Other Vessels to her assistance after Loading two Lighters She floated & they are towing of her in here to send to Norwich—we have Acc^t. from Liverpool by Way of N. York as late as the 7th. of Aug^t. which Says a fleet has Sailed from

England to Emden to take in 10000 Hanoverians. & that several more Reg^{ts}. from England & Ireland with one of Scots Highlanders Commanded by Gen^l. Murray who may be expected in the Course of this Month

Your Acc^t. of Church's Villiany made me Shudder. Heav'ns what a scene of Villiany! this it seems to me is sufficient to convince any one there is an overuling hand of Providence—We have had a Copey of his Letters in Town I expect to be with you within a Fortnight—desire the Maj^r. to send me an order on the Commissary for a Drum, he refuses Give me one without—Sir am y^r.

Sincere Friend

J H

P.S. Sally has gone home
M^{rs}. Hallam Betsey & the
rest of the Family's Comp^{ts}.
to you—

[*Addressed*]

To

Lieu^t. Nathan Hale
Maj^r. Latimers Comp^r.
Col^l. Webbs Reg^t.
in Camp at Winter Hill

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] J. Hallam Octo. 14th.
N. L. 1775

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

New London Oct^o., 16th., 1775.

Dear Sir

Inclose you the New York Paper—We have no Publick News—Nor private neither, save that Yesterday the Parson declard, Marriage was intended between Thomas Poole and Elizth. Adams*

* Hale refers to this in his Diary, see page 177; see also the author's notes on pages 19 and 20.

You must not charge the shortness of my Letter to a disinclination of writing, but to the Real Cause, the Barrenness of the Times——

I am with Esteem your Sincere
Friend

Lieut.^t N. Hale

Gilbert Saltonstall

[2] [*Addressed*] To

Lieut^t. Nathan Hale
Winter Hill

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] G. Salt^{ll}. Octo^r. 16th.
N. London 1775

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE TO BETSEY CHRISTOPHERS

[1]

Camp Winter Hill Octo^r. 19th. 1775

Dear Betsey,

I hope you will excuse my freedom in writing to you, as I cannot have the pleasure of seeing & conversing with you. What is now a letter would be a visit were I in New London, but this being out of my power suffer me to make up the defect in the best manner I can. I write not to give you any news, or any pleasure in reading (though I would heartily do it if in my power) but from the desire I have of conversing with you in some form or other.

I once wanted to come here to see something extraordinary—my curiosity is satisfied. I have now no more desire for seeing things here, than for seeing what is in New-London, no, nor half so much neither. Not that I am discontented—so far from it, that in the present situation of things I would not except a furlough were it offered me. I would only observe, that we [2] often flatter ourselves [*sic*] with great happiness could we see such & such things; but when we actually come to the sight of them, our solid satisfaction is really no more than when we only had them in expectation.

All the news I have, I wrote to John Hallam, if it be worth your hearing he will be able to tell you when he delivers this. It will therefore not [be] worth while for me to repeat.

I am a little at a loss how you carry on at New-London. Jared Starr I hear is gone—The number of Gentlemen is now so few, that I fear how you will go through the winter, but I hope for the best—

I remain with esteem,
Y^r. Sincere Friend
& H:ble Svt.

N. Hale

[*Addressed*] To
Miss
Betsey Christophers
New-London

[Courtesy of Yale University.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

[1] New London Oct^o. 23^d. 1775.

Dear Sir

I give you a Copy of a Paragraph in Th^s. Mumfords Letter to my Father “We have intelligence from S^t. Johns as late as the 7th. Ins^t: our Troops were recruited much, were in good Spirits, Bombarding the Fort; a Negotiation was on foot between the Besieging and Besieged. Col^o. Allen was Wounded and taken Prisoner near M^t. Real, & 20 of his Party out of Eighty missing.”

The Assembly have agreed upon an Assotiation for every Man in the Colony to Sign, or have his Name return’d to the next Assembly.

They have Order’d the Company under Fathers Command to be enlisted again and to continue ’till the first of December—have Order’d the Battery Finish’d and the Guns bro’t in—And Empower’d him to draw upon the Treasurer for £100 to Compleat the Platform &c

The follow^g. is a List of the Nomination for Councillor[s]
Oct^o. 1775, Reported by the Comt^{ee}. as duly Returned.

Honb ^{le} . Jonath ⁿ . Trumbull	4144	Joseph Spencer	3692
Math ^w . Griswold	4325	Oliver Wolcott	3614
Jab ^z . Hamlin	3098	Sam ^l . Huntington	3887
Elisha Sheldon	2778	Erastus Wolcott	2153
Eliph ^t . Dyer	3658	Sam ^l . H. Parsons	2129
Jab ^z . Huntington	3638	Will ^m . Williams	2875
Will ^a . Pitkin	4180	Rich ^d . Law	2926
Roger Sherman	3772	Dan ^l . Sherman	1853
Abra ^m . Davenport	3395	Silas Deane	1403
W ^m . S. Johnson	991	Titus Hosmer	1061

The Assb^y. have Order'd a Tun of Powder for the N Londⁿ.
Battery—Nothing farther of Publick Import—Sheriff Christo-
phers is at the Point of Death. This will be handed you by
D. Mumford who is upon a Visit to the Camp—Y^r. &c

G Saltonstall

Lieut^t.

N. Hale.

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM BETSEY HALLAM

[Dated 29 Oct. 1775; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 26 Oct. 1899. See "Two Unpublished Letters to Hale" herein, for extract from her earlier letter of 17 Oct. 1775.]

NATHAN HALE FROM JOHN HALLAM

[1]

New London 12th Nov^r 1775

Dear Sir

I rec^d. a line from you at Roxbury, in compliance with which
I deliver'd your Letter Esq^r. Mumford, I could not get an Answer

time enough to send by the last Post, but have now sent it inclos'd in this which I hope will not come too late—we have nothing extraordinary passing amongst us, a Providence Brig arriv'd here about 3 weeks past with a small Quantity of the needfull—The Macaroni is Hourly expected—A report prevails that the Congress are fitting out a 36 & a 20 Gun Cruiser—

Maj^r. Elderkin has by order of the Assembly been consulting our principal Inhabitants & viewing our Harbour in order for fortifying it—'tis tho^t. a ten Gun Battery on Winthrops Neck, a five D°. [2] on Shaw's Neck & another on Groton Hill will be erected which with this nearly finish'd & some Intrenchments in Groton will be sufficient to set Wallace at defiance & make our Harbour a place of Safety————

Am Sir Y^r. Affec^t.

Friend J. H—

P.S. give my compliments to Cap^t. Hull & to the rest of my friends, don't omit writing me an acc^t. how his affair goes on—as the D————I wou'd have it on my return from Woburn I lost my way, & the first of my being sensible of my mistake was Mystick Meeting House presenting itself to view a breast of me (before this I took it to be Notomy which I pas'd thro' going up) you may Judge of my surprise & whether I walk'd my Horse or Gallop'd, every face I met reproach'd me with my eveni[n]g frolick & every Man I saw I tho^t. Col^l. H—

Cap^t. N. Hale

[3] Our Arm'd Brigg & Schooner lye at the Harbour mouth with flying Colours

[4] To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale

Col^l. Webb's Reg^t.

Winter Hill

p Post

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] John Hallam Nov. 12th.

1775 N.L.

[Original letter owned by George Dudley Seymour.]

NATHAN HALE FROM DAVID MUMFORD, JR.

[1]

To Cap^t Nathan HalePhilad^a. Novem^r 26 1775

Sir

Inclosed you have the Bill of the Breaches you desir'd me to get you when I was at Winter Hill, the Breaches I sent to my Fathers & I suppose he has forward'd befor this—

Nothing new transpireing only the Congress have fitted out a Ship of 30 Guns which will be along your Coast e'r long—

Conclude with giving my love to all Friends. & Interim

Remain Your Hbl^e Se[r]vant

David Mumford Jun^r.

P. S. Please write p every Opportunity that I may know what is going forward—

[2] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t Nathan Hale

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*]

David Mumford

Nov 26th. Dec 6th

1775 Phi

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

[1] Esteemed Friend

Your various Letters duly Received, it was no unwillingness in me that prevented my answ^g. them in course—The honest Reason though not a reputable one, I know will excuse Me to You, I'll therefore give it. I defer'd and defer'd to the last Mom^t and then something turn'd up tantamount to a sore Finger and in fact prevented me.

The Gov^r. & Council of Safety gave Orders last Week for the

Company in this Town to be continu'd to the sitting of the next Assembly, or 'till further Orders from s^d. Council—They appointed a Comt^e. to set about Erecting Fortifications at Winthrops Neck, Groton Hill, & Shaws Neck. The above Company to be improv'd in raising the Works &c The Comt^e. are “Col^{lo}. G S Ebenz^r. Ledyard Esq^r. M^r. Park Avery, M^r. Jn^o. Deshon M^r. Nath^l. Shaw J^r. and M^r. Josiah Waterous.” The last the Council seem to rely on as an Engineer, but as Sam^l. Whittemore say'd, I Quere &c for he says that Fifty Men will raise a proper Fortification at either of s^d. Places in three Weeks from this; which you know is impracticable at this advanced Season of the Year.

Commodore Hopkins has gone to Phil^a. to take charge of the Fleet, the Report is that Gov^{rs}. Dunmore and Martin are to be convoy'd by him to Phil^a.—Success attend him.

Doct^r. Church is in close Custody in Norwich Goal, the Windows boarded up, and he deny'd the use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, to have no converse with any Person but in presence of the Goaler, and then to Converse in no Language but English. Good God what a fall—

You saw in the Paper the Address to the King from the Merch^{ts}. &c of Manchester—Notwithstanding their pretending their Resources [2] are many, and so large that the American Nonimportation & exportation will be like the light dust of the Ballance, Yet to every one who will turn it in his Thoughts, it's utterly impossible but that y^e. prodigious Consumption of British Wares & Merchandize from Georgia to Nova Scotia, encluding Canady, the Reduction of w^h. I consider as already compleated must affect them sensibly, and they must recognize the consequence of America—

I wish New York was either ras'd to the Foundation, or strongly Garison'd by the American Forces; I greatly fear the Virtue of the Yorkers whose Religion is Trade, & whose God is Gain.

When the Army is new modled send me a List of the Arrangem^t. Are any of the Connecticut Companys to be disbanded? the Majors &c what are to become of them?

My Compliments to S. Webb, and Hull and other Friends—
Hempsted will wait no longer—Good b'y'e write me all the News
you can muster

Nov^r. 27th. 1775.

Y^r &c

Gilbert Saltonstall

Cap^t. N. Hale

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] G. Saltonstall Nov 27

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE ROGER ALDEN

[1]

N Haven Nov^{br}—28th—1775—

Dear S^r

If you had only once thought, how much Pleasure it would have given me, to receive a Letter from you, in your present Character & Situation, I am sure you could not have neglected writing to me by Capt Leavenworth—

If the Life & Business of a Soldier has worn off all that Friendship & Tenderness for me, which you have so often expressed by words & Actions—I shall try to reconcile myself to the Misfortune, & promise myself no more Happiness & Satisfaction, from him whom I once esteemed among the Number of my best Friends.—

It is very hard for me to entertain such an Opinion, of a Person of your Frankness & Sincerity, nor will I allow myself to indulge such a Thought, or be guilty of such an Odious Jealousy.

The Cares, Perplexities, & Fatigues of your Office, are Matters sufficient to vindicate your Conduct, & the Duty, which you owe to your own Honour & the Interest of your Country, is sufficient to employ your whole Time, & to justify you in the Dispensing with the Obligations of your old Friends & Acquaintance.—Reason, perhaps may co[n]vince me of this Truth, but w[e]re I to be Judge in the Affair, I am very sure that I should be very partial in my own Favour—

[2] I expect, that you will impute this long Chasm in our Correspondence to me, should you ever take it in your Head to write—but I pray that you will give equal Partiality to my Faults, & ascribe it to some strange, & hidden Cause in the Natural or Political System, & conclude that After the Revolution of Months & Years, Things have returned to their former Order & Regularity—but then I would only remind you, that you must be very careful to use your utmost Efforts to preserve them in [the same] Situation, in respect to their Motions & Conjunctions.—

I almost envy you your Circumstances, I want to be in the Army very much, I feel myself fit to relish the Noise of Guns, Drums, Trumpets, Blunderbuss, & Thunder; & was I qualified for a Birth, & of Influence sufficient to procure one I would accept it with all my Heart; I would accept of a Lieutenancy but should prefer an Adjutancy—but other more fortunate Young Persons are provided for, & poor I, must make myself contented where I am—think of my Condition, & then Imagine how high I estimate Yours—Give my best Love & Compliments to Keyes & Woodbridge, tell them I shall be very careful to answer all their Letters as well as your own—After you have thought over all this, tell yourself that no one loves you more than—Roger Alden.

[3] Cap^t Nathan Hale—

in the Army—

Cambridge—

p^r Cap^t Leavenworth

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Roger Alden Nov 28th—
Dec. 6.th

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM JOHN HALLAM

[1]

New London Dec^r. 2^d. 1775

Dear Sir

How is this? my messinger has come back & not a line from you? I've almost (as Agrippa said) a mind to brake of & not

write a word to you, & for the good I shall do I had better; I feel like a Fool & of Course my Letter must be nonsense, I write, not with a view of edifying you, nor of telling you news the first I can't do, & for News I've none to tell; well, what do I write for? Why, to take this opportunity to let you know that I am well hoping that these few Lines will find you in the same state of health. Ha, ha, ha, I'm fast aground; not another word can I remember when I began I tho^t. I could have fill'd half a side at least of good old fashion'd Letter stuff which has serv'd our honest ancestors (without altering a Single word) but Just transcribing for at least a Century—

I suppose you've had the particulars of Montreal's being in our possession, if not before you'll have it in our papers—

I am y^{rs} JH

[2] give my Comp^{ts}. to Ensign Hurlbu[tt] tell him I have sent another p Buckles [by] the Post.

Sunday Noon George Hurlbutt has Just arriv'd shall not send the Buckles—

[3] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale

Col^l. Webbs Reg^t.

Winter Hill

p Post

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] John Hallam Dec 2^d. 1775.

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

[1]

New London Dec^r. 4th. 1775.

Dear Sir

Hempsted tells me he did not see you the last Week, but by Sergeant Hurlbut who got home Yesterday forenoon I learn you are well, so conclude that Business of importance took up your time.

The behaviour of our Connectic^t. Troops makes me Heart sick—that they who have stood foremost in the praises and good Wishes of their Countrymen, as having distinguished themselves for their Zeal & Publick Spirit, should now shamefully desert the Cause; and at a critical Moment too, is really unaccountable—amazing. Those that do return will meet with real Contempt, with deserv'd Reproach—It gives great satisfaction that the Officers universally agree to tary—that is the Report, is it true or not?—May that God who has signally appear'd for us since the commencement of our troubles, interpose, that no fatal, or bad Consequence may attend a dastardly Desertion of his Cause—

I want much to have a more minute Acc^t. of the situation of the Camp than I have been able to obtain, I rely wholly on you for information—

Sally was Married last Night. Doct^r. Coits Wife is very ill—dangerous.

We have nothing of importance in Town in the military way to acquaint you of, expect the Ships that are at NewPort along this way, whenever the Maggot takes them My Compliment to Hull &c.

Cap^t. N. Hale

Your G. Saltonstall

[2] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale
Winter Hill

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] G. Saltonstall Dec 4th. 6th.
1775 N. L.

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM THOMAS U. FOSDICK

[1]

New London, Dec^r—7, 1775.

Dear Sir,

Ever since the uneasiness, which I have heard, persisting amongst the Connecticut Troops, I've form'd a Resolution to go

down to the assistance of my Countrymen, to facilitate which I have resigned my office as Serjeant in Col. Saltonstall's Comy—I make no doubt, Sir, but you can assist me to some such office, as I should choose to be in that Station, under you in particular;—if not, I am determined to come down—a hearty Boy, undanted by Danger. Ensign Hurlbut will write you concerning the above.

(in haste)

Your very hum^{ble} Serv^t

Tho^s. Updike [Fosdick]

[2] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale,

Winter Hill

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] [Tho^s.] Updike Fostwick
Dec 7th. 14th. [N.] L

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM JOHN HALLAM

[1]

New London Dec^r. 10th. 1775

Sunday Evening

Dear Sir

I rec^d. yours by the Post, which tho' short, believe me was very acceptable; your being on Picquet is a sufficient excuse, that you wrote no more—I must make an excuse for the shortness of mine of a similar kind; we have at length concluded to intrench along our Street, from Cap^t. N. Douglass's to Cap^t. W^m. Packwood, which we began Friday afternoon, on Saterdag we work'd, & likewise all *this Day* occasion'd by an alarm; & tomorrow & next Day we expect our Country Friends in to help us; we've had upwards of 200 Volunteers to work. The Alarm (I mention'd) was thus. Early this morning we rec^d. an Express from Ston-

ington, that a Ship & Tender was coming into their Harbour & several more was seen in the Offing, a few Hours after she made her appearance rou[n]d Easter Point; Judge you of the confusion, I never saw greater, nor did I ever see Men work with such spirit & prepare to fight with more resolution.

I think it impossible that the same number [2] of Men in the same time could do more work tho' most of us unus'd to the spade & Pick ax as witness my hands all of a Blister; the particulars of our proceedings I need not mention, but you may depend on't we did every thing we could; but (to our great Joy) by means of a spy Glass, as the ship drew nearer we discover'd her to be a Merchantman.

Our assembly is call'd this week it's said to raise 2000 men (to supply the place of those of our Troops that come away) till the army can be form'd

A Letter from Mr. Vendervert says about 12 ton of Powder the Last week arriv'd at Philadelphia

I had like to forgot to tell you that about 100 Men (all Volunteers) have been at work this week past on the Ledge of rocks about half way from the waters edge to the top of Groton Hill down by Chester which Place they mean to fortify well, the Col^l. is likewise with his Men building a good Battery on Winthrops Neck, at the same time our intrenchments go on Briskly; thus you see We have at Length wak'd from our Lethargy—we have so many demands for men that your Comp^y. fills slow Your Ensⁿ. has in all about 16 your Lieu^t. but few what George tells me he has wrote you is perhaps the [3] the reason of your Lieu^t. Poor success—the Col^l. Comp^y is not quite full, Shaw & Mumford by permit of the Congress have near a dozen vessels fitting out for Powder, Dudley Saltonstall beating up for Volunteers as he is appointed Cap^t. of a thirty Gun Frigate by the Congress, Cap^t. N. Saltonstall is his first Lieu^t. there is a number of recruiting officers among us besides yours so that your success is as good as you can expect—every Day brings acc^{ts}. of some Damage done our Vessels by the Gale of the 9th. to the Eastward, 10th. on our Coast, & 11th. of Sep^r. to the Southward; to the southward the damage is almost incredible—

when I sat down I did not expect to write so much, so I shall make no farther excuse for writing no more—

am S^r. Y^{rs}. J H

P. S. Comp^{ts}. from our Family—

To Cap^t. Nathan Hale

[4] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale

Col^l. Webb's Reg^t.

Winter Hill

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] John Hallam N. London
Dec 10th. 1775

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM ENSIGN GEORGE HURLBUT

[1]

New London Decem.^r 11.th 1775

Kinde Sir—

After Returning You My Sincere Thanks I would Inform You I Receiv,d Your Oblidging Letter Which was Dated of the 7th Instant wherein You Informb me the Soldiers was going Home A Sunday, I should be very Glad Sir, if You would Inform me how The Minds of our Soldiers is when I Came away They ware very Backward About Staying, When I was at Roxbury, they ware all in Confusion, they had About 30 Under Guard That was bound home, I was Almost Discou^r They ware all our Conneticut men, you May Depend upon it Sir, they will all Return Again, their friends will Receive them Very Cool, They all Blame them very Much hear, their is Some in our Company Will Return Again I am very Certain, their Parents has Enquird About Them, and Should Be very Glad to See them, but not to Stay Long, if they Don't Return Again they will be howted at all Along Street—— I wrote You A Letter By John Holt Concerning Fosdick I have Listed him A Private, he Listed upon theese Tirms, if he Could Git A Birth I was to Release him, [2] He has had the Offer of A Serj^t in Roxbury But Inclind, if you Sir have not engage yours

I Should be Glad if you would be kinde enoug To Give him the
Chance, he is A Good hearty fellow, And Them are the Men we
want, I will acquaint You A Little how they Go on hear, when I
was at Breckfast Yeasterday the news Come that their Was 4
Ships Turning Round fisher Island and The Old women began
to Preach and Cry, We Shall all Die,—By the Great Gun Bullets,
I Have not took So much Pleasure Since I Have Been hear, as I
did Yeasterday, I Long^d for You to be hear, they all hands workt
A Sunday—They have Begun to Intrench all A Long Street

But Least I Should weary Your Patience I will Conclude with
my Compliments to Capt Hull and the Maj^r if he is their—

From Your Sincere Friende

Hurlbut

N. B. M.^r Mumford has got Rum at 3/ P^r gallon And Like-
wise Sugar if you think it will Answer I will engage it, you must
Let me Know By the next Post it is as Cheap as any hear.

[Letter not addressed nor endorsed. Courtesy of the Connecticut
Historical Society.]

**NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
ELIHU MARVIN**

[1]

Norwich 15th Dec^r. 1775

S^r

Three month at Cambridge and not one line. . well I can't help
it, if a Cap^{ts}. Commission has all this effect, what will happen
when it is turned into a Colonel's—

Polly hears of one and another at New-London who have
letters from M^r. Hale but none comes to me Polly says.

Mrs Poole* was at Norwich sometime since and desired me to
enclose a letter for her which I engaged to do, but I was unfor-
tunately taken sick the night before the man sat out, and through
that indolence which you know is so natural to me I had neglected
to write sooner so was disappointed of fulfilling my engagement.

My disorder proved to be the Throat distemper with which I

* See the note at the bottom of page 19. It is significant that Elizabeth Adams,
after she became Mrs. Poole, kept up her interest in Hale.

was severely exercised for about a week but Blessed be God I have now recovered my health pretty well.

The fortifications are going on briskly at New-London and Groton . . . I hear at Stonington they are preparing to make the mos vigorous defences.

[2] James Hillhouse writes me they are preparing to give them a suitable reception at New-Haven. The assembly is now sitting nothing of their doings have as yet transpired but it is said the Governor call'd them together to see what shall be done with some Tories who are said to be troublesome in the Western part of the Colony you Know they are plenty there. . . .

We hear that a number of the settlers on the Susquehannah purchase are taken prisoners by the Pennymites. . . That assembly have taken up the matter and seem determined to proceed to bloodsh[ed], A sad Omen to the happy union that has as yet subsisted between the Colonies, Could our internal enemies wish for a more favourable event on their side.—

I make no doubt of its being a plan of the Tory party in the Pennsylvania assembly. What will be the event I know not but hope the allwise disposer of affairs will not suffer it to proceed to a rupture between the Two Colonies—

I am now Trespassing on my school hours so must conclude
your's Elihu Marvin

To Nathan Hale

[3] P. S. Miss Polly's compli^{ts}. to M^r. Hale. . . A letter would not be disagreeable—

[4] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale

Cambridge

favd by

Ens Cleveland

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Elihu Marvin

Dec 15th. 20th.

Nor^h.

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GEORGE HURLBUT

[1]

New London. Decem^r. 17th, 1775

Dear Sir—

This Sarves to Inform You I Receivd Yours of the 13.th Date, wherein You Inform^d Me You was upon Guard I Long to be with You, and hope to, before Long, I Lott out For to Set of from N L on Tuesday with Death and the Cobler, I have the Advantage Of Them, for I Can Travel night and Day, the old white horse is better to Me Than A Lanthorn—our Soldiers have All Arrivd to the famous City of N L all Safe, they feel as big as Lord north as for Pat he Struts About Street Like A bore Pigg, with his tale Cut off—You will Expect news but their is but very Little hear excepting Last Thursday Departed This Life old Patrick Robertson, I must Inform You that I have not Seen Lieut Chapman But* Since I wrote you Last—I must Also Inform You, that all hands is to work to Day upon the Neck by Dudly Salstonstall [2] I have Got 2 loves of Sugar of Ned Hallam he tells me he will Supply me with the other Articels as Cheap as Any one But Least I Should weary Your Patience I will Conclude with My Regards to Corp Woodbridge And bothe James Ward and James Dennis and any other that Enquire after Me

From Your Sincere friend—

Geo, H

P. S. My farther and Mother Joines Me in Love to You

To Cap.^t Nathan Hale

[3] David Mackduel has been put into the Brig N L | for Gitting Old Nat Williams' Daughter with Child I was Informb to Day that the Soldiers Brok open The Old Brig and Let him Loose, James Ward Can tell You the Vessels name—I have Seen David

* Blotted, and the capital 'S' of the next word is drawn through the 't' of 'But.'

to Day and I Believe he will Come with Me he Begs the favor
of You if he Comes that you will Make him your waiter

[*Addressed*]

To

Cap.^t Nathan Hale

att

Winter Hill

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Geo: Hurlbut Dec. 17.th
20.th 1775

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

[1]

New London Dec^r. 18th. 1775.

D^r. Sir

Yours of 13th. Ins^t. duly rec^d. for which am greatly oblig'd.
The Post was not in fault for not handing you a Letter from me
last Week, he could not deliver what he never was possess'd of.—
last Post Day I was at Wethersfield w^h. occasioned y^r. having no
Letter from me.

I wholly agree with you in y^e. agreeables of a Camp Life, and
should have try'd it in some Capacity or other before now, could
my Father carry on his Business without me. I propos'd going
with Dudley, who is appointed to Comm^d. a Twenty Gun Ship in
the Continental Navy, but my Father is not willing, and I can't
persuade myself to leave him in the Eve of Life against his
consent.

In speaking of Company you say "We may have that of our
Equals, or more know^g. *and some can* of less knowing*". Am I to
apply the latter clause to those (I would not choose to name
them) who prefer Grogg and Noise to the calm Disquisitions of
Wisdom & Instructⁿ. or to a certain Major who has not a Capacity
to improve?

* This word seems plainly to be *can*, but has been read *ean*: while that is
possible, it is less likely.

Tho' I have been absent this Week past, yet I can give you a Detail of Transactions in that Time.

[2] Yesterday week the Town was in the greatest confusion imagineable; Women wringing their Hands along Street, Children crying, Carts loaded 'till nothing more would stick on posting out of Town, empty ones driving in, one Person running this way, another that, some dull, some vex'd, none pleas'd, some flinging up an Intrenchment, some at the Fort preparing y^e. Guns for Action, Drums beating, Fifes playing; in short as great a Hubbub as at the confusion of Tongues; all this occasioned by the appearance of a Ship and two Sloops off the Harbour, suppos'd to be part of Wallaces Fleet.—When they were found to be (Friends.) Vessels from NewPort with Passengers y^e. consternation abated, and all fell to work at the Intrenchment, which runs from N. Douglasses to S. Bills Shop, they have been at Work eversince Yesterday Week when the Weather would permit, they work'd Yesterday at Winthrops Neck and are at it there today.—In some respects we are similar to a Camp, for Sunday is no Day of rest now.—You would hear the small Chaps (who mimick Men in everything they can.) cry out “Cut down the Tories Trees” there is not one of Cap^t. Jo: Coits Willows remaining in his [3] Lot back of his House, they are appropriated to a better use then he would ever have put them to—The Breastwork is much the better for them.

I might inform you of many little bickerings that occur daily, but as those who raise them are of no importance, and the Evils (if any.) are only local, it is not worth while to repeat them: Besides, you know y^e. Genius of the Town is a restless, discontented Spirit.

When I have observ'd the Malice and Envy which rages to a Flame in so many Breasts, the Slander, the illiberal & ungenerous Reflections which serve as Fuel to those Hellish Vices, I lament the Depravity of the Human Heart, and fall little short of a Misanthropist: But when I come across a Person of Candour, Reason, Justice and Sincerity with their attendant Virtues (I'd almost said a Person of either of those Endowments.) I feel a

generous glow within me, despise the base light in w^h. I view'd Human Nature, & become reconcil'd to my Species.

I have frequently desir'd you would send me an Arrangement of the Continent^l. Army, but as you have omitted it, conclude it is not yet compleated.

[4] What Brigadier has quitted y^e. Service, I learn there is a Vacancy?

The Soldiers can give no other Reason for not Enlisting, than the old Woman's, They wou'd not, cause the[y] wou'd not.

My Compliments to Cap^t. Hull, am very sorry to hear of his Illness, hope this will find him recruited.

I am with Sincerity

Your Friend

Gilbert Saltonstall

P. S. The Young Girls, B. Coit

S. & P. Belden* have frequently desir'd their Complim^{ts}: to Master, but I've never thought of mentioning it 'till now—You must write someth^g. in your next by way of P. S. that I may shew it them.

Cap^t. N. Hale

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] G. Saltonstall Dec 18th. 20th. N. L.

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM ROBERT LATIMER

[1] D^r Sir,

as I think myself under the greatest obligations to you for your Care and kindness to me, I should think myself very ungratefull, if I neglected any oppertunity of expressing my gratitude to you for the same. And I rely on that goodness, I have so often experienc'd to overlook the deficiencies in my Letter

* These girls were undoubtedly among those who attended Hale's school between the hours of five and seven in the morning.

which I am sensible will be many, as maturity of Judgment is wanting, and tho' I have been so happy as to be favour'd with Your instructions, you can't Sir, expect a finish'd letter from one, who has as yet practis'd but very little this way, especially with persons of your nice discernment.

Sir I have had the pleasure of hearing by the Soldiers, which is Come home, that you are in health, tho' likely to be deserted by all the men you carried down with you, which, I am very sorry for, as I think no man of any Spirit would desert a cause in which, we are all so deeply interested.—I am sure was my Mammy Willing I think I should prefer being with you, to all the pleasures which the Company of my Relations can Afford me.

I am Sir with respect y^r. Sincere friend

& Very H'ble S^t. Rob^t Latimer.

Dec^{br}., 20th. 1775—

P. S. My Mammy & Aunt Lamb presents Complim^{ts}. My Mammy would have wrote but being very busy, tho't my writing would be Sufficient—My respects to Cap^t. Hull

To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale

[2] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t. Nathan Hale

att

Winter Hill

p^r fav^r. of

Ens. Hurlbut

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] R. Latimer Dec 20th. 1775

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GEORGE HURLBUT

[1] Camp Winter Hill Dec.^r 28. 1775 Evening

Dear Sir

This Sarves to Let you Know that I Joind our Company Last Sunday and found them all In Good Spirits, I was very much

Disappointed in not Seeing you Hear, I am now A Going to Set Out for Bunker Hill But I Shant Go with So much Pleasure as if You was to Be With me, I have Drawn our Blank Money and Our Advance Pay and Left it with Capt Hull I am in Great Haste and So must Conclude with my Regards To You and any that you take to be My friends

From your Sincere friend

G Hurlbu[t]

[2] P: S: Give My Love to M.^r Hallam and wife Likewise to John And Betsy Remember My Love to Nat Richards and Any other that Enquire After me—

From your Good Old Friend

G—H

To Cap.^t Nathan Hale

N L

Please to Deliver the within

[3] [blank]

[4] [Addressed] To

Cap.^t Nathan Hale

att

New London

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Ens.ⁿ George Hurlbut Dec 28. 1775

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GEORGE HURLBUT

[1]

Camp Winter Hill Jan.^y 4th 1776—

How Fairs it Cap.^t.—

I have waited with A Great Deal of Patience expecting every Post would bring Me A Letter, as you are in Debt to me for one, I thought I Could not Dispencc with My Duty Unles I wrote

you A* few Lines to Let you Know how we Gos on hear we are all well Hear and in Good Spirits as ever I was very Much unwel when Serj^t Hempsted went away It was nothing but the effects of Bunker Hill I took A very Bad Coald that night Sir I hope the next Time I See you, it will be in Boston, A Drinking A Glass of wine with me If we Can but have A Bridge we Shall Make a Push to Try our Brave Courage—I have Bad news to Tell you Brown is Confind for Attempting to Run one of our men through the Heart with A Bag^{t†} His Behavior is been So bad that I Could not put Up with it any Longer and I have Confind him The Col^o has been to all the Cap^t and Says every One that behaves in Such A Manner Shall be Whipt and Drumbd out of Camp and, he has Desird me to write to you for To be Careful who you Inlist he was Confind Last week and would have been whip and Drumbd out of Camp if it had not been for theese orders It Come out in General orders that all Prissoner Should [2] Be Dismist I have Got Clar of Deorrity and I Have Inlisted A Fifer and Could have Inlisted a Genteel Drummer if it had not have been For Remblington I wish^t Chapman further of for Inlisting of him, but I am in hopes Remblington Will Learn the Ravillee yet—I have Nothing worth Taking up Your Time to Read And So will Conclude with my Love to you

From Your Sincere Friend

G H

P. S. Please To Give my Love to M^{rs} Latimer and Robert Likewise to Nat Richard Except the Same to Your Self Due write as Often as You Can and You will Oblidge Your hum^l Serv^t G H—Let me know where Fosdick is and Maynard he is Loth to Come but you Must Send him A Long I have Returnd Him their is Alpheus Chappel I Inlisted at N L if you think him worth Bringing

[3] You must Stop Browns wages to Pay For what he has Receivd out of The Continental Store I have Paid him Thirty

* 'A' written over 'one.'

† Bagonet and bagnet were old forms of the word bayonet.

Shillings and 6 s I Lent Him He will be Whipt and Drumb,d out
of Camp

I wish you A Happy New Year

[4]

To

Cap.^t Nathan Hale

New London

P^r fav^r of Corp^l

Woodbridge

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Ensⁿ. Geo: Hurlbut

Jan^y. 4. 1776

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE
REVEREND WILLIAM ROBINSON

New Haven Feb^y 19th, 1776

Dear Sir

I dare say you will readily allow that from my present studies & my future designs in Life I may claim a right to an equal share with the *Soldier* in those tender feelings of Friendship which in yours of the 9th Inst. you justly observe "ought to be his distinguishing characteristic" & that I may with equal propriety "converse with my Friends without flattery & write to them without apology"—That I have ever since the commencement of our intimate acquaintance convers'd with you in this way you are yourself my witness & that I shall still continue the same in my Letters you will need no further proof than you at this instant hold in your hand.

You are pleas'd with your conditions & companions & are therefore happy. I rejoice at it with all my heart & sincerely wish that your happiness may continue a long time tho' in some other situation (ie) I wish we may not long need your service in the Field but that our injured bleeding country may shortly be delivered from her present melancholy situation & how my dear Friend shall *we* hope this event so much to be desired so earnestly

to be sought for by everyone is to be brought about? is it by a reconciliation with the (falsly call'd) parent state? that cannot, it is not to be expected.

The King is still stretching (as he is pleas'd to call it) his rod of *paternal* Authority over us—the Ministry seem fully determined upon driving matters to the last extremity—the corrupt & venal Parliament are almost intirely in their interest & have resolv'd to support his *sacred* Majesty in the full exertion of his *royal Authority*—there is indeed a small minority in our favour, which is *indeed* but as the small dust of the balance for I'm sure they weigh nothing in the scale which like Homer's Troy "strikes the sky." from this quarter then we can derive no relief.

Since then we must at all events have War & that without any alternative it stands us in hand attentively to consider what steps may be pursued with the greatest probability of success and to go into them without hesitation.

Whether we ought in point of advantage to declare ourselves an independent state & fight as independents or still continue to resist as subjects is a question which has of late very much engross'd in these parts the conversation of every rank more especially since the appearance of a little Pamphlet entitled common sense—Appropos of common sense have you seen it? Upon my word 'tis well done.—'tis what would be *common* sense were not most Men so blinded by their prejudices that their *sense* of things is not what it ought to be.—I confess a perusal of it has much reform'd my notions upon several points & I hope it may have the same effect upon many others—I own myself a *staunch independent* and ground my principles upon almost innumerable arguments.—I can see no one advantage we now have that would be less[e]ned by such a declaration, but many that we now have not which we would derive from it.—I sincerely believe that it would be the shortest method of bringing the War to an end and would in fine prove the salvation & glory of the Continent—

Dear Nathan the society only of a few *old* Friends is wanting to render my situation here perfectly agreeable. I study or divert myself as I please & am at Liberty from all the World: & now I'm speaking of my old Friends Pray can you forward me

a Letter to *Rev^d*. M^r. Samson. I'll thank you if you'll take the trouble to inquire for him & if you find it practicable inform me of it, perhaps you may get information from Lieut. Col. Alden of Duxbury whose station the last summer was at Roxbury & in whose regiment M^r. Sampson was occasionally Chaplain.—

I remain your sincere Friend

W Robinson

M^r Dwight

sends you a subscription paper
for printing his Poem. Pray get
as many subscribers as
possible that we may soon
have it out—

[From the collection of the late Mr. W. F. Havemeyer, of New York. The letter is addressed "To Cap^t. Nathan Hale, Roxbury Camp—By Cap^t. Perrit," and endorsed by Hale. The compiler has not been able to verify the text from the original. The reference in the postscript is to Timothy Dwight and to his epic, "The Conquest of Canaan." See Dwight's letter, which follows.]

NATHAN HALE FROM TIMOTHY DWIGHT JUN.

[1] Dear Sir

The many civilities I have already received at your hands, embolden me to trouble you with the inclos'd. The design you will learn from a perusal of it. As such a publication* must be founded on an extensive subscription, I find myself necessitated to ask the assistance of my friends. To a person of M^r. Hale's character (motive of friendship apart) fondness for the liberal arts would be a sufficient apology for this application. As I was ever unwilling to be under even necessary obligations, it would have been highly agreeable, could I have transacted the whole business myself. Since that is impossible, I esteem myself happy in reflecting that the person, who may confer this obligation, is a Gentleman, of whose politeness and benevolence I have already experienced so frequent, and so undoubted assurances. If you

* The publication referred to was "The Conquest of Canaan," in which Dwight subsequently inserted his celebrated tribute to Hale.

will be so kind, my *Dear Sir*, as to present the inclos'd to those Gentlemen & Ladies, of the circle with which you are connected, whom you may think likely to honour the poem with their encouragement, and return it with their Names, by a convenient opportunity, it will add one to the many instances of esteem with which you have obliged your very sincere Friend,

and most Humble Servant

Timothy Dwight Jun

M^r Nathan Hale

Feb^y 20 1776.

Comp's to Capt. Hull, M^r E. Hunt'g [Lieut. Ebenezer Huntington] & the rest of my acquaintance in Camp.

I would beg the favor of you to forward a letter which will be delivered to you by Capt Perit for Doct Brackett of Portsmouth, as you have connections there you may probably do it without inconvenience

[2] [*Addressed*] To—

Capt Nathan Hale

Roxbury—

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] T. Dwight

Feb^y. 20th. 1776

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE ELIHU MARVIN

[1]

Norwich 26 Feb. 1776

S^r. Recieved yours by M^r. Richards. . . I did not send by the post however I wrote and expected it would have gone sometime since. The reason I did not send by the post was I understood he rode by subscription and that nonsubscribers paid Postage, which I supposed you would think dear. But I find he brings letters for me and demands nothing however the matter is I intend to know soon and be able to send in a Constitutional way . . . One piece

of news; I have set out to manufacture Salpetre, hope the Army in future will be in no want of powder for I have extracted at least *half a pound*.

It is said in Letterwriting it is best to write what comes uppermost . . . but what think you had I best tell you how mad [2] I have been to day or not? . . I rather doubt it; and yet since I have raised your curiosity I believe I must in some measure gratify it. I think as we were walking down street I told you something of our affairs in the Light Infantry company . . We have this day been *pretending* to exercise and manoeuvre, and as is usual mustered one Commision Officer and for matter of what he knew about discipline we might as well have been without *him* . . . To put one's self to some considerable cost to fix to have raised expectations of making some appearance, to attract the attention of men of skill and judgement, as well as to equip ourselves to serve our Country, and then to be haw'd about by a set of Ignoramus's and made the sport and ridicule of spectators you may well think will stir old Adam especially in a person whose vanity tells him if the Tables were turned matters would not work just so. . . —

- [3] What scheme shall now poor Corp^l. lay
 Since Polly's gone, an still doth stay;
 If there I knock they bid me walk in
 But Polly's not in hall or kitchen.
 Then out he goes and does not tarry
 Whilst Cretia cries "pray what's your hurry";
 By that time this is fairly done
 Lo! Tom. replies the Corp^l.s gone,
 He's gone 'tis true replete with cheer
 But hardly knows which way to stear.
 When musing thus within himself
 "Near by lives Nathan's other self,
 "Poor Girl she's left almost alone,
 "Since Neighbour Hale's been gone from home
 "By Nature's Laws we are directed
 "To visit such as are afflicted."

Then onward strait directs his course
 To seek and find the weeping house,
 When there: the Lady drown'd in tears
 With sad complaints doth fill his ears.
 "Behold (she cries) the Cap^t. cruel
 "Hath left me neither food nor fuel;
 "Oh more than frozen, *guilty* heart,
 "That could with so much ease depart
 "And leave me here, as yet untried
 "A poor, forsaken helpless bride."
 Her heart to ease, her mind to calm,
 He then pours in the friendly balm
 Of honor gaind, of service done
 A treasure which he'll sure bring home*
 The side is full, the rhyme is bad
 So I'll leave off and go to bed
 Of this if you are quite observant
 You'll find I'm still your humb^l. Serv^t.

E. Marvin

[4] P. S. forwarded directly to N. London by M^r Richards.

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] E. Marvin Feb^y. 26th. 1776

[Courtesy of Yale University.]

NATHAN HALE FROM ROBERT LATIMER

[1]

New London March 5th 1776

Dear Sir,

as my letters meet with such kind reception from you, I still continue writing & hope that the desire I have of improving, added to the pleasure, I take in hearing often from so good a friend, will sufficiently excuse me for writing so often—I Rec^d your kind letter S^r pr the post & can't deny but your approbation, of my writing, gives me the greatest pleasure, & should be afraid of its rais.^s my pride; did I not Consider that your intention in

* The next four lines and the signature are written in the margin.

praising my poor performance, must be with a design, of raising in me an ambition, to endeavour to deserve your praise—and I hope that instructions convey'd in such an agreeable manner, will not, be thrown away upon me—— [2] You write S^r that you have got another Fifer, & a very good one too, as I hear. Which I am very Glad to hear, tho' I sincerely wish I was in his Place—

Have not any News.

So will Conclude— I am S^r

with Respect Y^r. friend & S't,

Robert Latimer.

P. S.

My Mammy & Aunt

Present Comp^{ts} &c—

Cap^t Hale

[*Addressed*]

To

Cap^t

Nathan Hale

att

Roxbury—

[3] [*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] R. Latimer

March 5th 1776*

[Original in possession of George Dudley Seymour.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE ELIHU MARVIN

[1]

Norwich 17th March 1776

Reciev'd yours of the 10th Inst: obliged for the news . . . I am sorry since to hear that the attempt to secure the Point has failed, and especially that it was through the misconduct of our own people . . . If I have been rightly informed it is a direct instance to shew the necessity of discipline . . . which (between you and

* Under this is written in the handwriting of Dr. Sprague, collector of autographs in the middle of the nineteenth century: "This endorsement is in the hand writing of the celebrated Capt. Nathan Hale."

I) I fear is greatly wanting among our Troops . . . that it should as yet be wanting is not strange . . . but if we who are indulging ourselves in ease here at home, may be allowd to judge from hearsay, I think we have but too much reason to fear, that the true notion of discipline is but very little relish'd or understood even by officers . . if this is the case surely so long as it continues so obedience and subordination can never be rationally expected from the soldiers . . .

I was going on further with my sentiments in regard to discipline, but as my time is short and the subject copious I will defer it for the present.

[2] We hear you are like to be sent this way

Transports are preparing in great haste at the Landing . . I[f] you are hope to have a social chat or so . . .

It is too dark to write

P. S. wanting.

E. Marvin

[3] [*blank*]

[4] [*Addressed*] To

Cap^t Nathan Hale

Roxbury

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] E. Marvin 17 March

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM GILBERT SALTONSTALL

[New London, March 18, 1776]

[A Saltonstall letter of this date was sold at auction at Philadelphia, April 15, 1913; now owned by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits. See "Two Unpublished Letters to Hale" herein, with special reference to page 86.]

NATHAN HALE FROM CHURCH & HALLAM, OF NEW LONDON

[1] Sir

Mr. Shaw has promis^d us to pay some money in New York, which if you receive in whole or in part Apply in the following

manner, viz^t. pay M^r. David Seabury merch^t. £50, Lawfull Money, to Mess^r. Van Vleck & Kip, £ 37. 10— Lawful which is £50 yorck, The Ball^e £ 62..10 — Pay to Elias Desbrosses Esq^r. merch^t, if you do not receive but £100 Lawfull in stead of £150, omit paying to Van Vleck & Kip any Thing, if you will call on M^r. Shaw and transact the Bussiness for us you will do us a kindness, pleas to take Rec^{ts}. of those you pay to, on our Account & send them us P. the first Oppertunity p^r. post—which will much oblige

Sir your humble Serv^t,
Church & Hallam

Cap^t. Nathⁿ. Hale

New London 26th. March 1776—

[2] [*Addressed*] Capt
Nathⁿ. Hale

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] Church & Hallam 26th. March

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE FROM "P. H."

[The compiler has thus far failed to identify P. H.]

[1] Norwich May 14th 1776

Your much esteem'd favour I rec'd Yesterday did not (at the receipt of it) think I shou'd so soon answer it, as I this Morning propose'd sitting out on a Journey in hopes to regain my health which is much impair'd, hope an agreeable Tour will restore my Usial health and spirits.

I dont think the first of your letter deserves an answer Unless its by reproof, the Ladies who you have so drolly described have learnt you to Compliment: how easy it is for your sex even in the most trivial matters to ridicule ours to a great length, the description of there heads was not a little diverting I confess, a sight of e'm woud be more so I believe.

I write without consulting M^r M shall just request him to inclose this, I shou'd never have ventured to wrote you, had I

suspected your Prudence, be Assured my reason was good for so expresing myself.

The perusal of M^r Marvin's letter, (which he was kind enough to favor me with) excited in me the most tender & friendly concern tho it was past, perhaps you are expose'd to as much now, or are liable to be every hour, may the same Prese[r]ving Power that has so far conducted you, protect you in every hour of distress.

As I collect but little News, its not in my power to give you much, I dare say it will be a pleasure to you to hear Betsey G has entirely recoverd her health, Our friend Lucretia I hear is Courted by M^r Wait* I have wrote her several times, but have not questiond her about it, I doubt not the truth of it.

The Clouds begin to disperse, beleive we shall have a fine afternoon, imagine I shall set out, must therefore quit my pen tho not without Assuring you of the friendship & best wishes of your sincere

P H

[2] [*Addressed*] To

Capt Nathan Hale

[*Endorsed in Hale's handwriting*] P H

May 14th

[Owned by George Dudley Seymour.]

NATHAN HALE TO HIS BROTHER ENOCH HALE

New York, May 30th, 1776.

Dear Brother,

Your favor of the 9th. of May, and another written at Norwich I have received—the former yesterday. You complain of my neglecting you; I acknowledge it is not wholly without reason—at the same time I am conscious to have written you more

* Marvin Wait, a cousin of Elihu Marvin, was an older man and already established in the practice of law. He courted Lucretia Hubbard but did not marry her. His second wife (he had three) was the widow of Hale's great friend, Gilbert Saltonstall. Chief-Justice Wait was his grandson.—G. D. S.

than once or twice within this half year. Perhaps my letters have miscarried.

I am not on the end of Long Island, but in New York, encamped about one mile back of city. We have been on the Island, and spent about three weeks there, but since returned. As to Brigades: we spent part of the Winter at Winter Hill in Genl. Sullivan's—thence we were removed to Roxbury, and annexed to Genl Spencer's—from thence we came to New York in Genl Heath's; on our arrival we were put in Genl. Lord Sterling's; here we continued a few days, and were returned to Genl. Sullivan's; on his being sent to the Northward, we were reverted to Lord Sterling's, in whose Brigade we now remain. In the first detachment to the Northward under Genl. Thomson, Webb's regiment was put down; but the question being asked whether we had many seamen, and the reply being yes, we were erased and another put down in our place.

We have an account of the arrival of Troops at Halifax, thence to proceed on their infamous errand to some part of America.

Maj. Brooks informed me last evening, that in conversation with some of the frequenters at Head Quarters he was told that Genl. Washington had received a packet from one of the sherrifs of the city of London, in which was contained the Debates at large of both houses of Parliament—and what is more, the whole proceedings of the Cabinet. The plan of the summer's campaign in America is said to be communicated in full. Nothing has yet transpired; but the prudence of our Genl. we trust will make advantage of the Intelligence. Genl Gates (formerly Adj. Genl. now Maj^r Genl) is gone to Philadelphia, probably to communicate the above.

Some late accounts from the northward are very unfavorable, and would be more so could they be depended on. It is reported, that a fleet has arrived in the River; upon the first notice of which our army thought it prudent to break up the siege and retire—that in retreating they were attack'd and routed, Numbers kill'd, the sick, most of the cannon and stores taken. The account is not authentic: We hope it is not true.

It would grieve every good man to consider what unnatural monsters we have as it were in our bowels. Numbers in this Colony, and likewise in the western part of Connecticut, would be glad to imbrue their hands in their Country's Blood. Facts render this too evident to admit of dispute. In this city such as refuse to sign the Association have been required to deliver up their arms. Several who refused to comply have been sent to prison.

It is really a critical Period. America beholds what she never did before. Allow the whole force of our enemy to be but 30,000, and these floating on the Ocean, ready to attack the most unguarded place. Are they not a formidable Foe? Surely they are.

[Nathan Hale.]

[As given in I. W. Stuart's "Life of Captain Nathan Hale," 1856, pp. 64-67.]

NATHAN HALE TO ENOCH HALE*

[1]

New York June 3^d 1776.

Dear Brother,

Your Favour of the 9th. of May and another written at Norwich I have received—the first mentioned on the 19th. of May Ult.—

You complain of my neglecting You—It is not, I acknowledge, wholly without Reason—at the same time I am conscious to have written to you more than once or twice within this half Year. Perhaps my letters have miscarried.

I am not on Long Island, as you suppose; but in New York, encamped about 1 mile back of the City. We have been on the Island, and spent about three weeks there, but since returned.

As to Brigades: at the beginning of the Campaign we were at Winter-hill in Gen^l. Sullyvan's; from thence we were removed to Roxbury & annexed to Gen^l. Spencers; we marched from that place [2] here in Gen^l. Heath's; on our arrival we were put in Gen^l. Lord Sterling's; here we continu[ed] a few days and we

* A facsimile reproduction of this letter will be found in the Appendix.

returned to Gen^l. Sullyvan's; on his being ordered to the northward we reverted to Lord Sterling, in whose Brigade we still remain.

In the first detachment to Canada under Gen^l. Thomson, Webb's Regiment was put down; but the question being asked whether we had many Seamen & the answer being yes, we were erased and another put down in our place. . —Our Continuance or removal from here depends wholly upon the operation of the War.

It gives pleasure to every friend of his Country to observe the health which prevails in our army. Doct^r Eli (Surgeon of our Reg^t.) told me a few days since, there was not a man in our Reg^t. but might upon occasion go out with his Firelock. Much the same is said of other Regiments.

[3] The army is every day improving in Discipline & it is hoped will soon be able to meet their enemy at any kind of play.—My company, which at first was small, is now increased to eighty & there is a Sergeant recruiting who I hope has got the other 10 which compleats the Company.

We are hardly able to judge as to the number the British army for the Summer is to consist of—undoubted sufficient to cause us too much bloodshed.

Gen^l. Washington is at the Congress, being sent for thither to advise on matters of Consequence.

I had written you a compleat letter in answer to your last but missed the opportunity of sending it.

This will probably find you in Coventry—if so rember [*sic*] me to all my [4] friends—particularly belonging to the Family. Forget not frequently to visit & strongly to represent my duty to our good Grand-mother Strong. Has she not repeatedly favoured us with her tender most important advice? The natural Tie is sufficient, but increased by so much goodness, our gratitude cannot be too sensible—I always with respect remember M^r. Huntington—& Shall write to him if time admits. Pay M^r Wright a visit for me. Tell him Asher is well—he has for some time lived with me as a waiter. I am in hopes of obtaining him

a Furlough soon, that he may have opportunity to go home, see his friends, and get his Summer Clothes.

Asher this moment told that our Brother Joseph Adams was here Yesterday to see me, when I happened to be out of the way. He is in Col^l. Parson's Reg^t. I intend to see him to day and if possible by exchanging get him into my Company.

Yours affectionately.

N. Hale

P. S. Sister Rose talked of making me some Linen Cloth Similar to brown Holland for Summer ware. If she has made it desire her to keep it for me. My Love To her the Doctor & Little Joseph—

[The original letter is owned by George Dudley Seymour, who secured it from Miss Ellen Day Hale, a daughter of Rev. Edward Everett Hale, grandson of Enoch Hale to whom it was addressed. The early paragraphs are virtually identical with those of a letter from Nathan to Enoch which Stuart gave, dated three days earlier. The "Stuart letter," dated May 30, 1776, would seem to have been the first draft, probably not sent, of this letter of June 3, 1776, and is doubtless the "compleat letter" mentioned above as not sent.]

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY HALE To "P. H.", Presumably, June, 1776.

Your two favours of May 14th & June 3d. I received soon after the date of the last. They were no less pleasing than they were unexpected. The first gave me some concern where it informs of your impaired State of health, but it was more than removed when I found you was recovering, by the last. I can't convey to you the grateful emotions excited by the tender concern you express for me when in danger. The risque I had run was not trifling. My escape demanded the most heartfelt gratitude.*

Your Journey to Weathersfield,—an opportunity of seeing your friends and particularly Mrs. Buck, must have been (as far

* The reference apparently is to the exploit of cutting out a sloop loaded with supplies from under the guns of the British man-of-war *Asia*.—G. D. S.

as your health would permit) agreeable.—I am always glad to hear from Mr. Tallmadge, but more so to see him, which, Thank God, I have now the happiness frequently to do.

[In Hale's handwriting, undated, unaddressed, and unsigned, probably the draft of a reply to the letters of P. H. This document was owned by the author's friend, Frederick Winthrop Allen (Yale, 1900), who was so greatly interested in Hale, and who was the prime mover in having Pratt's Hale placed upon the Yale College Campus.]

NATHAN HALE FROM HIS CLASSMATE ELIHU MARVIN

[1]

Norwich 11th June 1776Kind S^r

Am much obliged for your particular history of the adventure aboard the prize; wish you would acquaint me with every incident of good or ill fortune which befalls you in your course of Life. The whole journal I hope some time or other to peruse . . you are sensible that I am not in a way to meet with adventures new or interesting Teaching, scolding and Flogging is the continual round. . . I am surprised when I reflect on my situation, once I could enter my school and spend my hours with pleasure, but them scenes are now past . . in short I have come to be one of your fretting teasing pedagogues and think hard of Quitting. . . For these some Months I have been like a person half distracted. . . I know not what to do with myself. . . I think of this, that and the other calling, and know not which to prefer, then my bleeding Country awakes my attention, and seems to demand me in the field . . then I look at my scarified half famish'd supporter and am discouraged . . Figure to your self an entire stranger set down in the Central [2] point of an hundred paths in which he can scarce discern a track by reason of briers and thorns yet through some of which he must pass or starve in the spot, and you will see your friend. . .

For News I shall refer you to M^r. Nevins. My hearty prayer to God for my Country is that he would preserve peace and harmony among our selves. . . I greatly fear some of America's

greatest and most dangerous enemies are such as think themselves her best friends. . . In what other light can we consider such men as profess themselves firm friends to her cause, and yet are spiriting up their neighbours to fall on the Merchant and compel him to sell his goods at their own price. . . Had we virtue to deny ourselves our foolish passions, and assist each other to the end I think we need not fear the Boasted power of Britain with all her train of Confederate Mercenaries—

What an appearance must Britain make in the eyes of other Nations, who, even whilst she is loudly proclaiming her kindness in nourishing and defending her infant offspring in America, is, upon the first notice of peevishness and ill humor obliged to intreat, and even hire her neighbours to assist in correcting it. . . Alas! degenerate Britain no longer boast thyself mistress of the World!—

E. Marvin

To Cap^t. Hale

N. B. Nevins is on the hill every night. Polly, says she writes by him. . . The Ladies are all in good spirits.

[3] [blank]

[4] [Addressed] To

Cap^t. Hale

New York

By

Lieu^t. Nevins

[Endorsed in Hale's handwriting] 11 June E. Marvin

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

NATHAN HALE TO ENOCH HALE

New York, Aug. 20th 1776

Dear Brother,

I have only time for a hasty letter. Our situation has been such this fortnight or more as scarce to admit of writing. We

have daily expected an action—by which means if any one was going, and we had letters written, orders were so strict for our tarrying in camp that we could rarely get leave to go and deliver them.—For about 6 or 8 days the enemy have been expected hourly, whenever the wind and tide in the least favoured.—We keep a particular look out for them this morning. The place and manner of attack time must determine. The event we leave to Heaven. Thanks to God! we have had time for compleating our works and receiving our reinforcements. The militia of Connecticut ordered this way are mostly arrived. Col. Ward's Reg^t has got in. Troops from the southward are daily coming. We hope under God, to give a good account of the Enemy whenever they choose to make the last appeal

Last Friday night, two of our fire vessels (a sloop & schooner) made an attempt upon the shiping up the River. The night was too dark the wind too slack for the attempt. The schooner which was intended for one of the ships had got by before she discovered them; but as Providence would have it, she run athwart a bomb-catch which she quickly burn'd The sloop by the light of the former discovered the Phoenix—but rather too late,—however she made shift to grapple her, but the wind not proving sufficient to bring her close along side, or drive the flames immediately on board, the Phoenix after much difficulty got her clear by cutting her own rigging. Sergt. Fosdick who commanded the above sloop and four of his hands were of my company, the remaining two were of this Reg^t. The Gen^l has been pleased to reward their bravery with forty dollars each except the last man that quitted the firie sloop who had fifty. Those on board the schooner receive the same. I must write to some of my other brothers lest you should not be at home. remain your friend & Brother

N. Hale.

Mr. Enoch Hale.

[Original was in the estate of the late Rev. Edward Everett Hale and has since been sold. The compiler has not been able to verify the text from the original.]

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS TO HALE

[Two letters to Hale, one from Betsey Hallam, the other from Gilbert Saltonstall, owned by Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, are not at present available for full publication, and the compiler therefore reprints here from his book, "Hale and Wyllys," 1933, extracts from these letters and his own comments concerning them.]

Hale, as I was fully satisfied at the time I wrote and published my paper on his "Last Words," was familiar with Addison's "Cato"; and now, after all these years, it is a great satisfaction to me to learn from my friend and fellow-antiquary, Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, Chief of the Manuscript Division of The New York Public Library, and a life-long student of Hale's story, that he has, in his possession, an unprinted letter to Hale from Betsey Hallam, of New London, under date of October 17, 1775, in which there is a quotation of nine lines from the "Cato." As Betsey quotes them, they are as follows:

Remember O my friend the laws the rights
The generous plan of power delivered down
From age to age by your renown'd forbathers
So dearly bought the price of so much blood
Oh let it never perish in your hands
But piously transmit it to your Children
Do thou great liberty inspire our souls
And make our lives in thy possession happy
Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence.

Betsey Hallam was a daughter of Amos Hallam, a highly respected citizen of New London, as his forbears had been for generations before him. Hale was on intimate terms with the Hallams; he corresponded not only with Betsey, but also with her brothers, Edward and John. Her sister Lydia was a particular friend of Hale, and Chancellor Walworth, in his "History of the Hyde Family" asserts, in a footnote, that she was engaged to him—a current tradition encountered by Miss Caulkins when engaged upon her "History of Norwich." I cannot prove the point, but I have little doubt that Betsey Hallam was one of the New London girls who attended Hale's "morning class of young ladies," which was held between the hours of five and seven in the summer of 1774, as elsewhere recorded.

Under all the circumstances, I find that I cannot divest myself of the conviction that sometime, somewhere, Hale had placed Addison's tragedy of "Cato" before the young woman, and that her quotation from it, in her letter to him when he was at the Front, was preceded by discussions of the play when he was teaching in New London. How else could Betsey have become familiar with the "Cato," at most beyond brief quotations from it, save through the schoolmaster? Young women of her time and class were not literary (though voluminous letter writers!), and whatever may be said of the Hallams, they were not literary. Conjecture, however unrestrained, offers no other explanation of Betsey's quotation from the "Cato" in her letter to Hale than that ultimately he was responsible for it. She, peradventure, may have seen the last three lines of her quotation in *The Massachusetts Spy*, since in those days newspapers were widely traveled, but that would not account for the preceding lines of her quotation. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Hale had with him in New London, when teaching school, a copy of the "Cato," and that when he marched away to the Front he left the book, perhaps with others, with his good friends, the Hallams, and that Betsey had it before her when she wrote her letter—a natural enough thing to do, with a pretty touch of sentiment added. Hale, it is easy to see from what we know about him, was "an adored object" in the eyes of the opposite sex, in which he had an ardent interest—and we like him the better for it.

Whatever the fact may be, it seems certain from this letter of Betsey Hallam's to Hale that Hale was at least familiar with the "Cato," else she would not have written him as she did. It is particularly significant, as pointed out by Mr. Paltsits, that her quotation forecasts an idea probably already present in Hale's mind, that death was glorious in defense of one's country. It is even more than likely, as I judge Hale's temper, that he had even discussed with her the subject of dying for one's country.

Dr. Paltsits also calls my attention to an unprinted letter in his possession, written to Hale on March 18, 1776 (only about six months before his execution), by Gilbert Saltonstall, of New

London, one of Hale's most devoted friends and correspondents. From it we can divine, as Mr. Paltsits again points out, "the operation of their mutual thinking." In this letter, Saltonstall discussed an incident from the life of Oliver Cromwell, who, to quote from the letter itself:

"Order'd a Col^o with his Party to march in Sword in Hand, the Colon^l knowing it to be instant Death hesitated, and rather declin'd," whereupon the General shot him; and the same transpired with the Lieutenant Colonel. Then came the Major, whom the General asked "if he refus'd, he Answerd, he knew it was immediate Death, but as it was the Generals Orders he would obey them—He led on his Men, the Town was carried, and the Maj^r was the only Person of that Detachm^t that survived."

Here we return now to the letter of February 25, 1932, from Dr. Paltsits to the writer. He says:

Thereupon Saltonstall discusses the quality of "personal Bravery" in the face of certain death, and the shocking impulses that must be felt "in the thought that he is to quit existance." Now Saltonstall takes up another case at the siege of Tortona, comparing this case with the former one. The difference was, that in the first case the Major would have been shot for disobeying, and was taking a better chance by obeying; whereas, in the second case an Irish officer was informed by his superior that he was being sent by him with his party so the enemy would "spring a Mine below you," bringing certain death, whereupon he "bow'd to the Gen^l and led on his Men in silence to the dreadful Post," etc., all of which Saltonstall adjudged to be the greater obedience to duty.

Such exchanges with his closest friends could not fail to go deep into the very fiber of Nathan Hale's mind, influence his resolution, and confirm his decisions.

These two letters to Hale from Betsey Hallam and Gilbert Saltonstall show that, months before Hale made his supreme sacrifice, the matter of it had been deep in his mind, and when the trial came he was ready for it. I cannot but add here my grateful acknowledgments to Dr. Paltsits for his contributions to this essay on Hale.

NATHAN HALE TO [?]

[Autograph letter, signature torn off; sold at auction in Philadelphia, 12 Nov. 1907. The compiler has no further knowledge than the mention in the dealer's catalogue.]

A MISSING LETTER WRITTEN BY HALE**To a Girl Visiting at the Shaw Mansion**

Many years ago my attention was called to a reported auction sale, at a high figure, of an autograph letter written by Hale to a young lady, who was, at the time, a guest of the Shaw family in the famous Shaw mansion in New London, inviting her to accompany him and watch the sunset from the rocks behind the house. I wrote many letters, and made some inquiries in the hope of locating the letter in question, but I never succeeded in getting any trace of it.

I now find in a book, by Ernest E. Rogers, entitled "Connecticut's Naval Office at New London During the War of the American Revolution," published 1933, the following references to this same letter.

"Nathan Hale was a friend of the family, and a frequent visitor at the home of Mr. Shaw, who was a trustee of the Union School and instrumental in securing Hale as a teacher. There is said to be still in existence a letter written by him to a young woman, who was a guest of the Shaws. In it he invited her to accompany him and watch the sunset from the rocks behind the Shaw house. The letter was found among the possessions of one of her descendants, and was sold to a collector for \$975.00."

I am pleased to find my memory so well confirmed, as it is, by the quotation from Mr. Rogers' book.

[If by some magic all of the existing letters by and to Hale could be assembled and persuaded to tell their life-histories, so to speak, of a century and a half, what a saga we should have, and could the shade of each writer be summoned to hold his or her letters in shadowy hands, what a company there would be!—G. D. S.]

LIST OF LETTERS MENTIONED IN HALE'S ARMY DIARY

Oct.	11,	1775.	Sent letter to brother Enoch.
"	"	"	*Received letter from Gilbert Saltonstall, Oct. 9.
"	"	"	*Received letter from John Hallam, Oct. 9.
"	"	"	Received letter from E[noch] Hale, Oct. 8.
Oct.	16,	1775.	Wrote six letters to N[ew] L[ondon].
Oct.	18,	1775.	*Received letter from G[ilbert] Saltonstall, Oct. 16.
"	"	"	Received letter from J[ohn] Hallam, Oct. 14.
"	"	"	†Received letter from E[lizabeth] Hallam, Oct. 15.
"	"	"	Received letter from E[lizabeth] Adams, Oct. 16.
Oct.	19,	1775.	Wrote letter to G[ilbert] Saltonstall.
"	"	"	Wrote letter to John Hallam.
"	"	"	Wrote letter to Betsey Adams.
"	"	"	Wrote letter to Betsey Hallam.
Oct.	23,	1775.	Received letter from Ed[ward] Hallam.
Nov.	1,	1775.	Received letter from S. Belden.
"	"	"	Received letter from G[ilbert] Salt[onstall].
"	"	"	‡Received letter from Betsy Hallam, [Oct. 29].
Nov.	4,	1775.	Received letter from brother Enoch.
Nov.	15,	1775.	*Received letter from J[ohn] Hallam, [Nov. 12].
Nov.	16,	1775.	Wrote letter to J[ohn] Hall[a]m.
"	"	"	Wrote letter to G[ilbert] Salt[onstal]l.
Dec.	8,	1775.	"Did some writing."
Dec.	13,	1775.	Received and wrote some letters.
Dec.	21,	1775.	Wrote a number of letters.
Feb.	23,	1776.	Received letter from G[ilbert] Saltonstall.

* Original letter extant, and copy is printed herein.

† This is apparently the letter said to be dated Oct. 17, 1775, of which an excerpt is printed herein; see "Two Unpublished Letters to Hale."

‡ This letter was sold at auction in 1899, but has not been located by the compiler.

VERSES BY NATHAN HALE

I. THE TRYST OF HADDAM LANDING*

A Line or two can give no great Offence,
'Tho' void of every thing that looks like Sense :
For if you're not inclin'd, you need not read them,
But have my leave to burn them, with all Freedom.

You thought, no doubt, I took my leave last Night,
But 'tis not so ; you ha'n't come off so bright.
It's true, I said good By ; But Notwithstanding,
I only took my leave of Haddam Landing.
Good by is not enough ; it needs more words than two,
When friends do bid a long, a last Adieu.

I trust, our Friendship, 'though begun of late,
Hath been no less sincere, than intimate.
Of this I'm sure ; I've not as yet regretted,
That to you[r] Company I've been admitted.

[Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.]

II. TO HIS CLASSMATE, BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

[1] Friend Tallmadge,
Although a first attempt prov'd vain,
I'm still resolv'd my end t' obtain.
My temper's such I rare give out,
In what I 'tempt for one bad bout.
Were this the case, you'd never see
Lines, form'd to feet and rhyme from me.
But being sadly mortify'd
At thoughts of laying it aside ;

* Hale did not entitle these verses.

Reviv'd a little by your letter,
With hopes of speeding better,
At length I venture forth once more,
But fearing soon to run ashore.

My thoughts had once convey'd you home
In safety to your wonted dome;
But gladly went a second time,
Attended by your muse and rhyme.
That you are there, the single proof,
You bring, to me, is quite enough.
But here, I think you're wrong, to blame,
Your gen'rous muse, and call her lame.
For when arriv'd no mark was found,
Of weakness, lameness, sprain or wound.

[2] Assoon as stop'd, away she trips
(And that without or spurs or whips)
With me in charge, (a grievous load!)
Along the way she lately trode.
In all, she gave no fear or pain,
Unless, at times, to hold the rein.
Now judge, unless intirely sound,
If she could bear me such a round.
It's certain then your muse is heal'd,
Or else, came sound from Weathersfield.

Whene'er with friends I correspond,
I seek for food of which they're fond.
But if my best's of meaner kind,
I strive to dress it to their mind.
For this I leave my wonted course,
With you, and seek for aid from verse.

[From the original manuscript presented by Rev. Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes to Yale University.]

III. DESCRIPTION OF CAMP SCENES, 1775

[1]

You make a small request,
 (Perhaps sinecre* perhaps in jest,
 But which is neither here or there,
 For what you do is not my care.)
 Yet what you ask I'll think sincere,
 Untill the contr'y truth appear.

With chearfulness, be sure, I'll grant
 As far as able what you want.
 If letters, any of you choose
 I'll send as many as you please.
 So far at least, whene'er at leisure,
 I write them with the utmost pleasure

Could you but take a full survey,
 On this & that & t'other way
 You'd see extended far and wide
 Our camps both here & Roxbury side.
 The hills with tents their whiteness show
 Resembling much Midwinter's snow.

[2]

(For some such cause, perhaps the same,
 Our hill is known by winter's name).
 Some the top, some the bottom take,
 Those for health, these for safety sake.
 For health we all do value high,
 And safety too, when danger's nigh.—

When coming here from Watertown,
 Soon after ent'ring Cambridge ground,
 You spy the grand & pleasant seat,
 Possess'd by Washin[g]ton the great.

* Meant for "sincere," and written over "in earnest," crossed out.

It looks so neat, so good the plan,
 You'd think it made for that good man.*
 In better times it was enjoy'd
 By Col'nel Vassell, who prov'd void,
 Of love for his Country, which gave
 Him all that Heart could wish to have.
 Of ev'ry joy of life possess'd
 With Riches & wi[t]h honours bless'd,
 He's not content, but fled to Gage
 And with his country war did wage.

[3]

Not many rods from hence is seen†
 The house that Captain Coit lives in.
 The Widow Vassell lays a claim,
 To this, and gardens round the same.

In passing on appear some domes
 Both large & high, with num'rous rooms.
 In former times, as I am told,
 This splendid place was College call'd‡
 The muses here did once reside,
 And with the ancient muses vy'd,
 E'en Shaming Greek and Roman pride.
 The Sons of Science here pursu'd
 Those peaceful arts that make men good.
 But now, so changed is the Scene,
 You'd scarce believe these things had been.
 Instead of sons of Science Sons of Mars
 And nothing's heard but sound of Wars.
 I[n]stead of learning what makes good,
 They learn the art of spilling blood.
 But now it gives me joy to hear§

* Erased line reads: "You'd choose it for that worthy man."

† "is clearly seen," but "clearly" is crossed out.

‡ Harvard College. As Hale says at the close, it moved to Concord during the army operations.

§ First written, "It gives me joy at length to hear," and crossed out.

That when her ruin seem'd so near,
 From dange[r] having swiftly fled;
 At Concord she erects her head.

[4]

From College as you pass along
 You soon will meet a throng
 Of Soldiers; over which brave band,
 Old Gen'ral Putnam holds Command.
 This (by the way) is on the right,
 And scarce from College out of sight.

But if you think it worth your while,
 To take the North for near a mile,

[Unfinished.]

[On the inner margin of the sheet these lines are added]

{ Let not the Ladies wish a spark }
 { To cheer their spirits in the dark. }

The school which once unequal'd shone
 Appears deserted & undone
 Her genuine sons all being gone.*

[Courtesy of Yale University Library, to which the original was presented in 1930 by Edward S. Harkness, Esq.]

* The last three lines could apply to the "College," and may have been intended for insertion in their proper connection in a complete copy of the poem.

YALE COLLEGE QUARTER BILLS

[Courtesy of Yale University.]

[Miss Anne S. Pratt, reference librarian of the Yale University Library, has called my attention to the college quarter bills of students. The pages on which they are recorded are headed "A Bill of the Several Sums Due From Each of the Students, Quarter Ending" on the several dates specified. There is an unexplained gap from September 10, 1771, to December 10, 1772. The records of all of Hale's class are here transcribed. Hale's own record is found in the following quarters: Quarter ending December 10, 1769; March 10, 1770; June 10, 1770; September 10, 1770; December 10, 1770; March 10, 1771; June 10, 1771; September 10, 1771; December 10, 1772; March 10, 1773; June 10, 1773; September 10, 1773.

As far as I know, these records have until now escaped the attention of students of Hale's story. They do not, to be sure, tell us very much. At least they are a part, however insignificant, of Hale's record. It does not follow that he or his brother, Enoch, had anything to do with breaking the glass, with which the two brothers are charged in the last column on each page, for when the culprit could not be found, the damage was apportioned among all the students, according to the rule established by the college authorities.

Hale's name appears in the records as "Hale 2", to distinguish him from his older brother, Enoch. In the following transcription it has been printed in heavier type, to call attention to it.—*G. D. S.*]

[Yale College for the Quarter Ending December 10th, 1769]

40 Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass	
	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
Adkins	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Babcock	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Beckwith	12	~	1	~6	1	~4	10		1.3					3
Benedict	12	~			1	~4								3
Camp	12	~	1	~6	1	~4	10		1.3					3
Chandler 2 ^c	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Clement	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Cooley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Curtiss	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.4	
Davies	12	~	1	~6	1	~4	10		1.3					3
Dwight	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.9	
Fairchild	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	
Flynt	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	
Fowler	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Gridley	12	~			1	~4								3
Gurley 2 ^c	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Hale 1 ^c	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								8
Hale 2 ^c [Nathan]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								8
Hays	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Hillhouse	12	~			1	~4								3
Keyes	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Leonard	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1.3					3
Leavenworth 2 ^c	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.4	
Marvin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4	10		1.3					3
Mead	12	~			1	~4								3
Merwin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Mix	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.4	
Montgomery	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1.3					8
Nichols 2 ^c	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Nichols 3	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Nicholl	12	~			1	~4								3
Parsons	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Samson	12	~			1	~4			1.3					8
Selden	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.4	
Tallmadge	12	~			1	~4								3
Townsend	12	~			1	~4								3
Whittelsey	12	~			1	~4								3
Williams 2 ^c	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Woodbridge 2 ^c	12	~			1	~4								3
Wyllys	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								3
Tuition	£63		0		0		Recd, a Duplicate of this Bill to Collect for the President & Fellows of Yale College Jon th Fitch Steward							
Study Rent	6		16		6×									
Conting ^t . Charges	7		0		0									
Cellar Rent	0		3		4									
Damages	1		7		11×									
Glass	3		4		3									
	£81		12		0									

40	Names	Tuition	Study Rent	Contingt. Charges	Cellar Rent	Damages	Punishment	Glass
		s d	s d	s d	s d	s d	s d	s d
	Atkins	12~	1~6	1~4				9
	Babcock	12~	1~6	1~4				1~
	Beckwith	12~	1~6	1~4				3
	Benedict	12~		1~4				3
	Camp	12~	1~6	1~4	~10			3
	Chandler 2'	12~	1~6	1~4				10
	Clement	12~	1~6	1~4				10
	Cooley	12~	1~6	1~4				1~
	Curtiss	12~	1~6	1~4				1~5
	Davies	12~	1~6	1~4	~10			3
	Dwight	12~	1~6	1~4				3
	Fairchild	12~	1~6	1~4				8
	Flynt	12~	1~6	1~4				8
	Fowler	12~	1~6	1~4				3
	Gridley	12~		1~4				3
	Gurley 2'	12~	1~6	1~4				9
	Hale 1'	12~	1~6	1~4				8
	Hale 2' [Nathan]	12~	1~6	1~4				8
	Hays	12~	1~6	1~4				3
	Hilhouse	12~		1~4				3
	Keyes	12~	1~6	1~4				9
	Leonard	12~	1~6	1~4				3
	Leavenworth 2'	12~	1~6	1~4				8
	Marvin	12~	1~6	1~4	~10			3
	Mead	12~		1~4				3
	Merwin	12~	1~6	1~4				8
	Mix	12~	1~6	1~4				4
	Montgomery	12~	1~6	1~4				3
	Nichols 2'	12~	1~6	1~4				3
	Nichols 3'	12~	1~6	1~4				9
	Nicholl	12~		1~4				3
	Parsons	12~	1~6	1~4				8
	Samson	12~		1~4				3
	Selden	12~	1~6	1~4				1~1
	Tallmadge	12~		1~4				3
	Townsend	12~		1~4				3
	Whittelsey	12~		1~4				3
	Williams 3'	12~	1~6	1~4				9
	Woodbridge 2'	12~		1~4				3
	Wyllys	12~	1~6	1~4				1~0

Tuition	£63	0	0	Rec ^d a Duplicate of this Bill to Collect for the President & Fellows of Yale College Jon th Fitch Steward
Study Rent	6	16	6	
Conting ^t Charges	7	0	0	
Cellar Rent	0	1	8+	
Glass	3	13	6	
	£80	11	8	

[Yale College for the Quarter ending June 10, 1770]

40	Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
	Atkins	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								11
	Babcock	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Beckwith	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Benedict	12	~			1	~4								8
	Camp	12	~	1	~6	1	~4	~10							2
	Chandler 2'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Clement	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Cooley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4						1		4
	Curtiss	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Davies	12	~	1	~6	1	~4	~10							2
	Dwight	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Fairchild	12	~	1	~6	1	~4						1		1
	Flynt	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Fowler	12	~	1	~6	1	~4						1		4
	Gridley	12	~			1	~4								2
	Gurley 2'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								8
	Hale 1'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Hale 2' [Nathan]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Hays	12	~	1	~6	1	~4						3		
	Hilhouse	12	~			1	~4								2
	Keyes	12	~	1	~6	1	~4						3	11	
	Leonard	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Leavenworth 2'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								8
	Marvin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Mead	12	~			1	~4								2
	Merwin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Mix	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								11
	Montgomeroy	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Nichols 2'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								11
	Nichols 3'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								11
	Nicholl	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Parsons	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Samson	12	~			1	~4								2
	Selden	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								11
	Tallmadge	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								2
	Townsend	12	~			1	~4								2
	Whittelsey	12	~			1	~4								2
	Williams 3'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								8
	Woodbridge 2'	12	~			1	~4								2
	Wyllys	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								11
	Tuition	£64		16		0		Rec ^d , a Duplicate of this Bill to Collect for the President & Fellow of Yale College							
	Study Rent	6		19		6		Jon th . Fitch Steward							
	Contingt. Charges	7		4		0									
	Cellar Rent	0		1		8									
	Punishment	0		3		6									
	Glass	3		8		7									
		£82		13		3									

[Yale College for the Quarter ending Dec. 10, 1770]

	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass	
	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
Allden	60	~	1	6	6	~8								3
Atkins	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	0
Babcock	12	~			1	~4					5.4			9
Beckwith	12	~	1	6	1	~4					3 4		1	6
Benedict 1.	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	4
Camp	12	~	1	6	1	~4								3
Chandler 2.	12	~	1	6	1	~4								6
Clement	12	~	1	6	1	~4					5.4			6
Cooley	12	~	1	6	1	~4								3
Davies	12	~	1	6	1	~4								3
Dwight	12	~	1	6	1	~4								6
Fairchild	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	9
Flynt	12	~			1	~4								6
Fowler	12	~			1	~4					5 4			3
Gridley	12	~			1	~4								3
Gurley 2.	12	~	1	6	1	~4								8
Hale 1.	12	~	1	6	1	~4								9
Hale 2. [Nathan]	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	6
Hays	12	~	1	6	1	~4								3
Hilhouse	12	~			1	~4								3
Keyes	12	~			1	~4					5.4			3
Leonard	12	~	1	6	1	~4								3
Leavenworth 2.	12	~			1	~4								3
Lyman	60	~	1	~6	6	~8								3
Mead	12	~	1	6	1	~4								3
Merwin	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	5
Mix	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	0
Montgomeroy	12	~			1	~4								3
Nichols 2.	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	4
Nichols 3.	12	~			1	~4							1	9
Nicholl	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	9
Parsons	12	~	1	6	1	~4							2	2
Robinson	60	~	1	6	6	~8								3
Samson	12	~	1	6	1	~4								3
Selden	12	~			1	~4					3 4		2	0
Tallmadge	12	~			1	~4								3
Townsend	12	~			1	~4								3
Whittelsey	12	~			1	~4								3
Williams 2.	12	~			1	~4								3
Woodbridge 2.	12	~	1	6	1	~4							1	9
Wyllys	12	~	1	6	1	~4							3	3

[Yale College for the Quarter ending March 10, 1771]

42	Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glaas	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
	Allden	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Atkins	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	1
	Babcock	12	~			1	~4							1	2
	Beckwith	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								10
	Benedict 1'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	8
	Camp	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Chandler 2'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					3	~8	1	4
	Clement	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					4			7
	Cooley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Davies	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Dwight	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					5			7
	Fairchild	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	1
	Flynt	12	~			1	~4								7
	Fowler	12	~			1	~4							1	10
	Gridley	12	~			1	~4								7
	Gurley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					5			7
	Hale 1'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					3	~	1	2
	Hale 2' [Nathan]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					4	~	1	2
	Hays	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	0
	Hilhouse	12	~			1	~4								7
	Keyes	12	~			1	~4							2	1
	Leonard	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					3	~	1	0
	Leavenworth 2' X	12	~			1	~4								7
	Lyman	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					3	~6		7
	Marvin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							0	10
	Mead	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							2	6
	Merwin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Mix	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					8		1	2
	Montgomeroy	12	~			1	~4					3	~5	1	8
	Nichols 2'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	9
	Nichols 3'	12	~			1	~4							1	1
	Nicholl	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					1	~5	2	4
	Parsons	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								7
	Robinson	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					3	~	1	3
	Samson	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					5			11
	Selden	12	~			1	~4					3	~	2	6
	Tallmadge	12	~			1	~4					1	~5		10
	Townsend	12	~			1	~4								7
	Whittelsey	12	~			1	~4								7
	Williams 2'	12	~			1	~4								7
	Woodbridge 2'	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							3	1
	Wyllys	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					3	~8	3	4

[Yale College for the Quarter ending June 10, 1771]

41	Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
	Allden	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	10
	Atkins	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Babcock	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	4
	Beckwith	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								10
	Benedict 1 [·]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	1
	Camp	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Chandler 2 [·]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					4		3.	10
	Clement	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	10
	Cooley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Davies	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Dwight	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Fairchild	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Flynt	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								10
	Fowler	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Gridley	12	~			1	~4								4
	Gurley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	1
	Hale 1 [·]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	4
	Hale 2[·] [Nathan]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	4
	Hays	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Hilhouse	12	~			1	~4							1.	1
	Keyes	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							3.	
	Leonard	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Lyman	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Marvin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								10
	Mead	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Merwin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	1
	Mix	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							4.	6
	Montgomeroy	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Nichols 2 [·]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	1
	Nichols 3 [·]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Nicholl	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Parsons	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Robinson	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Samson	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								4
	Selden	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								10
	Tallmadge	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								9
	Townsend	12	~			1	~4								4
	Whittelsey	12	~			1	~4								4
	Williams 2 [·]	12	~			1	~4								4
	Woodbridge 2 [·]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							2.	3
	Wyllys	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1.	6

[Yale College for the Quarter ending Sept. 10, 1771]

41	Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
	Allden	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				6				6
	Atkins	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1	3				6
	Babcock	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				7			1	7
	Beckwith	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1	6				6
	Benedict 1	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1	6			1	3
	Camp	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								11
	Chandler 2	12	~	1	~6	1	~4					3	1	3	
	Clement	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				5				10
	Cooley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				4				9
	Davies	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								6
	Dwight	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								6
	Fairchild	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1					6
	Flynt	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1	5			1	8
	Fowler	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				4				9
	Gridley	12	~			1	~4								6
	Gurley	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								6
	Hale 1	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			2					11
	Hale 2 [Nathan]	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			2					11
	Hays	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				4				9
	Hilhouse	12	~			1	~4								6
	Keyes	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2			1	3
	Leonard	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2				6
	Lyman	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2				6
	Marvin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				6				6
	Mead	12	~	1	~6	1	~4							1	8
	Merwin	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				6				6
	Mix	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				3				6
	Montgomeroy	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2				6
	Nichols 2	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1	6			1	3
	Nichols 3	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1	3				6
	Nicholl	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2				6
	Parsons	12	~	1	~6	1	~4								6
	Robinson	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				3				6
	Samson	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2				6
	Selden	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			1	4				6
	Tallmadge	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2				6
	Townsend	12	~			1	~4								6
	Whittelsey	12	~			1	~4								6
	Williams 2	12	~			1	~4								6
	Woodbridge 2	12	~	1	~6	1	~4				2			1	3
	Wyllys	12	~	1	~6	1	~4			2				1	5

[There are no records for the intervening year, when Fitch was absent.]

[Yale College for the Quarter ending December 10, 1772]

A Bill of the several sums due from each of the Students of Yale College

36 — 39	Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glaes	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
	Sr. Davenport			1	6										
	Sr. Muirson			1	6										
	Sr. Canfield			1	6										
	Alden	12	~			1	4								2
	Atkins	12	~	1	6	1	4							2	3
	Babcock	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	4
	Beckwith	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	7
	Benedict 1	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	4
	Chandler	12	~			1	4							1	0
	Cooley	12	~	1	6	1	4								3
	Dwight	12	~	1	6	1	4							3	9
	Fairchild	12	~	1	6	1	4							2	6
	Flynt	12	~	1	6	1	4								9
	Fowler	12	~			1	4								3
	Gridley	12	~	1	6	1	4								3
	Gurley	12	~	1	6	1	4								3
	Hale 1	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	0
	Hale 2 [Nathan]	12	~	1	6	1	4								3
	Hays	12	~	1	6	1	4								3
	Hilhouse	12	~			1	4							1	0
	Keyes	12	~			1	4								3
	Leonard	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	1
	Lyman 1	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	0
	Marvin	12	~	1	6	1	4							2	4
	Mead	12	~			1	4								3
	Merwin	12	~			1	4								3
	Montgomeroy	12	~	1	6	1	4								3
	Nichols 1	12	~	1	6	1	4								3
	Nichols 2	12	~	1	6	1	4							2	5
	Parsons	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	4
	Robinson	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	1
	Samson	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	1
	Selden	12	~	1	6	1	4							4	10
	Tallmadge	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	1
	Townsend	12	~			1	4								3
	Whittelsey	12	~			1	4								3
	Williams 1	12	~			1	4								3
	Woodbridge 1	12	~	1	6	1	4								9
	Wyllys	12	~	1	6	1	4							2	7

[Yale College for the Quarter ending March 10, 1773]

A Bill of the several sums due from each of the Students of Yale [College]

3 35 38 Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass	
	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
Sr. Davenport			1	6										
Sr. Muirson			1	6										
Sr. Canfield			1	6										
Alden	12	~			1	4							0	2
Atkins	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Babcock	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	6
Beckwith	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	11
Benedict 1	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	6
Chandler	12	~			1	4					2	0	2	
Cooley	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	11
Dwight	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Fairchild	12	~	1	6	1	4					10	0	7	
Flynt	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	7
Fowler	12	~			1	4							0	2
Gridley	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Gurley	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Hale 1	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Hale 2 [Nathan]	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Hays	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	11
Hilhouse	12	~			1	4					9	0	2	
Keyes	12	~			1	4					10	0	2	
Leonard	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Lyman 1	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Marvin	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	11
Mead	12	~			1	4							0	2
Merwin	12	~			1	4							0	2
Montgomeroy	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Nichols	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Parsons	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	6
Robinson	12	~			1	4							0	2
Samson	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Selden	12	~	1	6	1	4					8	1	8	
Tallmadge	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	2
Townsend	12	~			1	4							0	2
Whittelsey	12	~			1	4							0	2
Williams 1	12	~			1	4							0	2
Woodbridge 1	12	~	1	6	1	4					1	7	0	7
Wyllys	12	~	1	6	1	4					2	0	1	4

[Yale College for the Quarter ending June 10, 1773]

A Bill of the several sums due from each of the Students of Yale College

$\frac{3}{36}$ 39	Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
	Sr. Davenport			1	6										
	Sr. Muirson			1	6										
	Sr. Canfield			1	6									0	9
	Alden	12	~			1	4							0	5
	Atkins	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	5
	Babcock	12	~	1	.6	1	4							1	5
	Beckwith	12	~	1	.6	1	4							2	5
	Benedict 1	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	8
	Camp 1	36	~	4	.6	4								0	5
	Chandler	12	~			1	4					1.4		0	5
	Cooley	12	~	1	.6	1	4							1	5
	Dwight	12	~	1	.6	1	4					4		0	5
	Fairchild	12	~	1	.6	1	4					1.3		0	10
	Flynt	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	10
	Fowler	12	~			1	4							0	5
	Gridley	12	~	1	.6	1	4					3		1	5
	Gurley	12	~	1	.6	1	4							1	5
	Hale 1	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	5
	Hale 2 [Nathan]	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	5
	Hayes	12	~	1	.6	1	4							1	5
	Hilhouse	12	~			1	4					2.3		0	5
	Keyes	12	~			1	4					1.7		0	5
	Leonard	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	9
	Lyman 1	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	5
	Marvin	12	~	1	.6	1	4							2	5
	Mead	12	~			1	4							0	5
	Merwin	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	8
	Montgomeroy	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	5
	Nichols	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	5
	Parsons	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	8
	Robinson	12	~			1	4							0	5
	Samson	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	9
	Selden	12	~	1	.6	1	4							3	11
	Tallmadge	12	~	1	.6	1	4							0	9
	Townsend	12	~			1	4					1.		0	5
	Whittelsey	12	~			1	4							0	5
	Williams 1	12	~			1	4					1.		0	5
	Woodbridge 1	12	~	1	.6	1	4					15.7		0	10
	Wyllys	12	~	1	.6	1	4					2.10		0	10

[Yale College for the Quarter ending Sept. 10, 1773]

A Bill of the several sums due from each of the Students of Yale College

3 36 — 39	Names	Tuition		Study Rent		Contingt. Charges		Cellar Rent		Damages		Punishment		Glass		Catalogue Money	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
	Sr. Davenport			1	6												
	Sr. Muirson			1	6												
	Sr. Canfield			1	6												
	Alden	12	~			1	4							0	8	6	~
	Atkins	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				1	5	6	~
	Babcock	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	8	6	~
	Beckwith	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	11	6	~
	Benedict 1·	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	8	6	~
	Camp 1·	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	8	6	~
	Chandler	12	~			1	4					7		0	8	6	~
	Cooley	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				2	11	6	~
	Dwight	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	8	6	~
	Fairchild	12	~	1	6	1	4			8		2 0		1	7	6	~
	Flynt	12	~	1	6	1	4			8				1	7	6	~
	Fowler	12	~			1	4							0	8	6	~
	Gridley	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				1	5	6	~
	Gurley	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				0	8	6	~
	Hale 1·	12	~	1	6	1	4			4				0	8	6	~
	Hale 2· [Nathan]	12	~	1	6	1	4			4				0	8	6	~
	Hayes	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				0	8	6	~
	Hilhouse	12	~			1	4							0	8	6	~
	Keyes	12	~	1	6	1	4					3		0	8	6	~
	Leonard	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				0	8	6	~
	Lyman 1·	12	~	1	6	1	4			4				0	8	6	~
	Marvin	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	11	6	~
	Mead	12	~			1	4							0	8	6	~
	Merwin	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	8	6	~
	Montgomeroy	12	~	1	6	1	4			2		7		0	8	6	~
	Nichols	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				1	5	6	~
	Parsons	12	~	1	6	1	4							0	8	6	~
	Robinson	12	~			1	4							0	8	6	~
	Samson	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				0	8	6	~
	Selden	12	~	1	6	1	4							1	11	6	~
	Tallmadge	12	~	1	6	1	4			2				0	8	6	~
	Townsend	12	~			1	4							0	8	6	~
	Whittelsey	12	~			1	4							0	8	6	~
	Williams 1·	12	~			1	4					5		0	8	6	~
	Woodbridge 1·	12	~	1	6	1	4			8		1 1		1	7	6	~
	Wyllys	12	~	1	6	1	4			8		1 3		1	7	6	~

MINUTES OF THE LINONIAN SOCIETY

[Linonia, a secret student fraternity of Yale College, was founded in 1753 "for the promotion of Friendship and social intercourse and for the advancement of literature." After a long and useful career it was formally abandoned in 1880. Its aim was to secure for its members, aside from the regular course of academic study, proficiency in "Rhetoric and Oratory" and to furnish "incitements to literary exertion." In short, it was a debating society, exalted and warmed by friendship and nourished by books. Today the Linonia Library, with quarters of its own in the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale, alone survives to recall the Society's great tradition.

During Hale's college years the fraternity greatly flourished, due, as would appear, to his ability and to his genius for leadership. Hence the place given to Linonia in these Annals. Happily, the Minutes of the fraternity, which show the part Hale played in it, have escaped "the wrack of time." Through the courtesy of Mr. Bernhard Knollenberg, the history-conscious librarian of the Yale University Library, the author is privileged to print them for the first time. Although the Society was founded in 1753, the extant Minutes do not begin until November 6, 1766. We print them as far as they exist from that date to and including April 15, 1773, the date of the Linonia Anniversary Meeting of that year. This takes in all the Minutes covering Hale's connection with the Society.

The author is induced thus to print the Linonia Minutes for several reasons:

- First, because they form a large body of Hale's own handwriting;
- Second, because they show Hale's interest in debating, in the building up of the Linonia Library, and in the plays the young men produced;
- Third, because they show what subjects the students of one hundred and seventy years ago chose for their debates and what they were thinking about.

The Minutes are in two parts. The earlier volume, covering the period from November 6, 1766, through February 6, 1767, contains only three pages, the verso of the last one blank. It is inscribed on its back cover:

This Book belongs to the honorable Linonian Society at Yale College for the promotion of Friendship & useful Knowledge. Long may she live and be renown'd.

The second volume carries the Minutes from December 15, 1768, and contains 241 unnumbered pages. Both volumes have heavy brownish paper covers and measure 12 inches by 7½ inches. Their pages are of time-stained linen paper, the early ones bearing the usual watermark of legal documents of the period, viz., a crown and the initials "G. R." (Georgius Rex) on the one side and the arms of England on the other. The binding of the second volume is of comparatively recent date.

The Minutes show that Hale was elected to membership on November 7, 1770, and in less than two months, viz., on January 2, 1771, he appears as the scribe of the Society. He held the office until the close of the meeting of

November 20, 1771, and during that period, between January 2, 1771, and November 20, 1771, he entered the Minutes of all the meetings. This fact accounts for the large amount of his handwriting in the Book. Later on, Hale not only served the Society as secretary and assistant secretary, but was also chosen Chancellor of the fraternity and Chancellor pro tempore. The Minutes show that between November 7, 1770, the date of Hale's election to membership, and the Anniversary Exercises of April 15, 1773, sixty-nine meetings were held, and the Minutes of fourteen of them are in Hale's handwriting as scribe. The Minutes show, too, that Hale took a speaking part in nineteen of the same sixty-nine meetings, viz., speeches, narrations, dialogues, disputes, a part in Dodsley's comedy "The Toy Shop," a valedictory oration, and finally, on one of the gala occasions known as Anniversary Meetings, and following a production of "The West Indian," that "An Epilogue made expressly on the occasion and delivered by Hale 2d was received with approbation." This Epilogue seems to have marked Hale's last appearance before the Society, as it was the year of his graduation, 1773.

We may be sure from what we know about Hale that he got a great kick out of these meetings of the Linonia Fraternity. We may be sure too that his training in the Linonia debates was what prepared him for talking on his feet—for the speech he made for liberty and independence at the town meeting in New London called on the arrival of the news of Lexington, when by his "noble demeanor" and impassioned utterance he greatly impressed the company, and for the "sensible and spirited speech" we must also believe he made at the gallows, of which his "last words" were but the conclusion.

From 1766 to 1781 the Society met at the rooms of various of its members, but after Nov. 23 of that year we find mention of other meeting places, such as the Court House, the "State House," the Recitation Room of the Junior Class, "Old Auction Room," Moss's or "Mosses School Room," and the Sandemanian Meeting-house. Eight of the sixty-nine meetings, of Linonia, between November 7, 1770, and April 15, 1773, were held in "Hale's room."

Probably Hale and his brother, Enoch, roomed together, as was then customary. Four students, in fact, usually roomed together in those days, and it is not unlikely that Isaac Gridley, and some unnamed student, also a Linonia Brother, roomed with the Hales. There is a tradition that Gridley was a roommate of Nathan Hale, but there is no record of it. The ground-floor room at the north end of Connecticut Hall has been marked by a tablet, as "Hale's room," but there is no official record that he occupied it. We do know that he roomed in Connecticut Hall, but the author has the temerity to think that a ground-floor room would not have been chosen for so many meetings of Linonia. It would have given too good an opportunity to the prying "Plutonians," to see what the Linonia Brothers were doing, while a room higher up would have given no such advantage. The reference to the "Plutonians" is to the rival fraternity, "Brothers-in-Unity," founded in 1768, of which the earliest records, those before 1783, are lost and the date of discontinuance not exactly known. It was about 1870. This rival society never had anything like the prestige of Linonia, but it too made a collection of books, now combined with the Linonia Library, numbering today about fourteen thousand books in daily use.

The list of the books in the original Linonia Library, now printed in full, is in the handwriting of Hale. An account of the founding of the library will be found in the Minutes under date of July 16, 1770, and further mention of it on Nov. 20, 1771, and Apr. 15, 1772.

On studying these old Linonia Minutes and "ruminating" upon them, to use a word popular in the Eighteenth Century, one is led to the conclusion that in those far-off and all-but-forgotten days, the students of Yale had, as President Theodore Roosevelt would have put it, "A perfectly corking time." It is to be borne in mind that in the absence of a complicated and time-consuming and mind-absorbing system of athletics, there was far more time for such companionship as Linonia provided—more time for walking excursions, for sailing on the Harbor and on the Sound and for the cultivation of friendship—those friendships which adorn the pages of the Annals of old Yale.

The surviving records of Linonia of this period, besides the two volumes of Minutes, include a third volume that contains chiefly Orations, Dissertations, and other original compositions delivered by the members at meetings of the Society. Among the very earliest of them is the Oration by Hale that is printed in full elsewhere in the present work. The fine, elegant handwriting in which it is recorded has not been identified.

For a further history of Linonia, the reader is referred to Professor Kingsley's monumental "History of Yale College," 1879, and to the brochure published in commemoration of the Linonia Centenary Celebration in 1853, at which William Maxwell Evarts delivered the main address and Francis Miles Finch read his famous poem on Hale. At this celebration, Dwight, Hillhouse, and Hale were acclaimed as responsible for the Linonia Library, which has ever since been an important adjunct of undergraduate life at Yale. Attention is also called to Bagg's "Four Years at Yale," and to the present author's article on Hillhouse and Hale, printed herein and containing special reference to the Anniversary Exercises of 1773 and to the character of the books selected by Hale for the nucleus of the library.

The Linonia Fraternity was founded in 1753, as above stated, but the existing Minutes do not begin until November 6, 1766. I have chosen to begin printing them from the beginning, through April 15, 1773, which marks Hale's final appearance in the Minutes. This will enable the reader to compare the Minutes before and after Hale's accession to membership in the fraternity, which seems to have had a greatly increased activity during Hale's time.—*G. D. S.*]

November 6th 1766

The respectable members of the fellowship Club according to appointment assembled at Bulklys Room a large number having arriven the meeting was opened With an extempore dispute by Bulkly, Kimberly and Lyon afterwards we admitted Fowler Roice

and Wheler as members and an oration was spoken by Bulkly and a Composition read by Taylor. Exercises being appointed for next meeting we dispersed—

Daniel Griswold
Scribe

November 13th 1866 [*sic*]

This illustrious Society met at Billings room the meeting was opened by a narration spoken by Bliss a forensic dispute delivered by Hotchkiss Rockwell and Lee Each delivered a speech Taylor Ward and Walker pleased the Society by a very humerous dialogue, After having appointed Exercises for next meeting Each repaired to his respective appartment

Daniel Griswold
Scribe

November 20th 1767 [*sic*]

This illustrious meeting convened at Potters room. The meeting was opened with an Extempore dispute between Griswold Nickols, Williams Jones and Knight after which three compositions were read by Graham Elderkin Fitch. Walker delivered a Speech. Then we proceeded to admit Brockway as a member exercises being appointed for next meeting we retired

Daniel Griswold
Scribe

November 27th 1766.

This noble Society convened at Walker's room and it being time to chuse officers Hunn was chosen Chancellor, and Bulkley ^{2nd} Scribe. After which the Meeting was opened with an instructive narration by Beckwith. A forensic dispute followed between Taylor and Ward. [Co]mpositions were exhibited by Bliss Lockwood and Rockwell then speeches by Griswold Taylor and Woodruff. The meeting was then closed by an agreeable dialogue between Hotchkiss and Kimberly.

Noah Bulkley Scribe

January 22nd AD 1767.

This honorable Society convened at Lyons room Burr and Carrington were admitted members. After Appointment of Exercises for the next night, we dispersed

Feb. 5th 1767.

At a meeting of the honorable Fellowship Club regularly convened at Woodruff's room after a speech was delivered by Woodruff and compositions exhibited by Rockwell and Griswold the following important business was entered upon of abolishing and totally disannulling this law that nothing shall pass as a vote without the consent of every individual provided that this law extend not to the election of officers. This law was abolished by the consent of every Individual then present.

An unanimous vote was likewise ^{passed} for abolishing and not persisting in the old and imprudent custom of not admitting Freshmen. this had been long agitated but not before now was declared obsolete, an express meeting was appointed to admit Freshmen and prepare for the anniversary Emmons, Knight Jones, and Mosse were appointed ^{orators} for the anniversary. The meeting concluded with a dialogue delivered by Potter and Williams.

Feb. 6th AD 1767.

We had an especial meeting a number of Freshmen were admitted a[*blotted*]y and actors appointed for the anniversary.

December 15th 1768

Then the Com^{tt} of this Honorable Society Meet to Consar[] what methord would be Best in order to proceed to the Best advantage of the members, and Being proposed To this Honorable Society it was very well Exepted the method was as follows the first wensday Eve ^{in Every month} there is to be a Commedy Acted Every Other wensday Eve there is to be Disputs and other Exercises as usle—

Test Hillyer Clerke—

December 28th Then this Honorable Society Meet at C^heney Room not much done Being but few members present—

Test Hillyer Scribe

January: 11th 1769 this Honorable Society met the Room of John Lewis and it Being according to the Custom of our renouned Predecessors Time to Elect A Chancellor M^r Plumb was Chose. the Members not Being all Present there was not much done the Meting was closed with two speaches by Davenport and Buckminster

Test Gershom Bulkley Scribe

Jan^y 18th 1769 this brilliant & Ilustrio[us] Society came together at the Room of M^[r] Allissthe Meeting was opened by an entertaining Narative Spoken by M^r Dar[win] And an agreable Dialogue between Buckminster & Cutler clos^d it other Exercises as usual at this Meeting Lewis was chosen Scribe *pro tempore*

Test Jn^o Lewis Scribe

January y^e 25th 1769 This Ilustrious Society met at Dwights Rome no exercises there being b[ut] [m]embers present—

Test Gershom Bulkley Scribe

Frebruary ye 1st 1769

This renouned & Honorable Society met at Plumb's Room not much Exercise. Chester was chosen Chansellor this Evening we chose our Orators for the aniversary solemnity (Viz) Plumb & Seward of ye Senior Class Lewis Buckminster of the Junior Class.—

Test Gershom Bulkley Scribe

February y^e 12th 1769

This Honorable Society met at Halls Room and the meting was opned with a Dialogue by S^r Lockwood Chester Hamlin Allase Davenport Buckminster Bulkley Williams Lyman 2^d Cutler &

Gould &c And those whose names are here inscribed agree'd that they would attend the me^eting [ev]ery Wednesday night. Extra-ordinaries excepted the names are as follows (Viz) Allase Chester Darling Dudley Dwight Hall Hamlin Plumb Seward Buckminster Bulkley Davenport Lewis Williams & Gould Lyman 2^{dus} Padelford.

Test Gershom Bulkley Scribe

February the 23^d 1769

This Renound Society met at Lewis's Room and the meting was opned by chusing a Chancelor and Dwight was Chosen and a narration was afterwards made by him the next exersises was asking Questions and the meting was Closed with a Dialogue Deliverd by Bulkley and Williams.

Test G. Bulkley Scribe

March the 1st 1769

This Venerable Society convend at Williams's Room the meting was opned with a Narration by Lewis and closed with a Dialogue Delivered by Hamlin and Padelford

Test G. Bulkley Scribe.

March y^e 8th 1769 This Venerable Society meet at Dwights Room not much done Being but few Members Present

Test Gershom Bulkley Scribe

March y^e 16th 1769 This Renound Society meet at Cutlers Room not many of the Members being Present nothing done

Test Gershom Bulkley Scribe

April y^e 5th 1769 This Honorable Society met at Plumb's Room nothing done

Test G. Bulkley Scribe

April y^e 20th 1769 This Renound Society mete together to celebrate the anavarsary as usial and it being according to Custom to Chose officers Dwight was Chosen Chansellor, Davenport, Buckminster Hillyard and Gould & Cheney was Chosen Committe, Bulkley was Chose Secratary and Cheney Scribe and the anavarsary Celebrated with much Delight the Exercises ^{was} begun with an Oration Deliverd by Buckminster afterwards three Dialogues was spoke by Lyman 2^{dus} Dwight Padelford Davenport & Scott Cheney []lds Gould Dudley and Williams and the Exercises was Closed with two more Orations by Plumb & Lewis

Test Bulkley Scribe

November y^e 1st 1769

This Honourable Society met at Lewis's Room and according to the Custom of Electing necessary Officers; M^r Lewis was chosen Chancellor & we were entertained with a Narration spoken by Him, and after asking some Questions & electing a Scribe y^e Honourable Society dispersed

Test Moses Cobb Scribe

November y^e 8th 1769

The Honourable Fellowship Club met at Cutler's Room; & the Meeting was open'd with a Narration spoken by M^r Lewis; & we were entertain'd with a Dialogue spoken by Baldwin & Chandler, & the Meeting was clos'd by a Speach delivered by M^r Devenport

Test M. Cobb

November 15th 1769

this venerable Society met at Williams's Room, the Meeting was opened with a very agreeable Narration Spoken by M^r Williams one Member taken in viz. Elisha Billings, the meeting was clos'd with a Speach deliver'd by Hall. — —

Test Moses Cobb Scribe

November y^e 22^d 1769

this venerable Society met at Devenports Room, the Meeting was opened with a Narration spoken by Billings, & closed by a Speech delivered by Baldwin, it was likewise voted [by] said Meeting that Remarks s^hould be made up[[on]]y^e Exercises of y^e same, by the Members.—

Test. M. Cobb Scribe

November y^e 29 1769

This honourable Society met at Williams 2^d Room the meeting was opend by a Narration, Spoken by Paddleford it being time then for M^r Lewis to resine his office of a Chancellor he made a Dissertation upon the Sun & after that was Elected Chancellor for the Next month then there was a Dialogue Spoken by Lyman 2^d Gould & Cutler and the Meeting was Closd by a Speach by

Test Moses Cobb Scribe

December 6th AD 1769

This Honourable Society met Reeds room and the meeting was opened ^{With} a Narration by Gillet and closed with a Speech by Chittendon.

Test Moses Cobb

December 13th AD 1769

This venerable Society conven'd at Hylyars room and the meeting was opened with a Narration by Davenport, and after asking some Questions, a Dialogue was delivered by Williams and Paddleford. and it was voted at S^d meeting that a part of some Aut[hor] Should be read every meeting by some of the members, & the meeting was closed with a Speech by Chandler

Test Cobb Scribe

[*torn*] 20 AD 1769

[*torn*] d at Baldwins room, Whitman was

[*torn*] ting Nothing happened remarkeble

Test

Scribe

December 27th 1769

This venerable Society Conven^d at Hall's rooms and according to the Custom of electing Necessary officers M^r Devenport was Chosen Chancellor and then we was entertain^d with a Narration Spoken by Bulkley and a Dialogue Deliver^d by Buckminster and Bulkley Then Baldwin and Barker read for ^{some time} and Having Chosen a Scribe this Society Dispers^d

Attest Elisha Billings Scribe

January 3th 1770

This honourable Society met at Chittendens room It open^d with Questioning and then Proceeded A Dialogue Spoken by Welch Reed & Hall and Billings and Buckminster having Read according to Custom the meeting was Clos^d by two Speeches deliver^d by Baldwin and Billings

Attest Elisha Billings Scribe

January 10th 1770

This Noble Society met at Bellamys room It was open^d with an agreeable Narration Spoken by Lewis then Proceeded a Dialogue Spoken by Cobb and Billings and Buckminster having Read according to Custom the meeting Dispers^d

Attest Elisha Billings Scribe

January 18th 1770

met at Williams Prim[*torn*]
 a Narration Deliver^d by [*torn*]
 Questions the meeting w[*torn*]
 ed by Buckminster [*torn*]

January 24 1770 This honourable Socity met at Lews's Room and according to the Custom of Electing Necessary Officers M^r Devenport was Chosen Chancellor and then we was entertain^d with a Narration Deliver^d by Bulkley and after Some Questions,

Chandler was expel^d from the meeting. and Reed Whitman & Ely was Desmis^d at their request then Bulkley having ^{read} according to Custom The meeting was Clos^d by a Speach Deliver^d by Jillet.

Test Elisha Billings Scribe

Febuary 3th 1770 This Honourable Society met at Cobb's Room It was open^d by a Narraton Spoken by Gillet, and Then we Chose our Orators for the Aniversary Solemnity (Viz) Lewis & Hyllier out of the Senior Class Gould & Cutler out of the Junior Class, Then the meeting was Clos^d With a Dialogue Deliver^d by Buckminster & Devenport

Test Elisha Billings, Scribe

Febuary 8th 1770 This Venerable Socity met at Devenport's Room, It was open with a Narration Spoken by Williams and then proceeded a Dialogue Spoken by Billings and Cobb and it was Clos^d with a Speach Deliv^d by Chittenden

Test Elisha Billings Scribe

February 15th 1770 This Venerable Society met At Williams 2^d room y^e meeting was begun with questions and then proceeded a Play Acted by Williams 2^d Cobb Barker & Billings & after a Speach Deliver^d by Buckminster y^e meeting ended for that night

Attest E. Billings Scribe

February 22th 1770 This honourable Socity met at Hillyer's room and according to y^e Custom of electing Necessary officers Buckminster was Chosen Chancellor and then after some Questions y^e meeting dispersed.

Test E. Billings Scribe

February 28th 1770 this Venerable Society met at Hall's room y^e meeting was open^d with a Narration Spoken by Williams 2^d and then after some questions it was Clos^d by a Speach Deliver^d by Cheney

Test Elisha Billings

March 8th 1770 This Noble Society met at Baldwin's Room the meeting was open'd by a Narration Spoken by Sir Dwight & after some Questions y^e meeting Desolv'd

Test Elisha Billings Scribe

March 14th 1770 This Honourable Society met at Chittenden's Room y^e meeting was open'd by a Narration Spoken by Lewis and then after some Questions and a Dialogue Spoken by Buckminster and Lewis y^e meeting was Clos^d by a Speach Deliver^d by Lewis

Test Elisha Billings Scribe

March 22 1770 this honourable Society met at Cheney's Room the meeting was open^d by a Narration Deliver^d by Lewis & after some Questions were asked the meeting was Clos^d by a Speach Spoken by Devenport

Test E Billings
Scribe

March 29th 1770 This Noble Society met at Buckminster's Room the meeting was open^d by a Narration Spoken by Jiliet and after soome questions, the meeting was Clos^d by a Speach Deliver^d by Williams

Test E. Billings Scribe

April 4th 1770 this honourable Society met at Lewis's Room and after Some Questions the meeting Dispers^d

Test E. Billings Scribe

April 11th 1769 This Noble Society met in order to celebrate the Anavarsary as usual and it being according to Custom to elect Necessary officers Gould was Chosen Chancellor Cheney was Chosen Secretary Cutler Billings Chittenden and Cobb were Chosen Committee and the Anavarsary was Celebrated with much delight the Exercises began With two Orations delivered by Williams 1st and Billings then Proceeded Dialogues which were Spoken by Devenport Lyman Buckminster Padleford &c and the Blissful day was closed by two Orations Delivered by Lewis & Chiney
Elisha Billings

June 13th 1770 This honourable Society met at Buckminsters Room, and according to Custom of chusing Officers Buckminster was chosen Chancellor, Cutler Secretary, and Chittenden Scribe
Test Abel Chittenden Scribe

June 20. 1770 This worthy Society, met at Shermans Room; it was open'd with Questions, and continue'd by a Speech delivered by Davenport, and another by Billings, and after some more Questions were ask'd the Meeting was dismiss'd
Test Abel Chittenden Scribe

June th27 1770 This honourable Society met at Cobbs Room nothing done

July th4 1770 This renoun'd Society met at Cobbs Room; the Meeting was opened and clos'd with Questions.

July th11. 1770 This worthy Society met at Billing's Room; the Evening was spent in consulting the Welfare of the Meeting; there were many things proposed to be introduced, but the whole deferred to the next Meeting.

Test Abel Chittenden Scribe

July th16. 1770. This renowned Society met att Bellamy's Room, and according to custom Gould was chosen Chancellor; and agreeable to proposals made the last Meeting, it was voted by the Meeting, that one Member at every Meeting should propose a Question that should be recorded with the Answer; in an alphebetical Order: likewise that every other Meeting instead of a Speech; should be closed with a Dissertation upon some branch of the Sciences; also in order to accomodate the Members of this Society with a Library, a number of usefull Books were collected; M^r Lockwood was chosen Librarian; and for the regulation thereof, it was voted that the Members of the Meeting might have liberty to take out Books on Saturdad at two o'clock in the after Noon, that no one might keep a Book longer than a Week without returning it, that he who came first after the time appointed should have what Book he wanted: and the Meeting was closed with a valedictory Oration delivered by Buckminsrer [*sic*]

Test Abel Chittenden Scribe

July ^{the} 25. 1770 This worthy Society met att Barker's Room the Meeting was entertained with Questions per totum

Test Abel Chittenden Scribe

the Question proposed by Baldwin to be recorded was this, Q^y At what time did the Latin Language arive to the greatist perfection in the City of Rome? Ans. About fifty Years before and after the Reign of Augustus

October 31st AD 1770 —This Worthy Society met att Cutler's Room; 5 Members taken in, viz Stephen Keyes, Ebenezer Williams, Enoch Hale, Noah Merwin and Hays, and y^e Meeting was concluded with Questions—

Test Moses Cobb Scribe

November 7th AD 1770 The honourable Fellowship Club met att Hall's Room. When there were 9 Members admitted viz Alden, Gurley, Mead, Camp, Hale 2^d., Lyman, Gridley, Hillhouse

Townsend.—after some Questions y^e Meeting was clos'd with a Dialogue, spoken by Baldwin, Hall, & Cobb.

Test M. Cobb Scribe

November 14th AD 1770 The aforesaid Society met at Hale's Room, Our Chancellor & Secretary being absen[t] we chose a Vice Chancellor, & Secretary, then proceeded to admit 5 Members, viz, Woodbridge, Fowler, Leonard, Cooly, & Robison,

Test M. Cobb Scribe

November 21st AD 1770.—

This worthy Society met at Fowler's Room.—The Meeting was opened with ^{a part of} a Narration, upon the first peopleing of America, spoken by M^r. Williams, A Question, with its Solution sent in by Bellamy, Viz,—Q. how is the greatest common Measure discover'd, in Algebraick Quantities? — —

A. only the Remainders that arise in y^e Operation, are to be divided by their simple Divisors, and the Quantities are always to be ranged according to the Dimentions of the same Letter.

Test M. Cobb Scribe

November 28th AD 1770

The aforesaid Club met at Gurley's Room, and after we had elected Cutler Chancellor, we were entertained with y^e other Part of the former Narration, then followed a Dialogue delivered by Cutler, Billings and Williams. Question brought in by Billings viz Q: What is the Reason that the Moon is not always Eclipsed every Opposition of the Sun and Moon?

A: The Reason is, since the Moon's Orbit doth not coincide with y^e Plane of the Ecliptic, but cuts it at a certain Angle, that unless the Conjunction or Opposition did not happen at or Near y^e Points of intersection, y^e Latitude of y^e Moon or Distance from the Ecliptic would be so great, as not to cast a Shadow on y^e Moon or Earth, according as it is in Conjunction or Opposition.

Test M. Cobb, Scribe

December 5th AD 1770

This Society met at Merwins Room,—

Question Sent to be Recorded, by, S. S. A. Barker

Q. How do you solve Questions, when the unknown quantity has several Powers in one Equation, and only the first Power in the other Equation.

Ans.^w When the unknown Quantities are to the first and second Power, in One Equation, & but to the first Power in y^e other, find the Value of that unknown quantity: in the Equation, where its Terms are the more simple, raise this Equation, to the several Powers of of the unknown quantity in y^e other Equation: then in that Equation, for y^e Several Powers, of the unknown Quantity write or put these Values, which exterminates that unknown Quantity, leaving an Equation with only one unknown Quantity. By Barker,

Another Question at y^e same Time

Q: Why is the Weather coldest, when the Sun is the nearest to us.—

Ans.^w Because of the obliquity of its Rays, and its short continuance above the Horizon.— By Alden

December 12th AD 1770—

This worthy Society met at Robison's Room, the Meeting was opened with a Narration, spoken by Sir Dwight, then we were entertained with Question afterwards with a Dialogue spoken by Sir Williams, & Gould; and y^e Meeting was closed by a Dessertation, by Billings.— Question brought in to be recorded

Qes.^t Why doth the Moon appear to be most enlightened when it is least enlightened,

Ans.^{wr} Because the Moon is most enlightened when it is nearest y^e Sun. & least enlightened at y^e full Moon, because it is then at y^e greatest Distance from y^e Sun.— — by Camp.

January 2th AD 1771

This Honourable So[c]iety met at Mead's Room, the Meeting was opened whith a Narration, spoken by Alden; then the Members proceeded to elect—Gould ^a Chance^llor and after a few Questions they appointed Williams ^{1st} to deliver an Oration at the next Anniversary, they likewise appointed Sir Dwight, Sir Davenport, Sir Williams, Cutler, Gould, Barker ^{2d}, Hall, Alden, Gurley, Hays, Lyman, Merwin & Williams ^{2d}, whom they design'd should take their Parts, in acting a Comedy call'd the Conscious Lovers, and they appointed the following to act a Farce call'd the Toy Shop, (vis) Cutler, Barker ^{2d}, Billings, Cob, Hall, Welch, Williams ^{1st}, Hale ^{1st}, Hale ^{2d}, Leonard, Mead & Woodbridge,

Test **Nathan Hale** Scribe*

January 9th. AD 1771

This venerable Club met at Alden's Ro^om. The Meeting was open'd with a Narration spoken by Welch; and after some Questions was clos'd with a Dialogue, spoken by Lyman & Robertson.

Test **Nathan Hale** Scribe.

January 16th AD 1771

This venerable Society conven'd at Billiⁿg's Room. The Meeting was open'd with a Narration spoken by Billings, & then we were entertain'd with some agreeable Questions. A Question, with the Solution b^rought in by Cob.

Q. What thing is the most ^{delightful} to Man in the World?

A. It is much as the Parson is, if he be, and luxurious, he delights most in what he ought most to be ashamed of. Virtuous Men will take the the greatest Delight in Virtuous Actions, but w^hat is most delightfull to most Men, is getting Money.

Test, **Nathan Hale** Scribe

* Hale appears as scribe less than two months after his Election.

January 23^d AD 1771

This honourable Society met at Barker's Room;—the Meeting was open'd by a Narration spoken by Cutler, and after some questions the Meeting was closed, by a Dialogue Delivered by Meed & William 3^d

Test Nathan Hale Scribe

January 30th AD 1771*

This venerable Club convened at Cutler's Room, it was opened by a Narration spoken by Bellamy and after we had been entertained with some agreeable questions the Meeting was closed by a Dialogue spoken by Lyma[n] Hale 1st.

Test Nathan Hale Scri[be]

February 6th AD 1771

This renown'd Society met at Hale's room the meeting was opened by ^a Narration spoken by Barker and after we had been entertained with some advantageous Questions the Meeting was closed by a very agreeable Dialogue spoken by Cutler, Aldin Hays & Lyman.—

Test. Nathan Hale Scribe

February 13th AD 1771

This honourable Society met at Halls Room the Meeting was opened by a Narration spoken by Hall, and after some Questions

* The missing Minutes of the Society for the meetings on Jan. 30 and Feb. 20, 1771, have been supplied from the original piece cut out of the page at some unknown date and by some unknown person, who, of course, had no authority so to deface the book. The cut-out fragment was given many years ago by Miss Susan Woolsey, a niece of President Woolsey, of Yale, to the present holder of it, who was then collecting autograph material. Miss Woolsey was a writer of children's books under the nom de plume of "Susan Coolidge." The cut-out fragment was written on both sides and so, providentially, the Minutes of two meetings were preserved.

the Meeting was dismissed. Question brought in ^{by Gurley} to be recorded

To extract the square Root of $\frac{16}{99}$ that is divide 16 by 99:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 99/160 \\ / \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1616 \\ 1616 \end{array} \right\} 44 \text{ Root}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 610 \\ 594 \\ \hline 160 \\ 99 \\ \hline 610 \\ 594 \\ \hline 16 \end{array}$$

Test **Nathan Hale**

February 20th AD 1771

This honourable Society met at Gurleys Room.*

The Meeting was opened by a Narration spoken by Robertson, and after some Questions the Meeting was dismissed. Question with the solution brought in by Hale 1st, Question why is a Degree of Latitude Longest at the Poles? Answer because the Circle of the Earth is largest there

Test **N Hale**

February 27th AD 1771

This venerable Society met at Hayes's Room the Meeting was opened by a Narration spoken by Sir Williams, and after some Questions the Meeting was dismissed. Question brought in by myself. Q. How are the parts of Life divided Answer. Into three; the Vegitive, the Sensitive, and the rational.

Test **Nathan Hale**

June 5th AD 1771

It has ^{been} usual to celebrate the Anniversary in April. ^{but} it was adjurn'd this year for well known Reasons untill this Day, when this honourable Society conven'd at the House of M^r Brown in

* These minutes are missing from the book. See footnote under Jan. 30, 1771.

order to ^{celebrate} the annual Rites of this Society. The Exercises were begun by an Oration Delivered by Cutler, immediately after a Dialogue Spoken by Alden & Lyman and then was delivered a Farce called the Toy Shop, after which were elected the Necessary Officers for the ensuing year. Chiny was chose Chancelor, Cob Seccritary, & Billi[ngs] Hall, Williams 1^s Alden & Williams 2^s Committee. After which Go[uld] delivered a Validictory Oration, which was answered by an Oration spoken by Williams 1^s which conclud[ed] the Exercises of the Day. All the Transactions of the Day were performed to the Universal Satisfaction of all present.

Test. **Nathan Hale** Scrib[e]

September 3^d 1771

This Venerable Society Met at Williams 1^{mus} Room the meeting was opened By Admitting 5 Members viz. Bliss, Kimball, Holcomb, Welles & West afterwards Questions Were Asked and the Meeting Closed With a Diverting Dialogue spoken by Barker Billings Cobb & Williams 1^{mus} the scribe Being Absent Keyes, Was Appointed pro Tempore.

Test _____

October 30th AD 1771

This honourable Society convened at Hale's Room when according to the usual Custom Hall was appointed Chancelor & Cobb Librarian, ^{four Members taken in viz} Grenough Swift Tuller & Whiting It being the first Meeting after ^{the} Vacation, there were no other Exercises perform'd except asking of Questions.

Test **Nathan Hale** Scribe

November 6th AD 1771

This Honourable Club met at Cob's Room. The Meeting were entertained with a variety of agreeable questions proposed by the

several Members thereof. after which they were entertain'd with a Speech spoken by **Hale** 2^d.—A Question & Solution brought in by Hall.—Question? Æneas & Dido in what Time did they live? Answer. The best Historians inform us, Ethobaal had a grandson whose Name was Mittemus, who had two Sons, Pygmation and Barca; And two Daughters Dido & Anna. Pygmation having murdered Sicheus Dido's Husband, for the sake of his treasure; for which Cause She retired into Afric, and built Carthage, an 142 years, after the Builing of Solomon's Temple, which was 289 Years after the Destruction of Troy. When Æneas was in a bad Condition to make a lover of, he must have been rotten in the Gro[und] many years before. So that we must pay no regards to Virgils making of her Cotemporary with Æneas.

Test **N Hale** Scribe

November 20 AD 1771

This Honourable Society met at K^eyes Room. The Members were almost universaly present. After we had been entertain'd with a very agreable Narration spoken by Alden, the following new Regulations were proposed by the Committee, and confirm'd by the votes of all the Members present, viz

1st That the thanks of this Society be given to M^r Lockwood and M^r Sherman for their generous Donations of Books to the aforesaid Society, & that the same be recorded.

2^{ly} Whereas it is the Custom of said Society that a curi^ous Question ^{be} brought in at each meeting of this Society, which Question is to be recorded, it is agreed that a Person or Persons be appointed to examine said Questions, in which if there be any bad Grammar wrong Spelling or the like, they may have power to alter the Same so that nothing unwort^hy of saⁱd Society be recorded.

3^{ly} As Persons very commonly in Conversation use bad Grammar it is determin'd that in the Meeting free liberty be taken by all present to criticise upon each other's Language

4^{ly} Wheras it is a law of this Society that no book be taken out of the Library, except on Saturday, which is very inconvenient

for many Reasons, it is therefore agree'd that the Members have free Liberty to take out Books at any time of the week, & that he return it within a week from the time that it was taken out.—

5^{ly} That a Person or Persons be appointed to assist the Secretary in recording as he is much be hind hand at present

6 That the Name of every Person who is so generous as to give any thing to the Library, be recorded together with the sum he gives.

After the Members had agree'd to the above written Regulations, they proceeded to appoint the following ^{to} examine the questions brought in to be recorded, viz, Williams 1st, Alden, and Williams 2^d. Six were likewise chosen to assist the Secretary viz Williams 1st, Alden, **Hale** 2^d, Keyes, Meed, and West, which officers being appointed they proceeded to the usual Exercise of asking Questions afte^r which Barker, Hale 1st Williams 2^d & Grenough delivered a dialogue & then M^r Chance^llor (Hall) concluded the exercises of the evening with a dissertation on Society.

Test **Nathan Hale** Scribe

November 27th 1771

This renowned Society Convened at Camp's Room. Members in General Present, The Meeting Was opened With an Entertaining, & instructive, Narration, Delivered by Keyes. and Closed With an agreeable Dialogue, Spoken By Holcomb, Kimball, & West, it Being the usual time of Electing Officers, Williams 1^{mus}, Was Chosen Chancellor. & Williams 2^{dus}, Scribe, Likewise Enoch Woodbridge, Was Admitted as a Member, of the above said Honorable Society.—

Test Ebenezer Williams Scribe

Questⁿ Brought in By Hilhouse to Be recorded— What is the reason that in Every Quadratic Æquation the unknown Quantity has two Values or Roots? Ans Because that When it has either the Sign + or — Prefixed to it (in which Cases it has two Different Values) Being Involved to the second third or any proposed Power it Will Produce the same Quantity in one Case as the Other———

December 4th 1771

This Honorable Society Met at Merwin's Room the Meeting Was opened With A Narration Spoken By Kimball and Closed With A Dialogue Spoken by Barker & Merwin And A speech By M^r: Kimball——

Test Eb^r: Williams Scribe

December 11th 1771

This Venerable Society Met at Holcomb's Room Exercises as usual the Meeting Was Closed With a Dialogue Spoken By M^r: Grenough & Kimball The Chancelor & Scribe being absent M^r: Billings Was appointed Chacellor Pro tempore & M^r: Alden Scribe Pro tempo^{re} Mean While some Plutonian Interlopers Sent A Listening Ear as Was afterwards Discovered

Test Eb^r: Williams Scribe

December y^e 18th 1771

This Illustrious Society Met at **Hale's** Room Few Members Present Little Done the Meeting Was Closed With a Speech Delivered By M^r: **Nathan Hale**—

Test Ebenezer Williams Scribe

December 25th 1771

This night being the Time on Which this respectable Society Should have Met the Meeting was Deferred Untill the Ensuing Week on account of its Being the Night Before Quater Day

Test Eb^r: Williams Sc^{ribe}

January 1st AD 1772

The honourable Society of the fellowship Club Convened at Kimball's room, full Meeting, Tullar opened the Meeting with an Entertaining Narration. it being at the beginning of the month Cobb was chosen Chosen Chancelor & Williams 2^{dus's} Month for being

Scribe being expired West was chosen Scribe for the ensuing Month. Hays brought in the followin Question. (Viz)

Quest. What is the reason that though all the Rivers run into the sea, yet the sea doth not increase?

Answ. because the waters return from the Sea by subteranean Cavities thro' various parts of the Earth; and the quantities of Vapours raised from the Sea and falling on the Land, only cause a circulation, but not Increase of water.

Mean while some Plutonian interlopers lent a listening Ear as was afterwards Discoucovered. and the Meeting was closed with an agreeable Speech; Delivered by Hays.

Test. Jeremiah West Scribe

January 8th. AD 1772

This Honourable Society Met at Aldens Rom. the Meeting was opened by an agreeable Narration Delivered by Greenough. it was a very agreeable Meeting and after Several profitable Questions had been asked the Meeting was closed With a Speech Delivered by Kimball.

Test Jeremiah West Scribe

January 15th. The Honourable Fellowship Club Met at Hall's Room had a full Meeting & after Several Questions had been asked & some other exercises performed there was an agreeable Dialogue Delivered by Camp & Williams 2.^{du}s and Hale 1.^{mus} brought in a Discertation upon the study of the Mathematicks after which the Meeting was Dismissed

Test J. West Scribe

January 22. AD 1772

Then this Honourable Society Met at Leonard's Room the Meeting was opened by — a very agreeable Narration Delivered by Hall andfter* Several Questions had been asked. the Meeting was Dismissed.

Test: J: West. Scribe

* "and after."

Jan^r: 29th AD 1772

This venerable Society met at the Room of Welles, ^{few Members}
^{present} it being y^e Time according to the usual Custom to chuse a
 Chancellor & Scribe Barker was chosen Chancellor & Hale ^{1st mus}
 Schribe the Meeting was opened by a Narration spoken by Hall;
 & after some very agreeable Questions was closed by a Desitation
 brought in by Hall Test E.Hale Scribe

Feb^r. 5th AD 1772

This ever memorable Society met at Swift's Room the meeting
 was ^{as full as Common} & was opened by some very useful & entertaing
 Questions asked by the Members who were present & then a
 Speech was delivered by Kimbal & the Meeting was closed by a
 very agreeable Dialogue spoken by Cobb & Cooley
 Test Enoch Hale Scribe

Feb^r. 12: AD 1772

This renowned Society convened at Cooley's Room Members as
 frequently present as usual the Meeting was opened by a Narra-
 tion spoken by M^r. Hall & after some very agreeable Questions
 M^r. Hall gave us an agreeable Disertation upon Reflection & the
 Meeting was closed by a Dialogue delivered by Lyman, **Hale** 2^{dus}
 & myself Test Enoch Hale Scribe

Feb^r. 19th AD 1772

The honorable Fellowship Club convened at Camp's Room many
 of the Members being unwell the Meeting was not so full as
 usual; we had no Exercises, but some very agreeable & useful
 Questions

Test E. Hale Scr[]

February 26.th AD 1772

The honourable Fellowship Club convened at Lymans Room and
 after Several questions had been asked an entertaining Dialogue
 was Delivered by Cobb, Barker, and Kimball, after which the

Meeting was closed ^{with} a pleasing Speech Spoken by Kimball.—
N: B: Welch was Chosen Chancelor & West. was also chosen
Scribe at said Meeting—

Test. J: West Scribe

March 4.th 1772—

The honourable society of the Fellowship Club met at Kimball's Room and as there were but few members present the Meeting was adjourned till the 11th of said March.

Test Jeremiah West Scribe

March 11.th 1772—

This honourable Society met at Kimball's Room, the Meeting was opened with an Entertaining Narration; Spoken by Hale 2.^{dus} had an agreeable Meeting; which after several Questions had been asked, was closed with a speech Delivered by Greenough.

Test; Jerem.^h West Scribe—

March 18th 1772

This honorable Society met at Swifts Room, Williams 1^{mus} was chosen chancellor, and Tullar Scribe; the meeting was opened with a Narration Spoken by Kimball, and after Some entertaining Questions the Meeting was closed with a Speech Spoken by Kimball

Test David Tullar Scribe

March 25th AD 1772

The Honorable Society convened at Leonard's room, the meeting was as full as common and it was opened with a very agreeable Narration Spoken by Leonard, and after Some very agreeable Questions the meeting was closed with a Speech delivered by Swift

Test David Tullar

April 1th AD 1772

This renowned Society convened at Woodbridges room. The meeting was opened with a narration Spoken by M^r Hale 2^{dus}, and after Some very agreeable Questions, the meeting was closed with a Dialogue Spoken by Swift and Kimball. And a Question by Greenough Q: What is the reason that men are more inclined to Vice than Vertue? Ans: Because of the depravity of their nature

Test David Tullar Scr

April 10th AD 1772

This venerable Society convened at Williams' 1^{mus} Room, the members were chiefly there, it being not the usual night of convening, there was nothing done except Some members from the Critonian meeting. viz. Canfield. Ely. Booge. Woodhull. were admitted as members of ours

Test David Tullar Scribe

April 13th AD 1772

This ever memorable Society convened at Williams 1^{mus} Room, it not being the usual time of meeting there was nothing done, excepting that Samson was admitted.

Test David Tullar Scribe

April 15th AD 1772

This honorable Fellowship Clubb met together to celebrate the Anava^rsary att the house of Mr. as usual[^]. The meeting was opened with Beauxs Stratigems, the prologue was Spoken by Aldin, then followed the actors whose names are as follows, Lyman, Cooly, Billings, Williams 2^{dus}, Cobb, Woodhull, Williams 1^{mus}, Hays, Greenough, Hale 1^{mus}, Robinson, West, Kimball, Hillhouse, Mead. Then as usual officers were chosen. Hale 2^{dus} was chosen

Secretary, Lyman Librarian, Robinson, Samson, and Williams 2^{dus}. Swift, and West were chosen committee. Then a vote passed, that if ever, this honorable fellowship club Should be desolved, and ^{intirely} disporced, the Books which are, or shall be given, to Said Library; Shall be given to the Library of Yale College. Then three orations were delivered by Billings, Hale 2^d, and Aldin. Exercises were all very agreeably performed. Then we were very well entertained with a Supper

Test David Tullar Scribe.

April 23^d AD 1772

At a very full meeting, of the Bretheren of the ever memorable fellowship Club, conveened a **Hales** Room (there being no persons appointed to perform the usual exercises of the meeting, by reason of our celebrating the aniversary on the wednesday preceeding) little was done, except asking Questions as usual & appointing persons to peform the exercises at the next meeting

Test Robinson Scribe

July 29th AD 1772———

The Honourable Society of the fellowship Club Convened at **Hales** Room, full Meeting, Alden was Chosen Chancelor, & West Scribe, Voted that the committee Should take Care to Invite freshmen to Enter the meeting, also Voted that, Robinson, Williams, Swift, & Tuller, together with the assistance of Samson (who was Chosen before) should Revise & Correct y^e Laws of s^d. Society, & after several Instructive Questions had been asked the Meeting was Dismissed.

———— Test Jeremiah West Scribe

August 5th AD 1772

The honourable Fellowship Club met at Robinson's Room, M^r. Lewis Entertained ^{us} with an agreeable Narration after which sev-

eral Instructive questions were asked , & then the Meeting was closed with a Speech deliver'd by **Hale** 2^{dus}

Test J West Scribe~

August 13th 1772

This honourable Society Convened at Sampson's Room the Meeting was opened with Narration deliver'd by West after which questions were asked as usual, the Laws were then read as they have been lately Revised & corrected, & were approved of by the Society, after which the Meeting was closed by a Dialogue Spoken by Mead & Lyman.

Test J West Scribe

August 19th AD 1772

The honourable Fellowship Club met at Mead's room, Questions were asked round as usual, after which ^{this} question was forensically disputed, by Alden & Sampson, /viz/ whether the Knowledge of Mathematicks, is ^{equally} or more Advantageous than that of the Languages? and was managed by both parties to ^{the} entertainment & satisfaction of the Audience: a Speech was then delivered by Greenough and then the Meeting was Dismissed.

Test Jeremiah West Scribe

August 26th. AD 1772

The honourable & never to be forgotten Society of the Fellowship Club convened at Robinson's Room, ^{there was a} full meeting, and as it was the usual time for taking freshmen into the Society, there were no less than nineteen worthy young men admitted and Receiv'd as members of the sd Fellowship Club; /viz/ Henry Dagget, Samuel Whittelsey Dana, Adam Edson, Nathan Fenn, Ebenezer Huntington, Joshua Johnson, Adoniram Judson, Edmund Mills, John Mitchel, John Mix, James Morris, William Moseley, Joshua Perry, Davenport Phelps, Solomon Porter, Solomon Reed, Matthew Scribner, Roger Wells, Elisha Williams, who are all worthy young gentlemen & will undoubtedly do honour ^{to} the society of the now flourishing Linonian Meeting, and the Receiving of Whom, must unavoidably make

grim Pluto's Realm Quake & tremble even from the very foundation; after the afores^d. Freshmen were Rec^d. as members of the Society Exercises were performed as usual, (as to say;) questions were first asked round, then West & Booge disputed the following Question forensically, (viz) whether the Dictates of Conscience are always to be followed, which was succeeded by a Speech Delivered by Kimball, then the meeting was dismissed with a humerous Dialogue spoken by Camp & Lyman — —

Test Jeremiah West Scribe

N : B : Robinson was Chosen Chancelor & West Scribe at the fore mentioned Meeting —

August 31st AD 1772—

The Honourable Society of the Fellowship Club convened at Lyman's room, had a very full meeting, Robinson first Related an Entertaing Narration, Questions were then asked as usual, after which the followin question (viz) Whether an Idiot or a wise man Enjoys himself best In the present Life, was disputed forensically by Leonard & Williams 2^{dus}, then Alden Read an instructive Discertation; the whole was then conclud^ed with a Dialogue spoken by Hale 2^{dus}, Lyman, Kimball, & West.

Test Jeremiah West Scribe

October 29th AD 1772

The Honourable Society of the Fellowship Club convened at **Hales** Room, full meeting, Hale 2^{dus}, Was Chosen Chancelor & Judson, Scribe, their were Five Young men admited & Received into the Society One Ju^r, & four Soph^{es}, /viz/ Noah Atwater, Jun^r, Nehemiah Prudon, Simeon, Newel James Buggs, Philo Shelton, Sophimores, worthy Young gentlemen who undoubtedly will be an Honour to S'd Society the exercises were Performed as usial By asking questions & the meeting was Closed By A Speech which was delivered by fenn ———

—Test Adoniram Judson
Scribe——

November 4th AD 1772 ———

This venerable society convened at Wests Room, A very full meeting, & it was opened by a very Pleasing Narration, which was delivered by Robinson, Questions were then asked as usual, A dialogue was then delivered by Swift & Tullar & The meeting. Was Closed by a dissartation delivered by **Hale**, 2, ^{aus}

Test Adoniram Judson Scribe

November 11th AD 1772

The Honourable Society of the Fellowship Club Convened at Judsons Room, full meeting, Atwater Delivered A Speech then four Sop^s, were Received Jnto this Flo^rishing meeting. viz, David Bushnel Richard Sill, Steven Row Bradley, gabez Colten, Which will make Profitable Members of s^d, Meeting, the meeting was Closed by questions As usial which were Very Profitable.

Test Adoniram Judson

November 18th AD 1772

This illustrious society of the fellowship Club Met at Reeds Room, full meeting it was opened by questions Which was very Profitable & entertaining then A Dialogue was delivered by fenn Huntington And Johnson, which was very Agreeable, & Entertaining the meeting was Closeed by questions. also one Junior & one Sophimore (viz) Benjamin Foster & Benjamin Welles were then recieved into this meeting Gentlemen of Truth & Veracity.——

Test A. Judson,
Scribe.

November 26th AD 1772

Then convened at Johnson's Room this renowned Society, very frequent, the Meeting was opened by a Narration delivered by **Hale*** very instructive continued by Question Then was Thomas Mead chosen Chancellor & Joshua Johnson Scribe.— resolved also at this meeting, for the future there should be extemporary Disputes commenced, a Dialogue delivered by Tullar, Mills,

* Nathan undoubtedly.

Scribner, and Huntington. one Disputation by Merwin & Wittlesey another by West and Kimball, all very entertaining as well as instructive, then was the Meeting closed ^{with} a Speech delivered by Mead

Test Joshua Johnson Scribe

December 2nd AD 1772

Then the honourable Fellowship Club associated very frequent at Tullars Room, the Meeting was opened by an extemporary Dispute continued by Questions; then followed a Disputation between Fenn & Johnson. Orators were chosen for Anniversary Robinson introductory Mead Valedictory, Swift diosophic, & Tullar in answer to the Valedictory; and closed with Dissertation deliverd by Mead and a Dialogue by Foster, Prudden, & Daggette—

Test Joshua Johnson Scribe

December 9th AD 1772

At a Convention holden at Morris's Room, many very agreeable Exercises were transacted, as usual.——

Test Johnson Scribe.

December 16th AD 1772

Then this worthy Society convened at Holcomb's Room. the Meeting was opend with an Extemporary Disputation upon the Question—Whether it is right to enslave the Affricans? by Booge, Grenough, Swift, & Foster. Then proceeded Questions; A Dispute by Prudden & Colton; & closed with a Dialogue delivered by Lyman, Mead and Williams primus, all very instructive.——

Test Joshua Johnson Scribe.

December th23 Anno Domini 1772

Then this Hono^urable Society conveyin'd att the Room of Nathan Fenn, where according to the common Custom: Williams was ap-

pointed Chancellor. Nathan Fenn Scribe. after which the Meeting was opened with a very entertaining Narration by **Hale** 2^d: after that Questions were asked Round. then a Dispute was delivered by Foster and West, then a very agreeable Dialogue was delivered by Johnson Fenn & Prudden

Test Nathan Fenn
Scribe

December th30 AD 1772—

then the Honourable Fellowship Club meet att Sampsons Room where the Meeting was opened with a very agreeable and entertaining extemporary Dispute, delivered by **Hale** 2^d Meed Tuller and Fauster. after that, Question wer asked round, then an agreeable Dissertation was delivered by Sampson

Test Nathan Fenn Scribe

January th6 Ann Domini 1773

Then the Honourable Linonian Meeting met at Hays Room the Members being generally there the Exercise was opened by a Narration delivered by **Hale** 2^d very entertaining, after that Questions were asked round, then a forensical Dispute was deliver'd by Swift and Greeno, and after that a Dialogue was Delivered by Fenn Prudden Johnson and Shelton—

Test Nathan Fenn Scribe

January th13 Anon Domini 1773

Then the Honourable Linonian Meeting met at **Hales** Rome about a midling full meeting. it was opened with a very agreeable Extemporary Dispute by **Hale** Swift Fauster and Greeno, after that was over Questions were asked round—

Test Nathan Fenn Scribe

February 2^d AD 1773

The Honorable Fellowship Club met at Keith's room, the Scribe was absent & West was Chosen Scribe pro Tempore, the meeting was opened by an extempore Dispute between Mead, Greenough, Holcomb, & West, after which questions were asked as usual, & a Dialogue Spoken by Dagget & Wells, 3^{tius} a Discertation was then exhibited by Williams 1^{mus} and the whole was concluded with a forensik Dispute by Greenough & West~

Test J. West Scribe

February 17th AD 1773

The Fellowship-Club convened at Fenn's Room (a full meeting,) Williams 1^{mus}, began the exercises with a Narration; questions were then asked as usual, after which an entertaining Dialogue was delivered by Fenn, Prudden, & Shelton, a question was brought in with the answer by Williams 1^{mus}, and the whole was then Closed by a Speech spoken by Fenn.

Test Jeremiah West Scribe

February 24th AD 1773

The Fellowship Club met at Coltons room, an Extemporary Dispute was first exhibited by Lyman, Hale 1^{mus}, **Hale** 2^{dus}, & Williams 1^{mus}, questions were then asked as usual ^{and} a Dialogue was delivered by Hale 1^{mus}, and Lyman: after which the meeting was dismissed.

N: B: Lyman was chosen Chancelor & West scribe, at Said Meeting

Test J. West Scribe

January 3:^d 1773

Then the Fellow-ship Club met at Swift's Room and were, first entertained with a Narration; related by **Hale** 2^{dus} after which questions were asked, as usual; and the whole was concluded by a Dialogue, spoken by Mead & Foster.

Test J West Scribe

March 24th 1773

The society convened at West's Room The meeting was opened by chusing to officiate for the following Month Roger Alden as Chancellor & Eben^r Williams as Scribe. We had beside the usual exercises, a Dialogue Between **Hale** 2^d & Mead on the Advantages^{of} attending the weekly meetings

Test. Eben^r. Williams Scribe

March 31st

The scene of this night's Transactions was Judson's Room, Exercises as usual. **Hale** 2^d, Swift & Fenn, were chosen to superintend the Affairs of the Anniversary. The Dialogue between **Hale** 2^d & Mead was continued

Test Eben^r Williams Scribe

April 7th

The meeting was this night held at Moseley's Room **Hale** 2^d was chosen Chancellor Pro Tempore. Exercises as usual. A Dissertation in Poetry was delivered by Atwater

Test Ebenezer Williams Scribe

N. B. The Three last Meetings have been more universally attended than those for a Month or two before.

April 13 1773

This day according to appointment the society convened at the dwelling House of M^r: Thomas Atwater, to celebrate the anniversary Solemnity for the Year 1773. The exercises were opened at 11 O^Clock by an elegant Oration, adapted to the Occasion delivered by W^m Robinson, this was followed by another Oration spoken by Swift. The society next proceeded to ^{the} election of the necessary Officers for the ensuing year When the following Choices were made, viz, West, secretary, Swift, Librarian, Tullar, Atwater, Foster, Bushnel & Porter, Standing Committee. The first part of the Lecture on Heads was then exhibited, by Mr Williams after which we adjourned to the dining Room where we found an

elegant entertainment prepared. After Dinner, as soon as matters could be properly adjusted The New Comedy entitled the West-Indian* was represented. The Prologue was spoken by Joel Hays. The Actors were,

Dramatis Personae

Men

Stockwell	—	—	—	—	—	G. Clark Lyman
Belcour	—	—	—	—	—	Ebenezer Williams
Captain Dudley	—	—	—	—	—	Thomas Mead
Ensign Charles Dudley	—	—	—	—	—	Stephen Keyes
Major O'Flaherty	—	—	—	—	—	Matthew Scribner
Stukely	—	—	—	—	—	Nathan Fenn
Fulmer	—	—	—	—	—	Jeremiah West
Varland	—	—	—	—	—	Ruben Holcomb
Servant	—	—	—	—	—	Benj ⁿ Welles

Women

Lady Rusport	—	—	—	—	—	A. J. Booge
Charlotte Rusport	—	—	—	—	—	W ^m Greenough
Louisa, Daughter to Dudley	—	—	—	—	—	Henry Dagget
M ^{rs} Fulmer	—	—	—	—	—	Joshua Johnson
Lucy	—	—	—	—	—	Elisha Williams

Both the scenery & Action were on all hands allowed to be superiour to any thing of the kind heretofore exhibited on the like Occasion. The whole received peculiar Beauty from the Officers appearing dress'd in Regimentals, & the Actresses in full & elegant suits of Lady's apparel. The last scene was no sooner closed than the company testified thier satisfaction by the clapping of hands. Between the third & fourth Acts a musical dialogue was sung between Fenn & Johnson in the characters of Damon & Clora, which met with deserv'd applause. An Epilogue made

* "The West Indian," by Richard Cumberland, first produced in 1771. The Linonia boys were pretty smart to get hold of this and produce it as early as April 1773.—G. D. S.

expressly on the occasion & delivered by **Hale** 2^d was receiv'd with approbation. The musical Dialogue was then again repeated; A humurous Dissertation on Law was delivered by Mills; & at the request of several Gentlemen who were not present in the former part of the Day the first part of the Lecture on Heads was again exhibited.

After a short pause which was enlivened by agreeable Conversation & a Cheerful Glass, a pathetic Valedictory oration was delivered by Mead & answered by Tullar.

Thus ended the exercises of the Anniversary, no part of which escaped without the Approbation of the Assembly.

Encomiums on particular parts would at least be needless if not impertinent. suffice it to say that the whole was by all present allowed to be superiour to any thing of the Kind they had ever before seen.

At five o'Clock the Assembly walked in procession to the College & then dispersed.

That Linonia may never want wherewith to make her Anniversaries as agreeable is the wish of every member & particularly of

Ebenezer Williams, Scribe.

LINONIA ORATIONS BY BILLINGS AND BY NATHAN HALE

[The Orations by Billings and by Nathan Hale are in a book of records of the Linonian Society, bound like the other Linonian volumes with mottled cover and black leather corners and backstrip. Bound into the volume are the original covers, the front cover bearing the legend, "Records of Linonia Society." Six unnumbered pages follow; two of them are title-pages decorated with ink flourishes. Then follow pages numbered 9 to 138, but not consecutively; pages 15-18, 37-44, 47-48, 53-58, 61-68, 79-84, 87-95, 101-107, 119-120, 123-128, and 133-134, are all missing.

The first numbered pages, 9 to 14, are blank. Pages 15 to 18 are missing. The Orations by Billings and Hale occupy pages 19 to 23, and are followed by an Oration by Alden at the same Anniversary in 1772 on pages 23 and 24. Questions presented and answered at meetings of the Society from December 1772 to February 1773 fill pages 24-32, and a poem by Atwater, "On Praise and Honour," pages 32-34. All of this matter, through page 34, is in the same fine, elegant handwriting, not identified.

In a different handwriting are the Orations by Robinson and Tullar at the Anniversary in 1773, pages 34-36 and 45-46.

The last of the numbered pages, 138, is followed by a half sheet and twelve unnumbered whole sheets, the last date being 1802. These are followed by 26 unnumbered pages, which look older and more worn than those immediately preceding, but they are undated essays. The next 8 pages contain a catalogue of members, 1753-1797, and the last 10 pages contain a catalogue of books in the Society's Library.—*D. L. J.*]

VALEDICTORY ORATION, BY BILLINGS, AT THE LINONIA ANNIVERSARY OF APRIL 13, 1772

Gentlemen,

The period
is come, the disagreeable period, which bids some of us take
our leave of this Society, and bid a long, a lasting adieu
to fair Linonia and her worthy Sons. A word hard to be pr[— —]
ced by parting friends, and fain would we longer stifle it in [— — —]
breasts, but this day, which we long sin[c]e beheld with wa[— — —]

eyes, tho' contrary to our wills, forces us to speak it. But let us drop for a moment this gloomy thought of parting and divert ourselves with something of a more pleasing nature. And here friendship invites us to speak in its praise, before we leave this its darling seat. O Friendship the charmer of the mind the peculiar inhabitant of the heavenly world! Angels first enjoyed its sweet and alluring charms, and man, without it kindled in his breast, is truly miserable. Friendship is the very foundation on which civil society is built, but especially the amiable society of fair Linonia, in which it has ever reigned triumphant. Needless it is, to mention friendship and cordial affection our worthy founders have each other, for, but consult our own breasts, we shall find them glowing, with the most refined sentiments of friendship. Certainly this is truth; for the countenances of ever present confirms it.

In our weekly meetings, what open freedom is used? Here tied in the strictest bonds of friendship, we may tread the intricate paths of science; climb from step to step towards perfection; and amuse ourselves with things of a most pleasing kind. Whilst a smile sits every countenance, we unbosom our selves, in the most tender and friendly manner, and promote our mutual happiness with all the zeal and ardor, a friendly soul can be possessed of. Thro' which agreeable and delightful scenes we have all passed, with the utmost pleasure. How sensibly then, must it strike us, when we collect, that this day puts an end, a final end to all these pleasing enjoyments? And since it thus appointed, let us submit, and take our leave of those who succeed as guardians to fair Linonia.

[Billings proceeds to address those undergraduates who will remain to carry on.]

Dear Gentlemen,

It gives us [line gone]

ted in Linonia's cause, solicitous for her welfare and anxious to promote interest. Proceed, dear Gentlemen, to support and love our mater alma Linonia. Flourish she will if you only lend her

aid. Be all united against her foes, strenuously bare down all opposition. To this end cultivate a good understanding with each other. Be extreimly nice in your choice of members. When you choose, pick for the scholar and the man, not for those who only have names, for the sake of number: always knowing, that a few wise men promote the good of a society more than a multitude of foolish. And by all means, pay due observation to the laws. Be steady and resolute, for by these means you may soon make Linonia flourish, and become the admiration of all. By the assistance of these, we hope and believe you will be soon able to put down that haughty proud Plutonia, & crush her spurious sons as mire under your feet, never to rise. Now dear associates, accept our humble thanks, for your affection for Linonia and generous treatment to us her sons. Be assured you have our most sincere wishes for your advancement, and at last a reception to those serene mansions of eternal day.

It now remains for us to take leave of each other.

[Billings concludes by addressing his graduating classmates.]

Dear Class-mates,

For almost four years we have been nearly connected as Class-mates; but more so, as sons of Linonia. A thousand pleasing things have rendered us not only friends, but brothers; and howe agreeably have the hours roll'd, in delightful conversation? But alas! these charming, pleasing and delightful scenes are now drawn to a close. Then fare well Linonia, dear Class-mates fare well, Gentlemen one and all fare well, a long, a long fare well!

VALEDICTORY ORATION BY HALE 2^d ANSWERING TO THE FOREGOING

Kind Sirs,

Sorrow which hath for a long time spared to molest this peaceful society with its disagreeable presence, has we see at length approach'd it, and bedim'd your countenances, with an unusual kind of sadness. Sorrow is indeed unpleasing; yet, when

the cause of it is so just as at present, how shall we attempt to restrain it? That the Gentlemen who have now taken their leave of us were very much beloved by us, our inward emotions, as well as countenances, do very strongly testify. They have been rendered dear to us, not only by a long and intimate acquaintance, but by the strictest bonds of unity and friendship. How shall we ever forget the many agreeable evenings we have spent in their company? or by what new revolutions, do we hope to arrive to that happy period, when contented with our happiness, we shall wish no more the return of such delightful scenes? The high opinion we ought to maintain of the abilities of these worthy Gentlemen, as well as the regard they express for Linonia and her Sons, tends very much to increase our desire for their longer [con]tinuance. Under whatsoever character we consider them, we have the greatest reason, to regret their departure. As our patrons we have shared their utmost care & vigilance in supporting Linonia's cause, & protect her from the malice of her insulting foes. As our benefactors we have pertaken of their liberality, not only in their rich & valuable & donations to our library, but, what is still more, their amiable company & conversation. But as our friends, what inexpressible happiness have we experienced in their disinterested love & cordial affection? We have lived together, not as fellow-students, and members of the same college but as brothers & children of the same family; not as superi[ors] & inferiors, but rather as equals & companions. The only thing which hath them the pre-eminence, their superior knowledge in those arts & sciences, which are here cultivated, & their greater skill & prudence in the management of such important affairs as these which concern the good order & regularity of this society. Under the prudent conduct of these our once worthy patrons, but now parting friends, things have been so wisely regulated: as that while we have been entertained with all the pleasures of familiar conversation, we have been no we have been no [sic] less profited by our improvements in useful knowledge & literature. But why should I expatiate upon past pleasures & enjoyments? We are all sensible, alas! too sensible of [them.] So greatly are our minds impressed, with the remembrance of them that the

thought of their now ending, is almost insupportable. But, why have our friends been so unkind, as to add to our sorrow, by representing to our minds, in the most affecting light, our former intimate friendship, & inflaming in our breasts a still greater desire for their longer continuence? We wish for it, but in vain. This day has brought about the unwelcome period, the melancholy prospect of which has so long sadden'd our Hearts. We must now take leave, a final leave, of our dearest friends. Fain would we avoid undertaking; but it cannot be we are obliged to perform it. Since therefore it must be so, let us submit. Let us if possible for a moment put on chearful & benevolent countenances, while we shall return return [*sic*] to our parting friends, for the last time, our sincerest thanks for the numberless kindnesses they have shewn us, since we have the honour of being called Linonia's Sons.

Kind and Generous Sirs, It is with the greatest reluctance, we are now all oblig'd to bid a last adieu to you our dearest friends. Fain would we ask you longer to tarry, but it is otherwise determined, and we must comply Accept then our sincerest thanks, as some poor return for your disinterested zeal in Linonia's cause, & your unwearied pains to suppress her opposers. I understand that at the time, when you were receiv'd by our Ancestors into this society, our best beloved Linonia was brought very low, by the oppressive hand of her numerous opposers. But since the time of your admission she hath been continually encreasing both in dignity & power, arising from step to step, towards her antient Splendor. And hath at length arrived to that flourishing condition in which we now behold her. To you is owing, in a great measure, our present prosperity. (What adequate returns can we make for these signal favours?) But in addition to all the rest you have now given us those instructions, by the observation of which, we may make Linonia still to flourish, & shine forth with superior Splendor. Receive kind Sirs as a very poor return our sincere thanks for your numberless kindnesses. Be assur'd that we shall be spirited in Linonia's cause & with steadiness & resolution strive to make her shine with unparalleled lustre. And althoug Plutonia should make use of every sordid & low-liv'd scheme, to raise herself & rival our fame, rely upon it, that we will

exert ourselves in the use of all proper means to humble her pride & reduce her to her nothing. And you may firmly beleive, we will do our best endeavours to render ourselves worthy our illustrious Ancestors. Be assured Gentlemen, that your memory will always be very dear to us: that althouhg hundreds of miles should interfere, you will always be attended with our best wishes. May providence protect you in all your ways, & may you have prosperity in all your undertakings. May you live long & happy, & at last die satisfied with the pleasures of this world, and go hence to that world where joy shall never cease & pleasures never end.

Dear Gentlemen farewell!

A List of Books in the Library Together With the Names
of the Donors and the Sum Given By Each

LIST OF LINONIA BOOKS IN HALE'S
HANDWRITING

Books	Price	Names	Price Given by Each
Hanways Travels	£2: 8 ^s : 0 ^D	{ Given Entirely By Mr: James Lockwood	{ Two Pounds Eight Shillings
Rollin's Belle Lettres	£1 . 2 ^s : 0 ^D	{ Given Entirely By Mr: William Sherman	{ one Pound Two Shillings
Rollins Ancient History	£0 . . 6 . . 0	{ Given towards them By Mr: William Sherman	{ Six Shillings Each
Chrysalor the Adventures of A Guinea	£1: 4 ^s : 0 ^D	{ By Mr: John Davenport & Mr: John Lewis*	{ one Pound four shillings
Preceptor	£0: 18 ^s : 0 ^D	{ Given Entirely By Mr: Timothy Dwight	{ Six Shillings Each
Shakespear's Works	£1: 16 ^s : 0 ^D	{ Given by Mr: S. Williams Mr: Aaron Hall & Mr S. Cook. Welch	{ Six Shillings Each
		{ Given By Mr: M. Cobb Mr: S: S: A: Barker Mr: E. Billings Mr: Mr: Aaron Hall	{ Six Shillings Each
The Spectator	£1: 16 ^s : 0 ^D	{ Given By Enoch Hale Nathan Hale Stephen Keyes Noah Merwin James Hillhouse Ebenez Williams	{ Six Shillings Each
The World	£1: 6 ^s : 0 ^D	{ Given by Mr: Cutler Gould	{ Twelve [†] Shillings Each
The Guardian	£0: 7 ^s : 6 ^D	{ Given By Bildad Fowler Joel Hays	{ Four [‡] Shillings & Nine Pence Each
Virtue Delineated	£0: 5: 0	{ Given By Mr Thomas Mead	{ Five Shillings

* This line crossed out.
† Apparently should be "Thirteen."
‡ Apparently should be "Three."

A List of Books in the Library &c

Books	Price	Names Given By	Sum Given by Each
Lord Cames Elements of Criticism	£0: 19: 6	Mr. { Leonard Hale 2 ^{dus} William Greenough Thomas Welles Jeremiah West given by Mr: Roger Alden	Four. Shillings and Six Pence One Shilling and Six Pence Four Shillings & ten Pence Four shillings and two Pence Four shillings and Six Pence
Goldsmith's Essays, Littleton's Dialogues	£0: 5: 0 £0: 8 ^s : 6D	Mr: Kimball Mr: { Swift } Tullar }	Five shillings. Five Shillings Five Shillings & six Pence Each
Vicar of Wakefield	£0: 10 ^s : 0D	Given By Mr: Abel Chittenden	Ten Shillings
Art of speaking Byrons Voyage Round the World	£0: 10: 0 } £0: 2: 6	Given By: Ebenezer Williams	Two Shillings & Six pence
Kimber's history of England	£0: 10: 0	Given by { Jos ^{ha} Woodbridge W ^m . Robinson	Five shillings Five shillings
Rollin's [R]oman History	£3 .. 18 .. 0	given by { Lyman Kimball West Mitchel Judson Welles 2 ^{dus} Mix Swift Mills Scribner Whittlesey Royce Williams 2 ^{dus} Morris Johnson Woodhull Daggett Townsend Moseley	Six Shillings Two D ^o Three D ^o Three D ^o Three D ^o Three D ^o Three D ^o Three D ^o Six D ^o Six D ^o Four D ^o Six D ^o Three D ^o Four D ^o Six D ^o Six D ^o Three D ^o Four D ^o Four D ^o

A List of Books in the Library &c

Creviers roman History	£3 .. 14 ^s .. 0 ^D given by	Enoch Hale	Six Shillings
		Joshua Lamb Woodbridg	Six D ^o
		Ebenezer Huntington	Six D ^o
		Ben ⁿ : Welles	Six D ^o
		Benjamin Foster	Four D ^o & Seven Pence
		Richard Sill	Three D ^o
		Joshua Perry	Three D ^o
		Reuben Holcomb	Thhree D ^o & Six Pence
		Nathan Fenn	Four D ^o
		Nehemiah Prudden	Four D ^o
		Adam Edson	Four D ^o
		Sam ^l . Wh ^{tly} Dana	Three D ^o
		James Briggs	Three D ^o
		Solomon Reed	Four D ^o
		John Whiting	Four D ^o & Six Pence
		Noah Merwin	One D ^o & Six Pence
		Roger Alden	Three D ^o
		Philo Shelton	Four D ^o
		James Hillhouse	One D ^o & two Pence
		William Moseley	Five D ^o & nine Pence
Goldsmith's history of England, 4 vol. given by	{	Mr., William Sherman	{ L S d 1 = 14 = 0
Thomson's seasons given by	{	Samson	0 = 5 = 6
The Travels of Cyrus given by	{	Nathan Hale	0 = 5 = 0
Paradise Lost	{		{ 0 = 6 = 0
Addison's Evidences	{		{ 0 = 5 = 6
Night Thoughts	{		{ 0 = 6 = 0
Prior's poems	{		{ 0 = 5 = 0

COMMENCEMENT DAY OF HALE'S CLASS

[The exercises, September 8, 1773, were held in the New Brick Meetinghouse on the Green, the predecessor of the present Center Church. The building accommodated about nine hundred people and we may believe that it held a "capacity house" on the occasion. The following account, from the "Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post Boy," of September 10, 1773, is, as far as the author has discovered, the only contemporaneous account.—G. D. S.]

Last Wednesday the Public Commencement was attended in this town. The Exercises in the forenoon were introduced with Prayer by the Rev'd President.* A Latin salutatory Oration was pronounced by Mr. Wyllys†; succeeded by a syllogistic Forensic Debate by Messrs. Beckwith, Fairchild, Mead and Flint, on this question, "Whether a large Metropolis would be of public advantage to this Colony?" This was succeeded by a Dialogue in English, by Messrs. Alden, Keyes and Marvin, on the three learned Professions; and an English Oration on Prejudice, by Mr. Williams. The Exercises in the forenoon were then concluded with an Anthem.

In the afternoon, The Exercises were introduced by an English Oration on the State of private Schools in this Colony, by Mr. Davenport. Then succeeded a Latin syllogistic Dispute, which was followed by the Forensic Debate, by Messrs. Hale (Nathan), Samson, Robinson, and Talmadge, on this question, "Whether the Education of Daughters be not without any just reason, more neglected than that of Sons?" After the usual Degrees were conferred on the Candidates, the Exercises were closed with a Latin Valedictory Oration, by Mr. Lewis, an elegant Anthem, and a suitable Prayer by the President.

[We may imagine Jack Wyllys, a handsome young fellow of culture, and unusual charm, delivering, in Latin, the Salutatory Oration, and we may hope

* Reverend Dr. Naphtali Daggett, President of Yale *pro tempore* from 1766 until 1777.

† John Palsgrave Wyllys.

that his sister, Susan, had come down from Hartford to hear him, perchance, on the invitation of Ruth Stiles, President Stiles' daughter. After Jack Wyllys' death, Ruth Stiles composed a poem, beginning:

"Susan demands the sad elegiac lay,
Which weeping Friendship pours o'er Palsgrave's shrine;"

As for Hale, we can't help wishing we had a synopsis of his talk, which, as is asserted by tradition and as we have no doubt, favored the education of the daughters. It will be observed that many of the speakers were of the Linonia Brotherhood.—*G. D. S.*]

SOON AFTER GRADUATION HALE PAYS A VISIT TO HIS UNCLE MAJOR SAMUEL HALE AND RETURNS TO TEACH SCHOOL AT HADDAM LANDING AND IN NEW LONDON

After that memorable commencement day early in September, 1773, Hale, with a triumphant college career behind him and a Yale diploma, so to speak, in his pocket, started off in high spirits (presumably on horseback) to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to visit his uncle, Major Samuel Hale, preceptor of the famous Latin School there. Beyond any doubt, in that family circle he met his cousin, Samuel Hale, who was to figure so darkly in the story of his life in days to come. Both the uncle and the cousin were Harvard graduates and Hale was just out of the rival institution at New Haven. Doubtless, the relative merits of Harvard and Yale were the subject of lively debate among them. We are told that Hale charmed that family circle by his "interesting appearance and accomplishments," but except the letter Hale wrote to his uncle, September 24, 1774 (page 25), we have no documentary souvenir of the visit. In making the visit, Hale probably had in mind the career of school-teaching for himself—a profession in which his uncle was so successful.

Returning home, Hale got a chance to teach at Haddam Landing, on the Connecticut River, through the good offices of his old teacher, the Reverend Mr. Huntington, who later helped him get the flattering position of preceptor of the Union School in New London (page 7). Strange as it may seem today, Hale's penmanship was undoubtedly one of his qualifications (see the letter from Timothy Green, page 7).

We get one glimpse of Hale at Haddam Landing through the eyes of Mrs. Hannah Pierson, who knew him well, and another through his own letter (pages 15-16) to his classmate, Mead, from which we gather that he was lonesome without the companionship of his Yale classmates and that he missed the activities of Linonia. The acrimonious letter of William Little (pages 8-10) is also a document of this period. Most significant, how-

ever, is the romance revealed in Hale's own bit of doggerel verse entitled "The Tryst of Haddam Landing" (page 90). Of all the romances with which Hale's name is connected, this romance of Haddam Landing is the only one that is substantiated by a document in his own handwriting.

It was a marked step-up in the world of school-teaching for Hale to be called, after only a few short months, from the little Haddam Landing School, to be preceptor of the newly organized Latin School in New London, and there his course is fully documented by many letters and by the testimony of those who knew him intimately. At New London, through the testimony of Colonel Samuel Green, who was a pupil in the New London School, we see Hale showing off, as it were, as an athlete by jumping from one hogshead out into another and from that into another and so out (see "Colonel Green's Picture of Hale as a School-Teacher" on the following page).

We also see him in the more familiar role of speaker at the town meeting called on the arrival of the news of the thrilling behavior of the "embattled farmers" at Lexington. Hale made the most of the opportunity, and by his "noble demeanor" and impassioned utterance he made an inspiring speech for liberty (see Leverett Saltonstall's letter of January 17, 1837, under the heading "Letters Containing Primary Information"). We are led to think that that speech won him his First-Lieutenancy.

We could wish his life in New London were even more fully documented, as it doubtless would be but for the destruction of papers at the time Benedict Arnold burned the town in 1781.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. HANNAH PIERSON

[From I. W. Stuart's "Life of Captain Nathan Hale," Hartford, 1856, pages 30-31.]

But though thus secluded, it is the testimony of a highly intelligent old lady,* who knew Hale well when he resided at East Haddam, that he was happy, faithful and successful in his office of teacher. "Everybody loved him," she said, "he was so sprightly, intelligent, and kind"—and, she added withal, "so handsome!"

* The late Mrs. Hannah Pierson. [Stuart's footnote.]

COLONEL GREEN'S PICTURE OF HALE AS A SCHOOL-TEACHER

TESTIMONY OF COL. SAMUEL GREEN RESPECTING NATHAN HALE—GIVEN TO ME
[ISAAC W. STUART]; AND BY ME TAKEN DOWN IN THE HISTORICAL
HALL. JANUARY, 1847.

Went to school to Capt. Hale at a school in N. London, called the Union School—so called because about twenty gentlemen united & built a fine school house, to accommodate thirty or forty scholars. About thirty went to Hale—a select school—

Was there when Hale left for the army—Hale a man peculiarly engaging in his manners—scholars old & young exceedingly attached to him—respected highly by all his acquaintance—fine moral character—

Was exceedingly active—would jump from the bottom of one hogshead up and down into a second and from the second up and down into a third like a cat—used to perform this feat often—would put his hand on a fence high as his head, and jump over it—a vigorous, robust, healthy man—form symmetrical—social, sprightly—steady—

In nature & education every way equal—about my height—face full of intelligence & benevolence—manners mild and genteel—a face & appearance that would strike any one anywhere—face indicative of good sense & good feeling—warm & ardent—captivating to all who saw him—

Taught the classics & English—the school owned by the first gentlemen in the city—recommended by the faculty of Yale College probably—children all loved him for his tact and amiability—

Went first from New Loudon to see his parents—then to Cambridge—had been in the school about a year before he left—wonderful control over boys—without severity—

The report of the day was that he was hung up like a beast by his heels & had his throat cut—was betrayed, twas said by a near relative of his in the British army. His fate made an indelible impression upon deponent, as upon all the boys of his school—Deponent can never think of an Englishman with any complacency, from the impression the fate of Hale, and the spectacles he saw at Fort Groton, made upon his mind—

Everybody that knew Hale was attached to him—“that’s the fact.”

BILL FORM IN HALE'S HANDWRITING

[This Hale document was acquired by the author from Mr. Arthur Hale, son of Dr. Edward Everett Hale, who had received it from his father, Nathan Hale, son of Hale's brother, Enoch. It is apparently nothing more than Hale's attempt to arrive at a form of bill for schooling that just suited him, but it does incidentally contain Hale's signature three times, and it shows his fine handwriting. That Hale was an expert penman and that he took special pride in his signatures some of his letters clearly show. He had too the gift of making a quill pen. Lieutenant Bostwick said of him, "He would make a pen the quickest & best of any man", and it must have been regarded as no small accomplishment to be thus mentioned by Bostwick fifty years after Hale's death. Anyone, by the way, who has tried writing with a quill will readily agree that this little document, although it is far from displaying Hale's penmanship at its best, is still very good.—*G. D. S.*]

Sr,

My Bill for Schooling Son the last Quarter

is 0[£].,12^s.,0^d

Your H:ble Svt.

Nathan Hale

Sr,

My Bill for Schooling your Son the last Quarter

is ———0[£].,12^s.,0^d

Yr H:ble Svt.

N Hale

Sr

Your Son's Schooling the last Quarter is 0[£].,12^s.,0^d.

Yr H:ble Svt.

N Hale

W. Saltonstall Esq^r.

V W Saltonstall

W W Saltonstall Esq^r.

MRS. THOMAS POOLE'S TRIBUTE, 1837

[In 1837 William Wanton Saltonstall (1793-1862), of New London, secured the following statement about Hale for Cyrus P. Bradley, to use in his projected "Life" of Hale, from Mrs. Thomas Poole, of New London, an aged, long-widowed gentlewoman. As Elizabeth (Betsey) Adams she had lived in the family of her uncle by marriage, Mr. John Richards, one of the proprietors of the Union School, of which Hale was the preceptor, who had made the young collegian a member of his own household—in the vernacular, "boarded the teacher." Betsey and Nathan, thus thrown together under the same roof, became friends and correspondents—she figures in his Diary. She was a daughter of Captain Pygan Adams (d. 1776), a man of wealth and high position, and a granddaughter of the Rev. Eliphalet Adams (1677-1753, Harv. Coll. 1694), a leading minister who succeeded the Reverend and Governor Gurdon Saltonstall in the church at New London. Betsey was, as thus appears, a young woman of family and of superior advantages. It would appear from Ebenezer Williams' letters to Hale herein printed that Hale had written to him about Betsey, indicating great interest in her.—*G. D. S.*]

Altho long an inmate of the same family with the deeply lamented Capt Hale, I have no recollection of any incident that would be interesting or suitable for a work intended for the public eye.

His Capacity as a teacher, and the mildness of his mode of instruction, was highly appreciated by Parents & Pupils; his appearance, manners, & temper secured the purest affection of those to whom he was known. As a Companion in the social, particularly in the domestic circle, his simple unostentatious manner of imparting right views & feelings to less cultivated understandings was unsurpassed by any individual who then, or since has fallen under my observation. He was peculiarly free from the shadow of guile! his remarkably expressive features were an index of the mind & heart that every new emotion lighted with a brilliancy perceptible to even common observers. No species of deception had any lurking-place in his frank, open meek & pious mind; his soul disdained disguise, however imperious circumstances of personal safety might demand a resort to duplicity & ambiguity.—On the whole I then thought him (& his tremendous fate has not weakened the impression) one of the most perfect human characters recorded in history or exemplified in any age or nation.

TESTIMONY OF
FRANCES MANWARING CAULKINS
(1796-1869)

THE NEW LONDON HISTORIAN

[Miss Caulkins, who was born, lived, and died in New London, gave special attention to historical research and was considered the best authority regarding the local traditions and relics of New London and Norwich. She was born only twenty years after Hale met his fate and doubtless personally knew and talked with many friends and acquaintances of Hale. Her description of him is therefore entitled to be given great weight.—*G. D. S.*]

The extract follows ("History of New London," 1860, p. 515):

"Those who knew Capt. Hale in New London, have described him as a man of many agreeable qualities; frank and independent in his bearing; social, animated, ardent; a lover of the society of ladies, and a favorite among them. Many a fair cheek was wet with bitter tears, and gentle voices uttered deep execrations on his barbarous foes, when tidings of his untimely fate were received.

"As a teacher, Capt. Hale is said to have been a firm disciplinarian, but happy in his mode of conveying instruction, and highly respected by his pupils. The parting scene made a strong impression on their minds. He addressed them in a style almost parental; gave them earnest counsel, prayed with them, and shaking each by the hand, bade them individually farewell."

HALE RECEIVES AN APPOINTMENT AS FIRST LIEUTENANT IN THE THIRD REGIMENT BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[We first find Hale's name in the legislative bill (July 1775) which appointed Hale and others as officers. It is written in long-hand on a sheet of paper and endorsed by Richard Law as Clerk of the House at the time the bill was acted on and passed. It was then sent to the Upper House and endorsed by Secretary Wyllys when it passed there. It is the original document in the State Archives which shows Hale's appointment as Lieutenant. Doubtless a Commission was issued soon after and given to Hale, probably a printed form with his name, date and rank filled in by hand. The receipt of a Commission is plainly referred to in Hale's letter of July 7, 1775 to the proprietors of the Union School, New London (see page 40). Mr. Brewster, our State Librarian, who has the custody of the Connecticut Archives, has kindly furnished me with the text of a corresponding contemporary commission, but, as he cannot be sure that Hale's Commission was a duplicate of it, I have decided not to reproduce it. —G. D. S.]

New London County

This Assembly Do appoint

Cap ^t Joseph Jewet of Lyme	}	to be Captains of the Troops now to [be] Raised for the Defence of this Colony
. Cap ^t Edward Shipman of SayBrook		
. Jabez Fitch Jun ^r	}	to be first Lieutenants of Said Troops
x Asa Kingsbury		
. Aaron Stephens of Killingworth		
1 Nathan Hales of New London		
1 Jonathan Brewster of Norwich	}	To be Second Lieu ^{ts} of Said Troops
1 John Belcher of Stonington		
1 Nath ^l Gove of Preston		
. Elisha Leffingwell	}	Ensigns of Said Forces
1 Phinehas Tracy		
1 and Joseph Hillyard of Stonington		

pass^d in the lower house
Test Rich^d Law Clerk

Concurr^d in the upper House.

with Alteration viz that Phineas Lyman Tracey

be Ensign &c in stead of Phineas Tracey as in the Bill

Test George Wyllys Secret^y

/July 1775/

Concurred with s^d Alteration in y^e lower house

Test^t Rich^d Law Clerk

[Courtesy of Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, Series 1, vol. 1, doc. 214.]

HALE ASSIGNED TO HIS FIRST COMPANY

[Hale's name also appears in a legislative bill (July 1775) organizing a regiment to which Hale was assigned. This too was written by hand. They did not print pending bills at that time.—*G. D. S.*]

This Assembly do appoint the Persons hereafter named to the respective offices herein after mentioned to take the Command of the Inhabitants. to be inlisted and assembled for the special Defence and safety of this Colony in Addition to the six Regiments heretofore raised for the same purpose to lead and conduct them as the General Assembly shall order, and his Honour the Governor is desired, and he is hereby authorised and impowered to give Commissions according to the form provided and ordered for each respective officer according to his Office and Rank, and Warrants to such as are appointed on the Staff—

To wit —

This Assembly do appoint	{	Charles Webb Esq ^r Colonel of the 7 th	} of the first Company in the sixth Regi: ment. —
		Regiment — and Captain	
		Ebenezer Hill Cap ^t . Lieutenant	
		Stephen Betts Jun ^r . 2 ^d . Lieutenant	
		Sylvanus Mead Ensign	

This Assembly do appoint	{	Street Hall Esq ^r . Lieutenant Colonel	} of the second Company in the 7 th Regiment
		and Captain —	
		William Hull — 1 st Lieutenant	
		Stephen Potter — 2 ^d . Lieutenant	
		Titus Moss — Ensign	

This Assembly do appoint	{	Jonathan Latimer Jun ^r Esq ^r . Major	}	of the Third Company in the 7 th Regiment
		and Captain		
		Nathan Hale — 1 st Lieutenant		
		John Belcher — 2: ^d Lieutenant		
		Joseph Hilliard. Ensign		

[July 1775]

[Courtesy of Connecticut State Library. Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, Series 1, vol. 1, doc. 222, p. a. The balance of the document, naming the officers of the other companies, is omitted herein; the same information in slightly different form is available in print in the Colonial Records of Connecticut, vol. 15, p. 93.]

PAY ROLL OF THE FIRST COMPANY OF WHICH HALE WAS CAPTAIN

[The State Archives also contain the Pay Roll of Hale's First Company, of which he was Lieutenant and later Captain. The Pay Roll appears in "Connecticut Men in the Revolution," where some of the names are not correctly transcribed. Only the particulars connected with Hale's name are here given.—*G. D. S.*]

A Pay Roll for the 3^d Company in the 7th Regiment raised by the Colony of Connecticutt ☞ Order of General Assembly May 1775—

Nathan Hale Cap^t. after 1st. Sep^r. till when Lieut [Time Enlisted] July 6th [When discharg'd died or deserted allowing Time to Return home at 15 Miles ☞ Day] Dec^r. 10th [Months & Days in the Service] 5.4 [Wages due] 27.5.4 [When Received Colony Provision] Aug^t. 7th [Days Billeted] 32 [Billeting due] 0.16.0

[A list of the men in Hale's Company follows. Their descendants may well be proud of their association in service with Hale.—*G. D. S.*]

[1]

Mens Names & Quality

Jonathan Lattimore . . . Major

Nathan Hale Cap^t. after 1st. Sep^r. till when Lieut

John Belcher Lieut

Joseph Hillard Lieut after 1st. Sep^r

Alpheus Chapman Ensⁿ. after d^o

George Hurlburt Serj^t

Mens Names & Quality

Joseph Page.....ditto
Reuben Hewitt.....ditto
Ezra Bushnell.....ditto
Stephen Prentice Corporal till Sep^r 1st then Serj^t
Joshua Raymond.....Corp^l
Abraham Avery.....ditto
Henry Hillard.....ditto
Zebulon Cheesebrough.....ditto
Rammenton Sears.....Drum^r.
Robert Lattimore.....Fifer
Robert Latimore Jun^r.....ditto
William Bacon
Christopher Beebe
Amos Butler
Richard Booge
Charles Brown
Jonathan Bowers
Asa Baldwine
Guy Beckwith
William Carver
James Comstock
Benjamin Comstock Jun^r
Simeon Cobb
Fairbanks Church
John Chappell
John Chappell
Benjamin Cheeseborough
Caleb Coats
Reuben Scheasucks
Thomas Scheasucks
George Chunks

[2]

Peter Cheeseborough
Edward Clark
James Dennis

Mens Names & Quality

John Dean
John Dennis
Christopher Dean
Enos Greenfield
David Hilhouse
George Hakes
Isaac Hammon
William Hatch
Samuel Hix
Peter Holt
Thomas Hicox
Elisha Hancock
Elisha Johnson
Robert Johnson
Joseph Lovatt
David M^c.Dowell
Abel Minard
Jabez Minard
Lawrance Martin
Enos Nero
Jared Stephens
Daniel Talbott
Amos Shaw
Sias Pawhig
John Patton
Christopher Woodbridge
James Ward
Samuel Woodland
Ichabod Youngs
John Holmes
Joseph Brown
Joseph Peters
Jeremiah Dodge
David Baldwine

[Courtesy of Connecticut State Library. Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, Series 1, vol. 2 C, doc. 36, pages b, c.]

COLONEL CHARLES WEBB'S ORDERLY BOOK

[Also, the State Archives contain the Orderly Book of Colonel Charles Webb, which was found in the attic of the Hooper House, Marblehead, Mass., occupied in 1910 by Mr. Robert C. Bridge, and presented to the Marblehead Historical Society by Mr. B. W. Caswell, July 7, 1910. This Society voted on Sept. 21, 1916, to present the book to the Connecticut State Library in exchange for a photostatic copy. It was there indexed and handsomely bound in 1917.

The book is $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length by 8 inches in breadth; the pages are a good quality of laid linen paper, with no watermark. Hale's name appears on thirty-nine of the 188 pages, and these references have been carefully examined and digested as follows.—*D. L. J.*]

Colonel Charles Webb was the commander of the regiment in which Hale captained a company until he was detached for his final service with Knowlton's Rangers. In the main part of his Orderly Book, there are only three references to Hale by name, and these are of little significance, as they relate to the court-martialing of three men in Hale's company for various offenses.

Beginning near the end of the book, from page 182 back to page 142, Webb entered his weekly Returns, beginning March 1, 1776, and ending November 22, 1776. These were tabulations of the number of officers and enlisted men, present or absent, in each of the eight companies. Only the captains were mentioned by name, and these through all the Returns were named in the following order: Hait, Tuttle, Shipman, Bostwick, Perrit, Levensworth, Hull, and Hale. Those present were indicated by short lines resembling the figure '1'; those absent by a pen-point dot. Underneath each Return, or a few times on the next page, was a written statement as to the reasons for absence of the various officers, but here the names were not entered; we learn merely that one captain was sick, another on furlough, or the like. But the references seem to be in the same order in which the captains were listed in the tabulation. Hence it is clear that a few of them relate to Hale.

The first Return, dated March 1, 1776, was headed, "A Return of the 19th: Reg^t: Commanded by Col^l: Webb being in the Service of the United Colonies," and was signed by Street Hall, Lieut. Col.; most of the subsequent Returns were signed by Webb him-

self. Hale was present on this occasion, and his company consisted of a 1st Lieutenant, a 2nd Lieutenant, 3 Sergeants, 2 Drum and Fife, and 38 "rank and file," 42 men being "wanting to Compleat" the quota, which for each of the eight companies was set at 80 privates. Three companies at that time had over 70 men, and four companies had over 60 men. Hale's company, being named last and having the fewest men, was doubtless the last of the eight companies to be organized. Hale's company jumped from 37 men on March 15 (one had died the previous week) to 55 on March 24, and the number rose gradually thereafter until May 11, when the apex of 68 was reached. None of the companies ever entirely reached the quota of 80 men, but Hale's remained over 60 until after his death.

Hale was listed in the Returns as present on March 1, March 8, March 15, March 24, April 1, "New York April 5th: 1776," April 13, "Brooklyn Ap^l: 20th: 1776," April 27, "Camp at New York May y^e: 4th: 1776," and "Camp at New York, May 11th: 1776." There are briefer tabulations for May 18 and May 25, in which the names of the captains were not entered. Hale was again listed as present in Returns dated Camp at New York, June 1, 15, 22, and 29.

At New York, July 6, 1776, all eight captains were marked present; but underneath we read, "N: B, One Cap^t: & two Lieut^s On Board a Privateer," but the name of the captain is not stated. Hale was also marked present on July 13; but was absent in the next Return dated "Camp New York July 20th- 1776," and then we get an unusual naming of the captains including "Capt: Hale, One Capt: & 1 Serj^t: Sick." Thus we learn that Hale was ill in midsummer.

On July 27, only four captains, including Hale, were present. The explanatory note does not tally; it states, "N: B, One Col: & 3 Captains On Command, & 1 Capt: Sick, pres^t:" On August 2 four captains, including Hale, were present, but again the note fails to tally: "one Capt: on furlough, 3 Captains on Command, one Capt: Sick."

We next find an interpolated Return, not the weekly tabulation, dated at New York, Aug. 5, which shows "One Col^l: Presi-

dent of the Court Martial," one captain a member of the Court Martial, one captain with Col. Tupper, and a third captain at King's Bridge. Hale was present at the next weekly Return, on Aug. 9, and on the next page, undated, but perhaps the same date, is a long account of where the men of the regiment were located. This is of considerable interest, for it gives us a picture of the varied activities of the regiment while Hale was a captain in it. One captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, and 64 privates were "on Board a Privateer." One ensign, four sergeants, and 18 privates were on board a fireship. One lieutenant and five privates were at King's Bridge; 27 privates were in the Train of Artillery, 20 "Attending the Sick," four were on the "Sheverdefreeze,"* 28 in the Carpenter's works, two at the Commissary, and one at the Blacksmith's works.

Hale was one of the four captains present the next week, Aug. 16, but it was a "sickly time," for we read: "One Col: & one Lt: Col: Sick; Two Capt^s Sick, five Lieut^s: Sick" and so on. Hale was present Aug. 23 and Aug. 31. He was absent at the next Return, dated New York Sept. 6. Five captains in all were then absent, explained by "Two Captains Sick, Three Captains on Command," but so grouped we cannot tell which explanation applies to Hale.

Hale was never again present in the Returns. In the one dated "Camp Near Harlem Sept^r 13th 1776," this explanation is appended: "N.B. One Col^o. & one Maj^r. Sick—one Cap^t on Com^d in Camp—one D^o. on Furlow—one D^o on Com^d wth Col^o Tupper—1 D^o Sick—Absent—1 D^o on Com^d with Col^o Nolton." The last item of course applies to Hale, the last of the eight captains listed, and is the official record of his assignment to Colonel Knowlton's Rangers. In the next Return, dated "Heights of Harlem, Sep^r 20th: 1776," the notation is: "One Col:, one Lt: Col:, & 1 Maj^r. Sick—One Capt: on Furlough, one D^o/. on Command with Col: Tupper, one Sick absent & 1 D^o/. with the Rangers," two ensigns being also listed as with the Rangers.

**Sheverdefreeze* presumably means Cheveaux de Frise—a form of obstruction used in military defense works.

We near the closing chapter. "Heights of Harlem Sep^r. 27th: 1776," but Hale's death is not yet known, for we read: "1 Col: one Lt: Col: & 1 Major, Sick: absent: one Capt: on furlough, one D^o/. on Command with Col: Tupper, 1 D^o/. Sick absent, 1 D^o/. with the Rangers."

And then, twelve days after his execution, in the Return dated "Camp at the Heights of Harlem 4 of Oct^r:" appears this report: "N: B, One Colonel present unfit for Duty..Lt: Col: on furlough—Major Sick absent:— 2 Capts present unfit for Duty, one Capt on Command, 1 D^o/. on furlough, 1 D^o/. with Col: Tupper, 1 D^o/. Sick absent, and 1 D^o/. Supposed to be Executed in New York—"

Hale was gone, but his old company remained, and his name continues to appear in the few remaining Returns in the list of captains, always marked absent, but without further explanation. These last Returns were dated Harlem, Oct. 11; Yonkers, Oct. 19; White Plains, Nov. 1; an undated Return, which must be Nov. 8; Nov. 15; and finally, Manor of Phillipsburgh, Nov. 22, 1776.—*D. L. J.*

HALE RECEIVES AN ALLOTMENT OF AMMUNITION

In a collection of the papers of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr. (1736-1782), of New London, Mr. Ernest E. Rogers found the following notation of an allotment of ammunition to Lieutenant Hale and several men of his company. The allotment was Aug. 30, 1775, not long after Hale had resigned his position as teacher of the Union School and had begun recruiting men for the regiment of Colonel Webb. Hale and his recruits left New London for Cambridge, the headquarters of the American Army, about September 20, 1775.

The notation is not altogether clear to us of today, but it is reproduced as it appears in the handwriting of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., in the Shaw Collection at Yale. As far as the author knows, it is the earliest record of the allotment of ammunition to Hale, and we can well imagine how thrilled he was by it. We can imagine too how pleased Mr. Rogers was to make this interesting discovery. Mr. Rogers' keen interest in Hale is well evidenced by his book, "Connecticut's Naval Office at New London During the War of the American Revolution," 1933.

Levingworth	30 ^{lb}	Ball	—	del ^d .	Nath Wheeler	} 1775 Aug ^t 30 th del ^d Lieut. Hale
Tyler	40	—	10 ^{lb}	powder	—	
Rowlee	40	—	10	d ^o	—	
Shipman	40	—	10	d ^o	—	
Latimer	—	—	10	d ^o	—	
Bostwick	40	—	10	d ^o	—	
Tuttle	40	—	10	d ^o	—	
Hubbard	12	—	6	d ^o	—	
	<u>242</u>		<u>66</u>			

Endorsed on the back: "Powder & Ball del^d 30th. Aug^t."

[Courtesy of Yale University Library.]

HALE REQUISITIONS CANTEENS FOR HIS COMPANY

[In Hale's Handwriting]

Sir,

Please to Supply Capt. Nathan Hale with fifty five Canteens or
Runlets that being the Number wa[n]ted for his Company.

New York

To Col^o. Moylan QMG—

[Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.]

HALE'S REVEALING DIARY

[No one can read the faded pages of the Diary without feeling that it brings us close to the real Hale—an everyday, wholesome, well mannered young man, deeply in earnest, mature in many ways, but still frankly boyish. We could not well spare the naïve entry, "Evening Prayers omitted for Wrestling." The wisdom of this precautionary measure appears in an entry two days later—"grand Wrestle on Prospect Hill no wager laid." A few days later this entry occurs: "Wednesday 8th Clean'd my gun—pld some football, & some chequers." It is refreshing to find that Hale was not too nice to use the slang of the day. Winter Hill, we read, was "stumped" to wrestle Prospect Hill. In a letter written when teaching school at East Haddam to his friend and classmate, Mead, he says: "From what I can collect, I think probable you have had some *high doings* this winter, but expect a more full account of these matters in your next."—G. D. S.]

HALE'S ARMY DIARY

(Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.)

[Nathan Hale's Diary is written in a blank-book with an ink-stained red leather cover, undoubtedly the original, and measuring six by four inches. The sheets are a laid paper, with the fragment of a watermark, a three-pointed crown, showing near the binding on some of the sheets. The pages are not numbered in the original. From the front cover, the Diary fills 86 pages, which the present compiler has numbered consecutively. From the back cover, holding the book in reverse, the first 62 pages, also numbered consecutively by the compiler, are taken up with Hale's Army Accounts and some personal accounts and memoranda. In the middle of the book, 220 pages are left blank, except that two of them contain further accounts. The book, therefore, contains 368 pages in all, which we number herein from both ends of the book, in accord with the direction of the writing.—*D. L. J.*]

[Hale's Army Diary, the most valuable because the most intimate of all the Hale documents, undoubtedly came home in June, 1777, with Hale's other belongings, but so far as the author discovers, it is not mentioned by anyone save by Deacon Gilbert in a letter to Bradley. It probably remained in the hands of the Hale family until it was turned over to Stuart to use in preparing his "Life of Hale" about 1850 or perhaps somewhat earlier, probably by Hale's grandnephew, Chauncey Howard. I am told by Mr. Albert C. Bates, for many years Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, that when he entered the service of the Society in 1892 he found it in an unused room of the Society, lying unprotected in an old bookcase. It had apparently lain there, as if protected by a special Providence, at least since 1861, when Stuart died. Fully appreciative of its value, Mr. Bates at once took possession of it and thereafter zealously guarded it. The bookcase had apparently been used by Stuart in his historical writing, for besides the Diary there were a quantity of papers and some notebooks. Among the papers were many of the letters to Hale printed herein, as well as those listed as "Letters of Primary Information." It thus appears that the Diary and the letters to Hale and the several related letters, now listed by the Society as the "Hale Papers" and numbering forty odd items, were never formally given to the Society.

Stuart transcribed the Diary for his book, and Johnston used that transcription. For the present book special permission was secured from the Society for Mr. Jacobus to make a correct transcription, including Hale's Army Accounts, which fill many pages of the same little book and contain a wealth of information about Hale and the soldiers of his company. All this material is here presented for the first time. The Diary is illustrated in both editions of Stuart and in both of Johnston. The author had fully intended to have it specially illustrated herein, but that, alas, was not to be. He therefore calls attention to the detailed description of the little book, so precious today, as it appeared to Stuart nearly a century ago, to be found in the Appendix to both editions of his "Life of Hale."—*G. D. S.*]

[1]

[Sept. 23^d, 1775]

Cannon 40 or 50 heard from the last stage to the present march'd 3½ O'C^l. arv^d Watermans (a private house & entertainment good) after a stop or two 6½ O'C^l. 6 m [6 miles]—tarryed alnight

24th. Mch^d 6 O'C^l & at 8 O'C^l reach'd Olneys 4 m. 10 O'C^l. mch^d from Olney's 2 miles & reach'd Providence but made no stop. Having march'd thro the town with music, & mde a sht stp at the hither part, in the road, came 4 miles further to Slack's in Rehobo[th] where we dined. 4 O'C^l. mch^d from Slacks 6 m and reach'd [2] Daggetts in Attleborough & put up, depositting our arms in the mtt^g House—Soon after our arrival join'd by the Maj^r. who set out from home the nt bef—¹

25th March'd soon after sunrise—& came very fast to Dupee in Wrentham 9 m to Breakfast. arv^d 9 O'C^l. 11 set off & 1½ P M arv^d Hidden Walpole & there din'd and tarried till 4½ O'C^l. then march'd to Dedham—7 m and put up.

Tuesday 26th mch'd 5 m before Breakfast to—

For Dinner went 4½ m to Parkers—which is within [3] a mile & a half from Camp.

At our arrival in Camp found that 200 men had been draughted out that morning for a fishing party—Pitched our tents for the present in Roxb^y a little before sunset—²

¹ Among Hale's cash items, September 24, 1775, is the receipt by Eliphalet Slack, at Rehoboth, from "Nathan Hale Lieut^t of Maj^r Latimer's Company five shillings and ten pence lawful money for the use of my house & other trouble by sd. Company." See "Hale's Army Accounts," page 200.

² At Wrentham, Hale paid 6 shillings for the use of Mr. Charles Dupee's house; at Walpole, 5 shillings to Jonathan Hide; at Attleborough, 6 shillings to Thomas Daggett for house and firewood; at Roxbury, 26th, paid Eben^r Whiting 10 shillings 9 pence for use of house, and Jeremiah Parker 12 shillings for use of house at dinner. See "Hale's Army Accounts," pages 200-1.

Wednesday 27th.

Went to some of our lower works—

12 or 15 of y^e fishing party return & bring 11 Cattle & 2 horses—

Thursday 28.

Fishing party return'd

Friday 29th. mch^d. for Cambridge. arv'd 3 O'C^l. & encamped on the foot of Winter hill near General Sullyvans 3 com^{ies} [companies] Maj^{rs} C^t [Captain] Shipmans, Bostw[ick]

[4]

Sat. 30th Considerable firing upon Roxbury side in the forenoon & some P. M. No dam^{ge}. done as we hear. Join'd this day by Cp^{ts} Perrit & Levnwth [Leavenworth] about 4 O'C^l.—

Octo. 6th. 1775

Near 100 Can^s fired at Roxbury from the Enemy. Shot off a man's arm & kill'd one Cow—

7th Some firing from Boston neck. nil mat.

8 Sab.

A. M. rainy no meet^g. M^r. Bird pr. [preached] Watertown. P. M. went to meet^g on [5] the hill M^r. Smith p^r.

9 Mon.

Morn^g Clear & pleas^t. but cold. exers^d. men 5 O'C^l.—1 h—

Tuesday 10th.

Went to Roxbury, dined with Doc^{tr}. Wolcott at General Spencer's Lodg^{gs} P. M. rode down to Dorchester, with a view to go on upon the point; but Col^l. Fellows told us he could give us no leave as we had been informed in town. Return^d to Camp 6 O'C^l.

Wed. 11th

Bro^r. Joseph here in the morning—went to Cam^{se} 12 O'C^l. sent a letter to [6] Bro^r. Enoch by Sam^l. Turner Inform'd by

Jo^{ph} that he was to be examin'd today for p^r.¹ Saw Royal Flynt, pr^d. to write him. Rec^d. a letter from Gil. Salt^l. & W^h. inf^d. y^e. Schooner by S^t. Johns taken, all y^e men kll^d. & y^t. 8000 bush^{ls}. wheat had bn taken & carried to Norwich f^m. Chris[topher] Champlin's ship run agrd. at Ston^{gtn}.

Rec^d letter 9th from Gil. Salt^l.

Do 9th f^m. John Hallam

8th. E Hale

A heavy thun^r shw^r in y^e. even^g.

[7] Thurs. 12

Wrote 6 letters to N. L. saw C^l. [Colonel] Sage. inf^{md} Montreal held by Montgomery S^t. Johns off^d to Capitulate but refusing to Deliver Guns Johnsⁿ ['s] terms were refused: but must soon surrender—

P. M. went into Cambridge. Took the Camb^{ge}. Paper p^d 3 Coppers.

Friday 13

Inf^{md}. by L^t. Col^l. [Hall] that Col^l. Webb last night gave orders that Field Officers Lieutenants shou^{ld} ware yellow Ribbons—put in one accordingly. wlk^d to Mis^k [Mystick] for Clothes. Inform'd p[er] D^r. Roseter. Wallace trim'd by Capt. Hall. false

[8] Sat. 14th.

Mounted picket guard, Gov^r. Griswold at plough^d hill rumours of 25,000 troops from England.

Sab. 15th.

M^r. Bird pr. P. M. after meeting walk'd to Mistick.

Tuesday 17th.

A Serg^t Major deserted to the Regulars.

¹ This "p^r" must mean preaching. In other words, Joseph had informed Nathan that this was the day set for Enoch to pass the usual candidate's examination for license to preach.

Wed. 18th.

A Private deserted to the enemy Last night.*—a cannon split in our float^s battery when fir^g upon B. [Boston] Common 1 of our men kill'd another said to be mortally wounded. 6 or 7 more wounded—Rec^d Letters

G. Saltonstall 16th.

J. Hallam 14th

E. Hallam 15th

E. Adams 16th.

[9] In M^r Salt^l Letter rec^d News of the publishment of Thomas Poole & Betsy Adams, on th. 15th—

Thursday 19th.

Wrote 4 letters To Mess^{rs} G. Salt^l. & John Hallam & to Misses Betsies Adams & Hallam—3 people inhabitants of Boston s^d. to have escaped on Rox^y. side last night. Several guns were fired at them which were heard here at Winter hill. This morning one of our horses wand^d. down near the enemy's lines, but they durst not venture out to take him on accout of Rifle [men] placed at y^e. old Chim^y. ready to fire upon them. A sick man at Temples found to have [10] the small pox—

Friday 20th.

Wet & rainy. News from Roxbury y^t. 9 persons, 5 of them inhabitants, & 4 of them Sailors made their escape last night from Boston to Dorchester Point, Who bring accounts y^t. 10,000 Hanoverians & 5,000 Scotch & Irish Troops are hourly expected in Boston. P[er] Cp^t. Perrit ret^d sunset from Connecticut News y^t. Col. Jos^h. Trumbull Comm^y. Gen^l. was at the p^t. of Death.

Sat. 21st.

Constant rain & for y^e most part hard for y^e. whole day.

[11] A letter communicated to the off^{rs}. of y^e. Regt f^m G. Washingtⁿ. to Col. Webb with orders to see what Off^{rs} & men will extend y^e. term of th^r. service f^m. 6th. Decem^r. to 1st. Jan^y.—Col.

* "Last night" written above "In the morning before day", which is crossed out.

Webb issu'd ord^{rs} for removing a man who was Yesterday discover'd to have y^e. small pox from temples to y^e. hospital, but the Of^{rs} remonstrat^g suspended his orders.—Sun set clear.—

Sab. 22^d

Mounted pequet Guard. had charge of the advance Pequet. Nil mem. Mistick Comm^y. refus'd to del^r. provs^{ns} to Comp^{ies} which had had nothing for y^e day. on which Cpt. Tuttle & 60 or 70 men went, & as it [12] hapnd terror instead of force obtain'd the provisions. On Pequet heard Reg^{rs} at work with pick axes. One of our Centries heard their G. Rounds give the Countersign which was Hamilton. Left P. guard and ret^d. to Cp. at sunrise on the

23^d Mon—

10 O'C^l went to Cambridge wth. Fld Com^{sn} officers to Gen^l. Putnam, to let him know the state of the Reg^t. & y^t. it was thro' ill usage upon the Score of Provisions y^t. th^y wld not extend th^r term of service to the 1st. of Jan^y. 1776.—

Din'd at Browns dr^k 1 bottle wine walk'd about street, call'd at Josh. Woodbridges on my way & ret^d home abt. 6. O'C^l.—rec^d confirmation of day before Yesterdays report y^t Cpt. Coit mde an Admiral

[13] Rec^d Let. Ed Hallam 15th

24th. Tuesday

Some rain. W^t. to Mistick with Clothes, to be washed (viz. 4 Shirts D^o. Necks 5 pair Stockings 1 Napkin 1 Table Cloth 1 Pillow Case 2 Linen & 1 Silk Handkerchiefs) P. M. Got Brick & Clay for Chimney. Winter Hill came down to wrestle w^h. view to find our best for a wrestling match to which this hill was stumped by Prospect, to be decided on Thursday insu^g. Evening Prayers omitted for Wrestling

25 Wednesday—no letters

26 Thursday

grand Wrestle on Prospect Hill no wager laid.

[14] Friday 27th.

Mess^{rs} John Hallam & David Mumford. arv^d

Sat 28th

Somewhat rainy.

Sab. 29

Went to meeting in the barn—one exercise. After meeting walk'd with Cpt Hull & M^r Hallam to Mistic.

Sat 28th. At night Serg^t. of the enemy's guard deserted to us.

Monday 30th.

Some dispute with the Subalterns, about Cpt Hull & me acting as Captains. The Col. [&] [15] Lieut Col. full in it that we ought to act in that Capacity. Brigade Maj^r. & Gen^l. Lee of the same opinion. Presented a petition to Gen^l Washington, for Cpt Hull & myself requesting the pay of Cpts. refus'd.* M^r. Gurley Here at Din^r P. M. Went into Cambridg with M^r. Mumford.

Tuesday 31

Wrote letter to Father & Brothers John & Enoch. P. M. Went to Cambridge. dr. wine &c at Gen^l. Putnams.

Wednesday Novem. 1st

Mounted Pequet guard, nil mem——

[16] Rec'd 3 Letters fr^m S. Belden G. Salt. & Betsy Hallam. The 1st inf^{md} he had no Scarlet Coating &c also reminded me of 20^s/ due to him by way of change of a 40^s/ Bill recd for School-

* Written in afterwards between the lines.

ing (forgot) 2^d inf^{md} that (as b Philadelphia paper) Payton Randolph died of an Apoplexy 22^d ult. 3^d inf^d. Sheriff Christopher [of New London] is dead.

Wed, 1st

Came off from Pequet Guard 10 O'C^l 11 d^o. w^t to Cm^{ge} with Cpt. Hull. dined at Gen^l Putnams w^h. M^r Learned. Inf^d. M^r Howe died at Hartford 2 months ago, not [17] heard of before.

Col Parsons Reg^t. under arms to suppress y^e mutinous proceedings of Gen Spencers Reg^t.—one man hurt in y^e neck by a bayonet. (done yesterday). ret^d. to Camp 6 O'C^l.—

Thursday 2^d

Rain constantly some times hard. Receiv'd a flying Report that the Congress had declared independency.

Friday 3^d. Nil mem—

Sat. 4th.

M^r. Learned with myself din'd at Col. Hall's. Deacⁿ Kingsbury's son visited me. P. M. Cpt Hull & I w^t. to Prospect Hill.

[18] Sunday 5th

A. M. M^r. Learned pr. John 13. 19. excellentissime. A little after twelve a considerable number of cannon from the Enemy in memory of the day. Din'd w^t. Cpt. Hull at Gen^l. Putnam's. Recd news of the taking of Fort Chamble with 80 odd Soldiers, about 100 women & children, upwards of 100 barrels of Powder, More than 200 barrels of pork, 40 D^o. of flower 2 Mortars & some cannon. The women, wives to [19] Officers in S^t. Johns, who were brought to S^t. Johns & there their Husbands permitted to come out and after spending some time w^h. them return. Also News of vessel taken by one of our privateers fr. Phi^a. to B-n w^h. 10½ pipes of wine, another from the West Indies with the produce of that Country. Recd a letter from bro. Enoch Nov. 1st.

Coventry þ Dan^l. Robertson, who is to make me a visit to morrow. The paper in which the Officers sent in [20] their names for new commissions return'd for more Subalterns. Ensⁿ. Pond & —— put down th^r names. Those who put down their nam[es] the first offer, Col^s. Webb & Hall, Cpts Hoyt, Tuttle, Shipman, Bostwick, Perrit Levenworth Hull & Hale Subs. Catland, [Catlin]

Monday 6th.

Mounted Pequet guard in y^e place of Cpt Levenworth. A Rifleman deserted to y^e Regulars. Some wet. Day chiefly spent in Jabber & Chequers. Cast an eye upon Young's Mem^s belong^s to Col. Varnum, a very good book. Comp^t of y^e bad condition of y^e lower Pequet by Maj^r. Cutter, &c.

It is of the utmost importance y^t an Officer should be anxious [21] to know his duty, but of greater that he shd carefully perform what he does know: The present irregular state of the army is owing to a capital neglect in both of these.—

Tuesday 7th.

Left Pequet 10 OC^l.—Inf^d. Maj^r. Brooks app^{td}. for this Reg^t. new Establishment wh occasd much uneasiness among y^e Cpts. Rain pretty hard most of the day. Spent most of it in y^e Maj^r my own & other tents in conversation—(some chequers) Studied y^e 64* method of forming a Reg^t for a review, manner of arranging y^e Companies. also of mchg round y^e review^s Officer.

[22] A man ought never to lose a moments time. If he put off a thing f^r one minute to the next, his reluctance is but increas'd.—

Wednesday 8th

Clean'd my gun—pld some football, & some chequers. Some People came out of Boston via Roxb^y. Recd N. of Cpt. Coits taking two prizes with Cattle poultry hay, rum, wine &c &c. also verbal accounts of the taking of S^t Johns.

* Probably refers to a manual of arms issued in 1764. "Manual exercise as ordered by his Majesty in 1764."

Thursday 9th.

1 O'C^l. P. M. An alarm. The Regulars landed at Leechmore's point to take off Cattle, our works were [23] immediately all mann'd & a detachment sent to receive them, who were obliged, it being high water, to wade through water near wast high. While the Enemy were landing, we gave them a constant Cannonade from Prospect Hill. Our party having got on to the point, marched in two Columns, one on each side of y^e hill with a view to surround y^e enemy but upon the first appearance of them, they m^d their boats as fast as Possible. While our men were marching on to y^e point [24] they were exposed to a hot fire from a ship in the bay & a floating Battery, also after they had passed the Hill. A few Shot were fired from Bunker's Hill. The damage on our side is the loss one Rifleman taken & 3 men wounded one badly & it is thought 1, 2, or more cattle carried off. The Rifleman taken was drunk in a tent in which he & the one who recd the worst wound were placed to take care of y^e Cattle Horses &c. & give notice [25] in case y^e enemy should make an attem^{pt} upon them. Y^e tent they were in was taken. What the loss was on the side of the enemy we cannot yet determine.— At night met with the Cpts of y^e new establishment at Gen^l.— Sullyvans to nominate Subalterns. Lieut^t Bourbank of Col^l. Doolittles Reg^t mde my 1st. L^t. Serg^t. Chapman 2^d. & Serg^t. Hurlbut Ensⁿ.

Friday 10th

Went upon the hill to see my new Lieu^t Bourbank & found him to be no great things. [26] On my return, found that my Br. & Joseph Strong had been here & enquired for me. immediately after dinner went to Cambr. to see them but was too late. Went to head quarters, saw Gen^l. Sullyvan, & gave him a description of my new L^t. h said h wd mk inquiry concerng him. On my return fd [found] the abv L^t. at my tent agr^{ble} to my invitation. After much round abt talk persuaded him to go with me to y^e Gen^l. to desire to [be] excused [27] from the service. Y^e Gen^l not being at hom[e] deferr'd it 'till anoth time.

Saturday 11th.

Some disputes about the arrangement of Subs—but not peaceable settled

Sunday 12th.

This morning early a meeting of Cpts—upon y^e above matter, & not ended untill near noon. No meetting A. M. P. M. Mr. Bird pr.

Monday 13th.

Our people began to dig turf under Coble Hill. Inlistments delivered out. At night a man of our Reg^t attempted to desert to the Reg^{rs}. but was taken.

[28] Tuesday 14th.

Some uneasiness about Subs. P. M. went to Cambr. nil. mem. Gen^l. Orders of today contain'd an account of the reduction of St. Johns. Dig^g Sods under Coble Hill Continued.

[29]* Directions for the Guards.

1st. A Centinal on his post is to know no body after dark but by the Countersign.

2^d. The Commander in chief is distinguished by Sky blue Ribbon a crost his breast, between his Coat & Waistcoat: The Major General by a purple Ribbon wore in y^e Same manner: The Brigadier General by a pink coloured Ribbon: The Aid de Camps & Brigade Majors by a Green Ribbon. All Gen^{ls}. Aid de Camps & Brigade Majors distinguished as above to pass all Guards by day unmolested, and the Centinals instead of Challenging must pay them the usual Ceremony. [30]† No other person unless he have an Officer of the Guard with him, must be permitted to pass a Centinal.

* "D. for y^e Guard" written in margin of this page. The Directions for the Guards were copied into his Diary by Hale, but were omitted by Stuart and Johnston.

† "Direct &c. Guard" written in margin of this page.

The Officer of every Guard must turn out his men and draw them up before the Guard house door when a General Officer, & if the Commander in Chief, his men rest their Fire locks, the Officer or Officers pay the Salute and the Drums beat three Ruffs & a march: If a Major General two Ruffs & the rest as above mentioned; and if a Brigadier General the same, except the Drummer beats one Ruff before he beats a March.

4th. The officer of each Guard must order their Centinals to Challenge every person that that [*sic*] passes by them after dark in the following manner, in a manly & Soldier like voice, WHO COMES THERE?

[31] If he answers friend, the Centinal must reply, friend advance and give the Countersign and when the person advances the Centinal must Charge his Bayonet & the person with in four feet of the Muzzle of his gun must give the Countersign with a low voice, the Centinal then gives the word Friend pass. If more than one approaches and answers friend when challenged y^e Centinal must say, Friends advance one of you and give y^e Countersign, after he has given it the Centinal must say friends pass.

5th. The Sergeant or Sergeants must give y^e Countersign to y^e Centinals as soon as it begins to grow dark.

6th. The Field Officer of y^e Day must give the Parole & Countersign to the Captain of the main Guard & advanced guards & y^e Adjutants to the [32] Sergeants of their Respective Quarter Guards, at Sunset.

7th. A Sergeant or Corporal with a file of men must visit the Centinals of their Respective Guards Every half hour in the Night to see if the Centinals are alert in their posts. This Sergeant with his File of men is call'd the Pad rounds or Patrole: When

the Pad Rounds approach a Centinal, the Centinal may Challenge them, upon their answering Patrole the Centinal must say Patrole stand, advance Sergeant and give the Countersign, when sd Sergt. has given the Countersign, the Centinal says pass Patrole.

8th. The Captain or Officer of a guard with a Sergeant an [*sic*] two Files of men must go round an [*sic*] visit all the Centinals of [33] their several guards about midnight, to see if they are alert on their posts, who are call'd the visitting rounds. When the Centinal hails them, they must answer, Rounds, The Centry must reply Rounds stand, advance Sergeant and give the Countersign, When the sergeant has given the Countersign the Centinal must tell him if any thing remarkable has happened within his observation: The Sergeant must return to the Officer of the visitting rounds and report. The Centinal assoon as the Sergeant has given y^e countersign must say Rounds advance: When the visitting rounds come up with the Centinal, he must say rounds pass, all is well.

When the visitting rounds advance to the Centinal by y^e Guard House door, the Centinal after hailing & their [34] answering rounds, must say rounds stand and call for the Sergeant of the guard, who must advance half way between the Centinal and visitting Rounds, & and [*sic*] Challenge them by saying WHO COMES THERE? The visitting Rounds answer Rounds, the Sergeant must say what rounds, they must say visitting Rounds, The Sergeant says Stand, advance sergeant & give the Countersign, when the sergt. of the rounds has given the Countersign the Centinal must say visitting rounds pass: While the Sergeant is Challenging the Rounds the Officer of the guard must turn out his men and draw them up to review the visitting [35] rounds. The same is to be observed in respect to the grand Rounds excepting that the Sergeant of the guard instead of demanding the Countersign demands the Parole which when he has received, he must return to the Cpt or Officer of y^e Guard and enquire of him if it be the right Parole & if it is must then give the word grand

rounds advance; and when the Officer of the Day who must always go with y^e grand Rounds comes up to the Guard as they are drawn up, the Serg^t. of the guard introduces the Cpt of the Guard to the Officer of y^e grand Rounds, and y^e Serg^t. of the Grand Rounds introduces the officer of the Day to the Cpt of the Guard: After which the Officer of y^e Day must [36] ask y^e Cpt of the Guard the following Questions (viz) How many men does your guard consist of? How many Centinals do you place? Where are they? Has any thing remarkable happened &c &c then he must count the [] of Guard present and see if those present and those on Centry make up the compliment of men stationed at said guard.

9th. Every Officer & Soldier that mounts Guard must dress himself in his Regimentals as neat and clean as possible.

10th. The Centinals at their Posts must put on a Soldier-like appearance; keep their pieces either Shouldered or [37] Supported, pay the usual compliment to the Officers as they pass by them; To a General Officer they must rest their arms

11th. The Cpt of the main Guard when relieved must give in a return to the Cpt of the main Guard that relieves him the number of Centinals he places, the Prisoners confined, for what &c according to the form here after mentioned: Likewise a return of his own and all the other Guards return'd to him to the Field Officer of the preceeding Day, which Field Officer of the day must make report of of [*sic*] every thing worthy of notice whilst he stood [38] Officer of the Day to the General. The Cpt. of the main Guard must make return of his guard an hour after he is relieved to said Officer of the Day to make report immediately. all misconduct in Camp or Guard must be noticed in said Report. The Quarter an [*sic*] advanced guard must make returns of their Guards to y^e Cpt of y^e main guard before he is relieved if possible.

12th. No guard to leave his post untill forced to it by a Superior Number and even then to maintain it as long as possible by firing on the enemy, retreating as they fire to the body from which they were detached. When the Corporal goes to relieve the Centry [39] Assoon as he comes with six paces of the Centinal, he orders his men to holt and there to rest their Firelocks. The Centinal who is to be relieved is to rest his arms at y^e same time. The Corporal then orders the first who is to go on duty to relieve the Centinal, upon which he recovers his arms, advances within a pace of the Centinal (who is likewise to recover his arms) Then both Centinals present their arms & the new one receives the orders relating to that post from the Centinal who is to be relieved, to which the Corporal is to give attention lest some part of y^e orders might be ommitted. Assoon as they have delivered their orders they recover their arms again, this being done the Corporal orders [40] to shoulder, which the two Centinals do accordingly, the Centinal who is relieved falls in the rear of those who are going to relieve.

13th. All Centinals are to be vigilant on their posts neither are they to sing, eat, smoak Tobacco nor suffer any noise to be made near them. They are not to sit down, lay their arms out of their hands or Sleep, but keep moving about their posts, if the weather will admit of it, except the Centinal on the most advanced & dangerous posts must keep Still and as much concealed as possible so as to keep a good lookout, they are to keep a watchful eye over every thing committed to [41] their charge & not to suffer any of them to be taken away, or removed without leave from the Corporal or the person who committed them to his charge.

14th. They are not to suffer any one to touch or handle their arms or in the Night time to come within reach of them.

15th. They are not to suffer any light or fire to remain in y^e night neither is any Centinal to be relieved from his post, but by the Corporal of the Guard.

16th. When any Centinal is taken so ill on his post that he cannot possibly keep there, he must call for the Corporal of the gua[rd] & if at too great a distance he must call to the next Centry, and desire him to communicate [42] along to the next Centinal to the Corporal of the guard in order to his being relieving [*sic*].

17th. When any Centinal challenges a person or persons he must bring his arms to a Recover smartly, if the person or persons make no answer being three times Challenged, he must fire at the person or persons and charge again, if he thinks it safe, otherwise retire to the guard

18th. The Centinal at the Guard House door, must not suffer the Grand or visitting rounds to advance nearer than twenty paces to the Guard house.

19th. The Corporal of the Guard must be extreemly careful in [43] not placing a Centinal who is sick or intoxicated on any advanced post, but he must place a faithful man or one who has a wife & family in this Country.

20th. When any grand detachment or Body of men whatsoever marches by the post of any Centinal with drums beating, he is to rest his firelock, as the Officer who commands it is passing by him & keep so untill the whole marches by.

21st. When any Corporal approaches with a Relief the Centinal must challenge them and when they answer Relief, Advance Corporal and give the Countersign, when he has given the Countersign he must say advance Relief.

[44] Many other Rules may be found necessary which it is hoped will be occasionally supplied by the knowledge and Skill of y^e Officer of the guard

The following Return must be Addressed thus :

To N. B. officer of the Day Yesterday.

[45 ruled the length of the page, and the following names written in sideways] :

Col. Reed
Col. Nixon
Col. Stark
Col. Poor
Col. Hutchinson
Col. Doolittle
Col. Webb

[46] Wednesday 15th.

Mounted Main Guard. Heard read the articles of Surrend of S^t. Johns. Likewise an accou^{nt} of the repulse of our piratical enimies at Hampton in Virginia, with the loss of a number of men (in a handbill). Three deserters made their escape from Boston to Roxb^y last night. Two prisoners were taken this afternoon in the orchard below Plough'd Hill who with some others were getting apples. They bring accounts that it was reported in Boston that our army at S^t. Johns was intirely cut off. That last week when they [47] attempted to take our Cattle at Sewels pint they kill'd 50 or 60 of our men wounded as many more & had not a man either kill'd or wounded whereas in truth we had only one that was much wounded & he is in a way to recover. Recd a letter from J. Hallam.

Thursday 16th.

Relieved from Pequet 8½ O'C. confined James Brown of Cpt Hubbel's Company for leaving the guard which he did yesterday towards night & did not return untill 4 O'C this morning when he was taken up by the Centinal at the door of Temple's House as it appeared he was somewhat disguised with liquor [48] ordered him confined & reported.

Thursday 16th.

Wrote two letters 1 To J. Hall^m & 1 to G. Salt^l. It being Thanksgiving in Connecticu^t The Cpts & officers in nomination

Cont.
Thanksgiving

for the new army had an entertainment at T^s. House, provided Cpt. Whitney Suttler. They were somewhat merry & inlisted some Soldiers. I was not present—

P. reinforc'd

About 10 or 11 O'C^l at night orders came for reinforcing the Pequet with 10 men from a Com^y

Friday 17th

Col^l Halls Ords.
QMG.

Recd an order from Colonel Hall for taking [49] up at the continental Store 4 pr Breeches 6 D^o Stock^{gs}. 5 D^o Shoes, 1 Shirt 1 buff Cap 1 pr Indiaⁿ Stock^{gs}. 5¼ y^{ds}. of Coat^g.—all which I got but the Yd Shirt Indian Stock^{gs}. 1¼ Coat^g. & Shoes which are to come tomorrow morn^g. Cpt. Hull wth. some of his Sol^{rs} went wth. me to Camb^{ge}.—Return'd after dark. Stop'd at Gen^l. Lee's to see about Furl^s for men enlisted who ordered y^e gen^l orders for the day to be read by which Furloughs are to be given by Col^{ls}. only & not more than 50 at a time must have them out of a Reg^t. Gen^l. orders further contain'd that the Congress had seen fit to raise the pay of the officers from what they were & y^t a [50]a Cpt upon the new establishment is to receive 26⅔ Dollars p month a 1 & 2^d Lieut. 18 Dollars & an Ensⁿ. 13⅓ Dollars.

Gen^l. Orders
Furlows &c.

Officers Wages.

Saturday 18th.

Drawing QMG.

Obtained an order from Colo. Webb upon the Q M G. for things for the Soldiers. Went for them after noon returned a little after Sunset.

Sabbath Day 19th.

Mr. Burd p^r.

Mr. Bird p^r. one Service only beginning after 12 O'C^l. Text Esther 8th. 6. For how can I indure [51] to see the evil that shall come unto my people? or how can I indure to see the destruction of my kindred? The discourse very good, the same as preach'd to Gen^l Wooster, his Officers & Soldiers at New Haven & which was again preach'd at Cambridge a Sabbath or two ago.—Now preach as a farewell discourse. Robert Latimer the Maj^{rs} Son went to Roxbury to day on his way home. The Majr

who went there to day & L^t. Hurlbut & Robert Latimer F. who Asia taken
 went yesterday return'd this even^g. b^t. ac^{ts}. that the Asia Man of
 War Station'd at N. York was [52] taken by a Schooner arm'd
 with Spear's &c. which at firt [*sic*] appeared to be going out of
 the Harbour & was br^t. too by y^e Asia & instead of com^g under
 her stern just as she came up Shot along side, the men which were Asia Man of
 before conceal'd immediately sprung up with their lances &c and War taken
 went at it with such vigour that they soon made themselves mas-
 ters of the ship. The kill'd & wounded not kown. [*sic*] (This
 account not credited.) Serg^t. Prentis thought to be dying about
 12 Meridian, some better if any alteratⁿ this evening.

[53] Monday 20th.

Obtain'd Furlough's for 5 men (viz) Isaac Hammon Jabez
 Minard Christopher Beebe John Holmes & William Hatch, each
 for 20 Days. Mounted mⁿ Guard, 4 Prisoners, nil mem. untill
 10 O'C^l when an alarm fr Camb^r & Prospect Hill occasioned our
 turning out. Slept little or none.

Tuesday. 21st.

Reliev'd by Cpt Hoyt. Sergn^t Prentis very low. Colo. and
 some Cpts went to Cambr to a Court M. to Cpt. Hubbel's Trial
 adjourn^d from Yesterday to day. even^g spent in conversation.

[54] Wednesday 22^d.

Sergt. Pentis died about 12 O'C^l last night. Tryed to obtain
 a furlough to go to Cape Ann and keep Thanksgiving but could
 not succeed. Being at Gen^l Sullyvans, heard Gen^l. Green read a
 letter from a member of the Congress, expressing wonder at
 the Backwardness of the Of^s & Soldiers to tarry the winter—
 likewise informing that the men inlisted fast in Pensylvania & y^e
 Jersies for 30s/. p month. Some hints dropt as if there was to
 be a change of the [*leaf missing.*]

[55] Saturday 25

Last night 2 sheep kill[ed] belong^g to the En^{my}.—this morning
 considerable firing between the Centuries. A Rifleman got a Dog

from the Regulars. Col. Varnum offer'd a Guinea for him, the [price] that Gen^l. Lee had offerd. 10 O'C^l. A. M. went to Coble Hill to view. Another brought to the Ferry way (two there now). P. M. went to Camb^r. Ret^d. Sunset, This evening recd Acc^{ts}. that Col. Jedadiah Huntington's wife had hanged herself at Dedham. [56] She had been delirious for the greater part of the time since he entered the Service, & was come to Dedham to see him. He met her there, found her as rational as ever, but within an hour after he left her, the melancholy tidings followed of her having hanged herself. Heard further that 200 or 300 poor people had been set on shore last night by the Regulars, the place not known, but sd to be not more than [57] 6 or 8 mile from hence. Cannon were heard this forenoon seeming to be off in the bay and at some distance.—Observ'd in coming from Cambr. a number of Gabines at Gen^l. Lee's, said to be for the purpose of fortifying upon Leechmore's point.

26th. Sunday.

William Hatch of Major Latimer's Co. died last night, having been confin'd about one week, he has the whole time been in [word probably omitted here—*pain*?] [58] and great part of it out of his Senses. His distemper was not really known. He was buried this afternoon, few people attended his funeral. Reported that the people were set a shhore at Chelsea, & bring acc^{ts}. that the Troops in Boston had orders to make an attack upon plough'd hill, when we first began our works there, but the Officers a number of them, went to Gen^l. Howe, & offered to give up their Commissions absolutely refusing to come out & be butchered by the Americans. Mounted Main Guard [59] this morning. Snowy. L^t. Chapman rec'd Recruiting ord^{rs} & set out home purposing to go as far as Roxb^y. today.

27 Monday.

Nil mem. Evening went to Gen^l. Lee's whom I found very much cast down, at the discouraging prospect of supplying the army with troops.

28 Tuesday.

Promis'd the men if they would tarry another moth they should have my wages for that time. Gen^l. Sullyvan Return'd. [60] sent order to Fraser Q M to send us some wood. Went to Cambr. could not be serv'd at the store, return'd, observ'd a greater number of Gabines at Gen^l. Lee's. Inf^d. at Cambr y^t. Gen^l Putnam's Reg^t. mostly concluded to tarry another month. (This a lie)

29 Wednesday.

The Reg^t. drawn up before Gen^l. Sullyvan's, after he had made them a most excellent speech desired them to Signify their minds, whether they would tarry 'till the 1st. of January, very few fell [61] out, but some gave in their names afterward. Rec'd News of the taking of a vessell loaded wth. ordinance and Stores.

30. Thursday.

Obtain'd a furlough for Ensⁿ Hurlbut for 20 Days. Sent no letters to day on account of the hurry of business.

1st. [December] Friday

W^t. to Cambridge. A Number of men, about 20 in the whole confin'd for attempting to go home. Our Reg^t, this morning, by means [62] of General Lee universally consented to tarry untill the Malitia came in, and by far the greater part agreed to stay 'till the first of Jan.

2^d. Saturday.

Orders read to the Reg^t. that no one Officer or Soldier should go beyond Drum call from his alarm post. Went to Mistick with Gen^l. Sullyvan's order on M^r Fraser, for things wanted by the Soldiers who are to tarry 'till the 1st. of January, but found he had none.

[63] 3^d. Sunday.

Wet weather, no pr.—Eve got an ord^r frof [*sic*] BG. Sullyvan upon Colo. Mifflin for the above mention'd Articles, not to be had at Frasers—

4. Monday.

Went to Cambridge to draw the above articles, but the order was not excepted. recd News, y^t. several prizes had been taken by our Privateers, among which was a vessell from Scotland balac'd with Coal, the rest of her Cargo dry goods. Cpt Bulkley & M^r. Chamberlain from Colchester with cheese. [64] Purchased 107 lb at 6^d p lb for which I gave an order upon Maj^r. Latimer.

5 Tuesday

Recd News of the Death of John Bowers Gunner in Cpt Adam's' Privateer formerly of Maj^r. Latimer's Company.

6th Wednesday—

Upon main Guard. Nil mem. Recd some letters & Post. Col. Doolittle Officer of the Day inf^d. that Col. Arnold had arv^d at point Levi near Quebec—

7. Thursday.

Went to Cambridge to draw things.

8 Friday.

Did some writing. Went P. M., to draw money for our [65] expences on the road from N. L. to Roxbury, but was disappointed.

9 Nil. Mem. Saturday

10th.

Struck our tents and the men chiefly marched off. Some few remaining came into my room. At Night Charle Brown Daniel Tolbot & W^m Carver return'd from Privateering. assisted Maj^r. Latimer in making out his pay Roll. somewhat unwell in the evening.

11. Monday

Finish the pay roll & settled some accounts. [66] about 12 O'C^l Maj^r. Latimer set out home. 1 or more Companies came in today for our relief.

12 Tuesday

a little unwell yesterd and today some better this evening.

13th. Wednesday

On Main Guard. Recd & wrote some letters. Read the History of Philip.

14 Thursday.

Went to Cambridge Vessitted Maj^r. Brooks. found him unwell with an ague.

[67] Cpt Hull Taken violently ill Yesterday remains very bad today, has a high fever.

15. Friday. Nil. mem.

16. Sat.

Our people began the Covered way to Leechmore's point.

17. Sunday.

Went to Mystic to meeting. Some firing on our people at Leechmore's point.

18 Monday.

Went to Cambridge to draw things. The Reg^t. paraded this morning to be formed into two companies that [68]* the rest of the Officers might go home. Heard in Cambridge that Cpt. Manly had taken another prize, with the Gov^r. of one of the Carolina's friendly to us, & the Hon. Matthews Esq^r. Mem^r. of the Continental Congress whom Gov^r Dunmore had taken & sent for Boston.

19 Tuesday.

Went to Cobble Hill. A Shell & a Shot from Bunker's Hill, the Shell braking in the [69]† air one piece fell as‡ touched

* Numbered 20 by Hale.

† Numbered 21.

‡ *and*.

a man's hat but did no harm. Works upon Leechmores point continued.

20 Wed.

Went to Roxbury for money left for me by Maj^r. Latimer with Gen^l. Spencer, who refused to let me have it without Security. Draw'd some things from the Store. L^t. Catlin & Ensⁿ. Whittlesey set out home on foot.

[70]* 21 Thursday.

Wrote a number of letters. Went to Cambridge to carry them where I found M^r. Hems[t]ed had taken up my money at Gen^l. Spencers and Given his receipt. I took it of Hempstead giving my receipt the sum was 36[£]. 12^s. 0^d. Court Martial held at Gen^l Putnam's at which Commissary Gen^l. Trumbull was tryed for defrauding [71]† the Soldiers of their provisions.—

22 Friday. Some Shot from the Enemy.

23 Saturday.

Tryed to draw 1 month's advance pay for my Company but found I could not have it till monday next— Upon which borrowed 76 Dollars of Cpt Levenworth, giving him an order on Col^o. Webb for the same as soon as my advance pay for January should be drawn. [72]‡ 3¾ O'C^l. P. M. Set out from Cambridge on my way home— At Watertown took the wrong road and went two miles directly out of the way, which had to travel right back again.— And after travelling about 11 miles put up at Hammon's Newtown about 7 O'C^l. Entertainment pretty good.

24 Sunday

Left H^s 6½ O.C^l. went 8 miles to Straytons passing by Jackson's at 3 miles. [73] Breakfasted at Strayton's. The snow

* Numbered 22.

† Numbered 23.

‡ Numbered 24. No more pages numbered in the original.

which began before we set out this morning increases & becomes burthensome. From Straytons 9 miles to Stones where we eat Biscuit and drank cyder. 7 miles to Jones—din'd—arv'd 3¼ O'C^l.— From there 2 m & forgot some things & went back—then return'd to Dⁿ. Reeds that night— pass^d Amadons & Keiths 3 m Good houses. Within ½ m of Dⁿ. Reeds miss'd my road & went 2 m directly out of my way & right back travell'd in the whole to day 41 miles—The weather Stormy & the snow [74] for the most part ancle deep

25 Monday

From Dⁿ Reeds 8 O'C^l. Came 1 or 2 m and got horses—4 m to Hills & breakfasted—ordinary. 8 m to Jacobs & din'd—dismiss'd our horses—6 O'C^l. arv^d. Keyes 11 m put up. Good entertainment.

26th. Tuesday.

6 O'C^l. A. M. fr. K. 6 m to Kindals. Breakfasted—10 m to Southwards din'd. Settled acc^{ts}. wth. L^t. Sage, d^d. h^m. 16 dollars for paying [75] Soldiers 1 month's advance pay. Arv^d. home a little after sunset. One heelstring lame.

27th. Wed.

Heel lame. W^t to Br. Roses Aunt Robⁿ M^r. Hun^{ton} & Cpt Robsⁿ.

28 Thursday

Unwell—tarried at home.

29 Friday.

Went to See G. C. Lyman Call'd a Dⁿ. Kingsbury's & M^r. Strongs.

[76-blank]

[77] Jan^y. 1775 [1776]

24 Wednesday set out from my Fathers for the Camp on horse back at 7½ O'C^l. at 11 O'C^l. arv^d. a Pirkin's by Ashford Meeting

House where left the horses. 12½ O'C^l. mch^d. 3½ arvd Grosvenor's 8 m & 4½ at Grosvenor's Pomfret 2 m. & put up. here met 9 Sold^{rs} fr. Windham

25 Thursday

6½ OC^l. mch^d. from G. and came to Forbs 7^m but another Co. hav^g engaged breakfast there [78] we were obliged to pass on to Jacobs. (fr. Gros^r 10^m)—After Breakfast went 8 m to Hills & dr^k. some bad Cyder in a worse tavern. 7— O'C^l. arvd Deacon Reeds. 5 m Uxbridge & ½ Com^y. put up—myself wth. the remainder passed on to Woods 2 m.

26 Friday

7 O'C^l. fr. Woods 4 m to Amadons Mendon & breakfasted. 17 m. to Clarkes Medfield & put up Co—[79] put up 5 m back.

27 Saturday

Breakfasted at Clarkes 10 O'C^l. mch^d. about 11½ O'C^l arv^d. at Ellis' 5½ where drank a glass of brandy & proceeded on 5½ to Whitings arv^d. 2 O'C^l Arv^d. at Parkers in Jamaica Plains but being refused entertainment was obliged to betake ourselves to the Punch boll, where leaving the men 11 in [80] N^o. went to Roxb^y. Saw Gen^l. Spencer—who tho't it best to leave the men there as the Regiment were expected there on Monday or tuesday. Indians at Gen^l. Spencers. Ret^d to Winterhill.

28th Sunday—

Went to Roxby. to find barracks for 11 men that came with me. but not finding good ones, ret^d. to Temple House where the men were arv^d. before me—[81] In the evening went to pay a last visit to General Sullyvan, with Col^o. Webb & the Cpts of the Reg^t.

29 Monday—Nil mem.

30 Tuesday

Removed from Winter Hill to Roxb^y.

Feby 4th. 1776 Sunday—

[82] Feb. 14th. 1776

Wednesday

Last night a party of Regulars made an attempt upon Dorchester, landing with a very considerable body of men, taking 6 of our guard, dispersing the rest & burning two or three houses—The Guard house was set on fire but extinguished.

[83] July 1776

23^d. Report in town of the arv^l. of 12 french S. of the Line in S^t Law^{ce}. River. Doct^r. Wolcott & Guy Rich^{ds}. Jun^r. here fr^m. N. L. Rec'd L. fr G Saltonstall

[84] Aug. 21st.

Wednesday

Heavy Storm at Night Much & heavy Thunder—Capt. Van-Wyke & a Lieut & Ens. of Col^o. M^c. Dougall's Reg^t. kill[ed] by a Shock Likewise one man in town, belonging to a Militia Reg^t. of Connecticut. The Storm continued for two or three hours, for the greatest part of which time was a perpetual Lightning [85] and the sharpest I ever knew.

22 Thursday—

The Enemy landed some troops down at the Narrows on Long Island.

23. Friday—

Enemy landed more Troops—news that they had marched up and taken Station near Flatbush their adv^{ce}. Gds being on this side near the woods—that some of our Riflemen attacked & drove them back

[86] Aug. 23

Friday.

from their post burnt 2 stacks hay and it was thought kill'd some of them—this about 12 O'C^l. at Night. News that Our troops attacked them at their station near Flat-b. routed and drove them back 1½ mile.

[Pages 87 to 144 blank.]

HALE'S ARMY ACCOUNTS

[Now published for the first time]

(Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society)

[There is no separate book of Hale's "Army Accounts," which are to be found in Hale's Army Diary, described under that heading. The entries are all in Hale's handwriting, except the signatures to a few receipts. To avoid confusion, it has been deemed best to print these "Army Accounts" separate from Hale's Army Diary, in which they occur.

These Army Accounts, as it would appear, are mainly concerned with sums dispensed for men in Hale's company, but intermingled with them are many strictly personal items. We note the purchase of breeches, blankets, shoes, and mittens as well as coffee, chocolate, rum, brandy, Geneva (gin), "Philip," sugar, and so on. He records buying apples, newspapers, having his hair dressed, and his watch repaired (probably the "Memento" referred to by Roger Alden in his letter to Hale, and also by Deacon Jasper Gilbert—the very watch that he took with him into the British lines). But my purpose is not to attempt an interpretation of these items, only to present them, leaving the matter of interpretation to the antiquarian and students of the period.

What is remarkable is that neither Stuart nor Johnston nor any other writer on Hale to whom the little book has been open has seen the value and interest of these "Army Accounts," of which there are many pages.—*G. D. S.*]

[1] Receiv'd Rehoboth sept. 24th. 1775 of Nathan Hale Lieut^t of Maj^r Latimer's Company five shillings and ten pence lawful money for the use of my house & other trouble by sd. Company
Eliphalet Slack

[2] Receiv'd Wrentham Sept-25th. 1775 of Nathan Hale Lieut^t. of Maj^r. Latimer's Company Six shillings lawfull money for the use of my house by sd Company
Charles Dupee

[3] Received Walpole sept. 25th. 1775 of Nathan Hale Lieut. of Maj^r. Latimer's Company five shillings lawful money for the use of my house by s^d. Company
Jonathan Hide

[4] Received Attleborough sept. 25th 1775 of Nathan Hale Lieut. of Major Latimer's Company six shillings lawful money for fire wood & the use of my house by s^d Company.
Thomas Daggett

[5] Received Roxbury Sept 26th. 1775 of Nathan Hale Lieutenant of Maj^r. Latimer's Comp^y. ten shillings and 9 pence Lawful money for the use of my house &c. by sd. Company —

Eben^r. Whiting Ju^r

[6] Received Roxbury Sept 26th. 1775 of Nathan Hale Lieutenant of Major Latimer's Comp^y twelve shillings lawful money for the use of my house at dinner by s^d. Company —

Jeremiah Parker

[7] Maj^r. Latimer
N. Hale Lieu^t.
John Belcher 2^d L^t.

Joseph Hillard Ensⁿ
Alpheus Chapman 1st Serg^t
George Hurlbut 2^d. Serg^t.
Joseph Page 3^d Serg^t.
Reuben Hewit 4th. Serg^t.
Ezra Bushnell 5th. Serg^t.

[8 and 9 blank]

[10]	November 14 th . 1775	
	Priming wire &c D ^r . to Cash	2 ^s /.
	Serg ^t . Hurlbut C ^r .	
	By Cash Cash borrow'd	7 ^s /5 ^d
	Serg ^t . Hurlbut D ^r .	
	To cash	10 ^s /.
	To 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ^{lb} of butter	4/ $\frac{1}{2}$
	Serg ^t . Hurlbut C ^r .	
	By Cash	6 ^s /7 $\frac{1}{2}$
15 th	Cpt Whitney C ^r .	
	By 1 pint rum	./8

Gave Peter Holt an order on the Suttler
for a quart of rum.

Gave Jabez Minard D^o one pint of rum
not excepted*

	Christopher Beebe D ^r . to Cash	./9 ^d
16	Rober Latimer Fif ^r . D ^r to Cash	./10
	Hugh Deorty D ^r . to Cash	1/4
17	Ens ⁿ . Hurlbut D ^r . to Cash	1/4
[11]	Maj ^r . Mifflin Q ^m . G. C ^r .	
	By 1 pair Breeches 24 ^s /	1.. 4.. 0
	By 3 D ^o . at 21/6	3.. 4 6
	By 4 p ^r . Stock ^{gs} . at 4/7	0..18.. 4
	1 D ^o . at 6/4	0.. 6.. 4
	1 Do — 8/10	0.. 8..10
	By 1 buff Cap	0.. 1.. 6
	By 2 ^{yds} Coat ^g 4/4	0.. 8.. 8
	By 2 D ^o 4/.	0.. 8.. 0
		7 0.. 2
18	Ens ⁿ . Hurlbut D ^r To Cash	3/.
17 th	Candles & Hair Drs D ^r To Cash	1/.
	2 Loaves of Bread D ^r To Cash	1/2
	Cyder D ^r to Cash	/2

* Entry crossed off.

[12]

18 Maj^r. Mifflin Esq^r Q M G C^r.

		£	s	d
By	9 pr Stock ^{gs}	4/7	2..	1.. 3.
	5 D ^o . Gloves	1/6		7.. 6
	2 Mill'd Caps	1/6	..	3.. 0
	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ^{yds} Velvet	11/	1..	10.. 3
	11 pr Shoes	6/	3..	6.. 0
	6 Shirts	9/	2.	14. 0
	3 pr Breeches		3.	18. 0
	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ^{yds} Coat ^g	4/.	0.	19. 0
			14.	19. 0

Benjamin Cheesebrough C^rBy mak^g a waistcoat 2/.By putt^g a pocket in a Coat13th. John Chappel D^r.

To Cash 8/.

L^t. Joseph Willard C^r.

By Cash 8/.

[13]

19 L^t. Joseph Hillard Dr

To Cash 1/.

William Bacon D^r.

		£	s	d
To	1 pr Breeches		1.	4. 0
To	2 D ^o . Stock ^{gs} .	4/7	.	9. 2
To	1 D ^o . Shoes	6/.	.	6. 0
To	1 D ^o . Mittens	1/6	.	1. 6
To	2 Shirts	9/.	.	18. 0
To	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^{yds} Coat ^g .	4/.	.	9. 0
To	1 Mill'd Cap		.	1. 6

[14] Nov. 19 Christopher Woodbridge D^r.

		£
To 2¾ ^{yds} . Velvet	11/.	1. 10. 3
To 2¼ Coat ^g .	4/.	. 9. 0
To 1 pr Stock ^{gs} .	4/7	. 4. 7
T 1 D ^o . Shoes	6/.	. 6. 0

Robert Johnson D^r.

		£	s	d
To 1 pr Breeches	21/6	1.	1.	6
To 1 D ^o . Stock ^{gs} .	4/7	.	4.	7
To 1 D ^o . Shoes	6/.	.	6.	0
To 1 Shirt	9/.	.	9.	0

[15] Novem^r.

19	Thomas Cook D ^r .	£	s	d
	To 1 pr Shoes	6/	0.	6. 0
	To 1 D ^o . Stock ^{gs} .	4/7	.	4. 7
	To 2 Shirts	9/	0. 18.	0
Dec 8 th	To 1 pr Stock ^{gs} .	3/.	0.	3. 0

Jabez Minard D^r.

		£	s	d
To 1 pr Breeches	26/	1..	6.	0
To 1 D ^o . Stockings	4/7	.	4.	7
To 1 D ^o . Shoes	6/.	.	6.	0
To 1 D ^o . Mittens	1/6	.	1.	6
To 1 Shirt	9/	.	9.	0

[16] November 1775

19th. James Dennis D^r.

	To 1 pr Breeches	26 ^s /.	1.	6.	0
	To 2 P ^r Stock ^{gs} .	4/7	.	9.	2
	To 1 pr Mittens	1/6	.	1.	6
	To 1 pr Shoes	6/	0.	6.	0
Dec 7 th .	To 1 pr Shoes	6/	0.	6.	0

John Holmes D^r.

		£
To 1 pr Breeches	21/6	1. 1. 6
To 2 D ^o . Stock ^{gs} .	4/7	. 9. 2.
To 1 D ^o . Shoes	6/.	. 6. 0
To 1 Mill'd Cap	1/6	. 1. 6
To 1 pr Mittens	1/6	. 1. 6

Isaac Hammon D^r.

[17]

		£	s	d
To 1 pr Breeches	21/6	1.	1.	6
To 1 D ^o Stock ^{gs}	4/7	.	4.	7
To 1 D ^o . Shoes	6/	.	6.	0
To 1 Mill'd Cap	1/6	.	1.	6
To 1 pr mittens	1/6	.	1.	6

Ensⁿ. Hurlbut D^r

		£	s	d
To 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^{yds} Coat ^g .	4/.	0.	9.	0

[18] Novem 1775

20 W^m. Hatch D^r.

To 1 pr Stockgs	4/7	4.	7	
To 1 D ^o . Mittens		1.	6	
To 1 D ^o . Shoes		[blank]		

Cpt. Eli Levenworth C^r.

By Cash	3.	0.	0
---------	----	----	---

[19] November 1775

20 Christopher Beebe D^r.

	£	s	d
To Cash	0.	10.	0

Isaac Hammon D^r.

To Cash	0.	10.	0
---------	----	-----	---

John Holmes D^r.

To Cash	0.	10.	0
---------	----	-----	---

	Jabez Minard D ^r .	
	To Cash	0. 10. 0
21	Fairbanks Church D ^r	
	To Cash	0. 10. 0
	Cpt Bostwick's Clerk C ^r .	
	By Cash	0. 4. 0

[20] Winter Hill Nov. 20th. 1775
 Recd of Cpt. Nathan Hale in consequence of my inlististing [*sic*]
 in the Continental service another year, articles drawn from the
 Continental Store to the amount of two pounds seven shillings
 and a penny lawful money

Jabez maynard

Recd Winter Hill Nov. 20th. of Capt. Nathan Hale in consequence
 of my inlisting for another year in the Continental service articles
 from the Continental Store to the amount of 1[£]. 19^s. 8 lawful
 money

☞ John hoLmes

[21]
 Recd Winter Hill Nov. 20th. 1775 of Nathan Hale Cpt. articles
 from the Continental store, in consequence of my inlisting
 in the Continental Service another year, to the amount of
 1[£]. 15^s. 1^d lawful money

☞ Isaac Hammon

[22]

20 th	Cpt. Whitney Suttler C ^r .	
	By 2 quarts rum	
22 ^d	Hammer D ^r . to Cash	0. 1. 0
	1 ^{lb} . Chocolate D ^r . to D ^o .	0. 1. 6
	L ^t . Joseph Hillard D ^r .	
	To cash	0. 7. 6
24 th	Cpt. W ^m . Hull D ^r .	£ s. d
	To Gun Brush &c.	0. 1. 0

Serg ^t . Raymond Cr.		
By Cash		1/4
Robert Latimer Cr.		
By cash		0. 1. 4
Robert Latimer Dr.		
To cash due fr ^m . Ens. Hill ^d .		0. 0. 6
Ens. Hill ^d Cr.		
By Cash p ^d . R. Lat. ^{mer}		0. 0. 6
Lawrence Martin Dr.		
To Cash		0. 3. 11
Bread Dr. To Cash		0. 1. 0
[23]		
25 th .	Joseph Hale Cr.	£ s d
	By Cash	0. 12. 0
Apples &c. Dr. to Cash		./1½
Recd. of Col ^l . Webb an Ord ^r . for a pair of Gloves of QMG		
27	Cpt Whitney Dr.	
	To 1 quart Rum	
30	David M ^c .Donel Cr.	
	By Cash	0. 2. 6
Hugh Deorty Cr.		£ s d
	By Cash	0. 1. 4
Ben ⁿ . Cheesebrough Dr.		
	To Cash	0. 2. 0
Apples &c Dr. to Cash		./2
Dec. 4.	George Chunks Dr	
	To Cash	0. 8. 0

Cpt. Whitney C^r.
by 1 pint toddy

[24]

December 4th. 1775

*Majr Latimer D ^r .	£	s	d
* To Milk & Some Money	0.	8.	8

Hyde &c. C ^r			
By 1 buff Ribon	0.	1.	4

Washing D ^r . to Cash	0.	3.	4
----------------------------------	----	----	---

Robert Latimer C ^r			
By Cash	0.	0.	10

5 th Washing D ^r . to Cash	0.	5.	9½
--	----	----	----

Back allowance C ^r by Cash			2/2
---------------------------------------	--	--	-----

Cheese 10 [] D ^r			
To an order on the Maj ^r .			
For 2.13. 6	2.	13.	6

Recd Cambridge Dec 7th. 1775 of Cpt Nathan
Hale 1 pr Deerskin Breeches at thirty two
shillings lawful money in conse

[25]

quence of my inlisting in the Continental Service
another year

Lemuel Mynard

Decem^r. 7th. 1775

James Ward D ^r .			
To 2 pr Stock ^{gs}	4/7	0.	9. 2
To 1 pr Shoes	6/.	0.	6. 2

7 Christopher Woodbridge D ^r			
To 1 pr Breeches	30 ^s /.	1.	10. 0

To Lemuel Maynard D ^r			
To 1 pr Deerskin Br-	32/.	1.	12. 0

* Crossed off.

8	Cash Dr. to Cyder		0. 1. 0
	Hugh Deorty Dr.		
	To 1 pr Shoes	6/.	0. 6. 0
[26]	December 1775		
	9 th Cpt W ^m . Hull Cr.		
	By Cash Borrowed		1. 0. 0
	James Dennis Dr		
	To Cash		1. 0. 0
10	Maj ^r . Latimer's due from the QM.		0. 4. 4
	pd Caleb Coats back Allowance		0. 2. 2
12	Daniel Tolbot Dr.		
	To Cash		0.12. 0
	W ^m . Carver Dr.		
	To Cash		0.12. 0
	Charles Brown Dr.		
	To Cash		0. 6. 0
	December 10 th . 1775		
	John Elderkin Q. M. G. Cr.		
	By 1 back Ration		4.18. 2
	John Elderkin Dr.		
	To 1 back Ration		4.18. 2
	P. Cr. By 1 back Ration		4.18. 2
[27]			
11	P. To Cane	2/.	0. 2. 0
12	Charles Brown Dr.		
	To 1 pr Breeches		1. 6. 0
	Cpt Will ^m . Hull Dr		
	To 1 Snuffbox		0. 1. 6

14	P. To 2 ^{lb} butter	/10 ^d	0. 1. 8
	P. To News Paper & Apples		0. 0. 3½
	P. to Fish		0. 0. 6
17	P. D ^o to Dinner		0. 1. 2½
	L ^t . Francis Sage C ^r By Cash		0.18. 0
	Charles Brown D ^r . To Cash		0.18. 0
11	Maj ^r . Latimer D ^r . To 1 pr Deerskin Breeches		28/

[28]

Dec 18	James Ward D ^r To 1 pr Breeches		34/
	Thomas Coook D ^r To 1 pr Breeches		31/6
	P. D ^r . to 1 pr Breeches		34/.
	P. D ^r . to Dinner & Phlip		1/6
	P. D ^r . Col ^o . Webb C ^r To 1½ ^{yds} . Scarlet Br Cl 25/.		1.17. 6
	To 3½ D ^o . Shalloon 4/2		0.14. 7
	To 1 pr Kn Garters		0. 1. 6
	Col ^o . Webb C ^r ⌘ Q.MG. By 4 pr Breeches 31/6		6. 6. 0
	By 3 D ^o . 32/.		4.16. 0
	By 1 30/.		1.10. 0
	By 4 34/.		6.16. 0
	By 2 29/6		2.19. 0
	By 2 29/.		2.18. 0
			25. 5

[29]

	P. D ^r . to News paper		/3½
19	Francis Sage D ^r .		
	To 1 pr Shoes	6/.	0. 6. 0
20	Colo. Webb C ^r . ₤ QMG		£ s d
	By 4 Surtouts	36/.	7. 4. 0
	By 12 pr Stock ^{gs} .	4/9	2.17. 0
	By 2 pr V. Breeches	32/	3. 4. 0
			13. 5
	Stephen Hempstead Ser ^t . D ^r .		
	To 1 pr Vel ^t . Breeches	32/.	1.12.
	To 1 Surtout	36/.	1.16
	To 2 pr Stock ^{gs}	4/9	0. 9. 6
			3.17. 6
	Francis Sage Ser ^t . D ^r		
	To 1 pr Vel ^t . Breeches	32/.	1.12.
	To 2 pr Stock ^{gs} .	4/9	9. 6
	To 1 Surtout	36/	1.16. 0
			3.17 6

[30] December 1775

20	Charles Brown D ^r .		
	To 1 Surtout	36/.	1.16. 0
	To 3 pr Stock ^{gs} .	4/9	0.14. 3
	P. D ^r . to Dinner &c. —		0. 1. 7
	Thomas Cook D ^r .		
	To 1 Surtout	36/.	1.16. 0
21	P. D ^r . to Candles		./5 ^d

Maj^r. Latimer C^r.

By Cash 36.12. 0

Which money was recd of Joshua
Hempsted having been left for me by
Maj^r. Latimer at Gen^l. Spencers

Col. Webb D^r.

To Cash — 1. 0. 0

[31]

Col. Webb C^r.

By Cash — 0.18. 0

P. D^r. to News paper

. /2

22^d Christopher Woodbridge Corp^l. Dr

To 1 pr Stockings 4/9 0. 4. 9

Serg^t. Francis Sage D^r.

To Cash 0.18. 0

James Dennis D^r.

£ s d

To Cash 1. 1. 0

William Bacon D^r

£ s d

To Cash 1. 1. 0

7 Col^o. Webb C^r. ⌘ Q M G.

By 1 pr Breeches 28/. 1. 8. 0

By D^o. 30/. 1.10. 0

By do. 36/. 1.16. 0

By do. 32/. 1.12. 0

By 10 pr Shoes 6/ 3. 0. 0

9. 6

[32]

December	£	s	d
18 Hyde & Co. D ^r . to Cash	0.	1.	4
Nov. Cpt Levenworth C ^r			
By Cash	2.	0	0
Dec 22 ^d Cpt Levenworth D ^r			
To Cash	5.	10.	0
Charles Brown D ^r .	£	s	d
To Cash	1.	4.	0
Christopher Woodbridge D ^r .			
To Cash	1.	10.	0
22 P. To Chocolate	0.	1.	8
To Dress ^g . Hat	0.	0.	7½
To 1 buff ball	0.	0.	7½
To dress ^g . hair	0.	0.	6
James Ward D ^r			
To Cash	1.	10.	0
James Dennis D ^r			
To 1 good old hat 10/.	0.	10.	0
Thomas Cook D ^r	£	s	d
To Cash	0.	3.	3

[33]

23 P. D ^r to alter ^g G. Coat	0.	7.	0
To Dinner	0.	1.	2½
To ½ ^{zen} Biscuit	0.	0.	4
To Tape	0.	0.	4
To Candlestick	0.	1.	2
Capt Levenworth C ^r			
	£	s	
By 76 Dollars C. C.	22.	16	

Cpt Levenworth D^r.

		£	s
	To Ord ^r on Col ^o . Webb	22.	16
24	P. D ^r . to Reck ^g . mane	0.	1. 0
	Ser ^t . Sage D ^r		
	To Reck ^g . Hammons	0.	1. 0
	P. To Reck ^g at Straton's		/7¼
	Ser ^t . To Do		/7¼
	P. To Cyder at Stone's		./2
25	P. To Reck ^g . Reeds		./9½
	Ser ^t . Sage C ^r ex[?]do		./9½

[34]

Dec 1775

25	P. to Horse hire	0.	2. 0
	To a boy for carrying back the horse	0.	0. 9
	S ^t . Sage to do	0.	0. 9
	P. to Reck ^g at Jacobs	0.	1. 1½
	Ser ^t . Sage C ^r by do	0.	1. 1½
26	P. to Reck ^g . at Keyes'	0.	0.10
	Sert. Sage D ^r to Reck ^g . ibid	0.	0.10
	P. Reck ^g . at Hayes		./1½
	Sert. Sage D ^r to do	2	Coppers
	P. To Reck ^g . Kindals		./7
	Ser ^t . Sage D ^r . to do		./7
	P. D ^r . to Reck ^g . Southwards		./6

Sert. Sage Cr. by 1/ .

John Hale Dr
To an advertizement 4/. 0. 4. 0.

John Hale Cr
By Cash 0. 4. 0

[35]

Dec.

30 Mr. Nath^l. Wright Cr

	£	s	d
By Cash	0.	3.	4
To be p ^d — Mr. Hunting ⁿ . at Lebanon			

*Things wanted at Nor^{wh}. &c

*1 ounce Holland Thread

Maj ^r . Latimer's Acc ^t			
Against James Dennis			
To adv ^{ce} . Wages	2.	0.	0
To 15¾ ^{lb} Cheese	0.	7.	10½
To Suttler's Bill	1.	11.	9
To Cash p ^d . by L ^t . Hale	1.	0.	0
To do p ^d . James Comstock	1.	8.	0
To 10 ^{lb} . Cheese	0.	9.	0
To Cash for 1 blanket	0.	6.	0
	6.	18.	7½

[36]

James Ward Dr to			
Maj ^r . Latimer			
To adv ^{ce} . wages	2.	0.	0
To 1 pr Shoes	0.	8.	0
	2.	8.	0

* Crossed off.

Christopher Woodbridge		
D ^r . to Maj ^r . Latimer.		
To adv ^{ce} . Wages		2. 0. 0
To an order in		
fav ^r . of ^t . [sic]* Hillard		0. 14. 0
To 13½ ^{lb} Cheese		0. 6. 9
To 1 pr Shoes		0. 7. 0
		3. 7. 9
[37] Charles Brown D ^r .		
To Maj ^r . Latimer		
To adv ^{ce} . pay		2. 0. 0
To his order in		
fav ^r . of Dan ^l . Tolbot		0. 15. 0
To Suttlers bill		0. 1. 4
To 1 pr Shoes		. 7. 6
		3. 3. 10
W ^m . Bacon D ^r To		
Maj ^r . Latimer		
To adv ^{ce} . pay		2. 0. 0
To 1 pr Shoes shuon		0. 7. 0
To Cash of L ^t . Hale		0. 7. 5½
To 12 ^{lbs} Cheese		0. 6. 0
To Suttlers bill		0. 3. 4
		3. 3. 9½
[38] January 1776		
1	P. Reck ^g . Chary's Windham	0. 1. 0
	Thread D ^r	0. 1. 9½
2	P. mend ^g . buckles	0. 2. 4
	do Watch	0. 0. 4
	(Norwich)	

* Meant for "of Ct."

	P. to Din ^r Henry's	0. 1. 0
	P. to 4 pr Stock ^{gs}	1. 2. 4
	To 1 brush	0. 0. 6 .
	(David Gardener)	
3	P. D ^r to Cash p ^d . M ^r Richards	3.19. 8
	To do for Blanket	0.18. 0
	C ^r . by do for M ^s	
	Louisa fox's School ^g .	. 5. 4
4	*Stephen Hempsted Sert C ^r	
	*By Cash (adv ^{ce})	29. 0. 0
[39]	David Manwarring D ^r .	
	To Cash	31.16. 0
	Maj ^r . Latimer C ^r .	
	By Cash (my wages)	25.10. 5
	By do (Soldiers wages)	32. 2. 7
	Caleb Coats D ^r .	
	To back allowance	0. 3. 2
	Maj ^r . Latimer C ^r .	
	By Cash (Robert Johnsons)	2. 1. 1.
5	Cpt Mumford D ^r .	
	To Cash	10. 0. 0
	(for Holland)	
5	Dan ^l . Tolbot C ^r	
	By L ^t Chapmans Receipt	
	of 12/. in my favour	0.12. 0
[40]	Maj ^r . Latimer's Gun No. 14	
5	P. to Cambrick 2 ^{yds} .	0.12. 0

* Crossed off.

	P. to Cash p ^d . M ^r . Bolles	0. 4. 0
6	P. to mending Scabbard	0. 1. 3
	To pocket book	0. 1. 0
	M ^r . Bolles	
	P. To 6 ^{lb} . Coffee 1/.	0. 6. 0
	To 2 pr Stock ^{gs} . 4/3	0. 8. 6
	Cpt Rich ^{ds} .	
8	P. To 16 Gall ^{ns} . Rum 3/8	2.18. 8
	To 1 Cask for do 3/.	0. 3. 0
	To 1 pr Stock ^{gs} .	0. 9. 0
	To 1/2 a Case Geneva	1. 2. 0
	M ^r . Tho ^s . Coit	4.12. 8
	P. To 3 loaves L. Sugar 42.	2. 7. 3
	To 1/2 Cw ^t . br Sugar	1.12. 0
	To knit pattern 16/.	0.16. 0
	M ^r . R. Hubbard	4.15. 3
6	W ^m . Carver C ^r by Cash	11 ^s /8

[41]

8	P. To 1 Skein Silk	0. 0. 8
	To 1 Stick twist	0. 0. 6
	M ^r . Flynt's	0. 1. 2
	P. To 2 Sticks twist	0. 1. 0
	To 4 Skeins Silk	0. 2. 5
	To 1/4 ^{yd} . Velvet	0. 2. 9
	Cpt. Backus	0. 6. 2
6	P. To dr. hair	0. 0. 6
8	P. To dr. hair	0. 0. 6

	Joseph Hale Cr.	
	By Cash	0. 6. 0
	P. Dr to Reeckoning	0. 0. 10
12	P. To do Man ^{gs} .	0. 0. 5
	P. to Cash given to M ^{rs} . Parker	0. 1. 0

[42]

Jan ^y . 1775			
16	P. To 6 pr mittens	1/4	0. 8. 0
	To 1 do Stock ^{gs} .	3/.	0. 3. 0
	Sister Rose		
	P. To Buttons for		
	Half boots		0. 0. 9
	M ^r . Deaty		
18 th	P. To mk ^g . Shirts		0. 5. 0
	Miss Ma ^{bl} . Gove		
	Things to be purchased		
	at Windham		
	Cloth for 1/2 boots (Sell)		
	2 Black Barcelona Handkerch ^{fs}	}	
	1/4 ^{yd} Silk Gause black		
	1 Sheet Paste board		
	14 Coat buttons		
	P. To 1/4 ^{yd} . black B. Cloth		0. 5. 3
	To 1/2zen buttons		0. [*]. 10
	To Paste board		0. 0. 9
	To 1/4 ^{yd} Gause		0. 1. 0
	P. To Reck ^g . Chary's		0. 1. 3

* Ink blot.

[43]

20	John Hale C ^r . *By Cash to be laid *out for breeches at *Norwich	1.16. 0
	John Hale D ^r To Pocket-book	0. 1. 0
	John Hale C ^r — By Cash	0. 1. 0
23	*Joseph Hale C ^r *By Cash *For a pr Breeches	1.12. 6
22	P. To mending Watch &c at M ^r . Harlands	0. 7. 6
	P. To 14 C. buttons	0. 1. 9
	To 1 dozen W. buttons	0. 0. 9
	To 1 do Norwich	0. 0. 6

[44]

23	Jan ^y . 1776 P. to Reck ^g . Chary's	0. 1. 0
	P. to 1 stick Mohair M ^r . Ripley's	0. 0. 6
24	P. To Making & mending Clothes M ^r . Lane	0.14. 0
	P. To Reck ^g . Pirkins	1/5½
	P. To Reck ^g . Grosvenor's	./1

* Crossed out.

25	P. To 1 q ^t Cherry Rum Grosvenors Pomfret	1/6
	C ^o . To Reck ^g . Jacobs	0. 7. 4
	P. To Reck ^g .	0. 0. 8
	P. To Reck ^g . Hills	0/4½
26	P. To Reck ^g . Woods	./10½
	P. To do Amadons	0. 0. 7½
	P. To Cyder	./1½
	P. To do	./2

[45]

Thomas Kingsbury	10	Woods
Zephaniah Hammon		
Asher Wright	10½	
Eliphalet Robinson	10	
Stephen Caleff	10	
Elvin Ames	10	
W ^m . Parish		
David Canada		
Stephen Hall		
Stephen Ginnings		
Dan ^l . Ginnings		
At Jacobs	/8 ^d ⌘ man	
At Amadons	/7½ ⌘ man	
Clarke's Medfield	./8 ⌘ man	
At Bakers	12/. for the	
whole		

[46]

	January 1776	
27	P. to Reck Clarke's	/10½

	Stephen Califf D ^r	
	To Reck ^s . Clarkes	./10½
	Medfield	
	P. To Glass brandy	0/2 ^d
	Ellis's	
29 th .	Jabez Minard D ^r .	
	To Cash	0.10. 0
	L ^t . John Elderkin D ^r .	
	To Cash	1.16. 0
	Thomas Cook D ^r .	
	To Cash	0.12. 0
	W ^m . Bacon D ^r .	
	To Cash	0.12. 6
30	P. Collin Adams D ^r .	
	To Cash	0. 6. 0
[47]	P. To 2 ^{lb} . butter	0. 1. 8
	To 1½ ^{yds} B. Shal. ^{oon}	0. 5. 0
	To 1½ ^{qt} Cyder	0. 0./4
31.	P. To ½ ^{lb} . Sugar	0. 1. 0
	To 1 ^{qt} . Rum	0. 1. 4
	To Breakfast	0. 1. 0
	Ser ^t . Peter Robertson* D ^r .	
	To Cash	0.18. 0
	Paul Beebe D ^r	
	To Cash	0. 6. 0

* "in" has been written over "ert" converting the name into Robinson.

Esⁿ G. Hurlbut D^r.

To Cash 2: 8. 0

P. Collins Adams D^r.

To Cash 0. 6. 0

Ser^t. Fosdick D^r.

To Cash 0. 18. 0

[48] Jan^y. 1776

31 P. To Pocket book 0. 2. 0

Feb. 1776

1st. P. To bread 0. 0. 6

To 1 pail 0. 0. 10

Jabez Maynard D^rTo 1 pr Stock^{gs}. 0. 4. 92 P. To 2^{lb} butter 0. 1. 10W^m. Willson Fif^r. D^rTo 1 pr Stock^{gs}. 0. 4. 9

P. To the Secret 0. 1. 4

John Moltrop D^r

To 1 pr Shoes 0. 6. 3

To 2 pr Stockings 0. 9. 6

Zephaniah Hammon D^r

To Cash 0. 6. 0

[49] Thom^s. Cook D^r.

To Cash 0. 1. 6

	Cyder D ^r To Cash	0	0	2
	Col ^o . Webb D ^r To Cash p ^d . Luther Martin	.	12	0
	Luther Martin D ^r To Cash	.	6	.
6	Corp ^l . Christ ^r Woodbridge D ^r . To Cash	1	10	.
	Lieu ^t . Alpheus Chapman D ^r . To Cash	1	4	7
	Lieu ^t . John Yates D ^r To Cash Being the fine of John Tucker—to be appropriated [<i>sic</i>] according to the Second Article of War	.	6	.
	Cpt. Levenworth D ^r To Cash	.	4	8
	2 ^D Candles D ^r . To Cash	.	1	6
	Joseph Hale D ^r To Cash	.	1	6
[50]	Feb. 1776			
6	Hammon's expences To Cash	.	2	.
7	Dinner &c To Cash Milk to do	.	2	4 8
	Stock ^{gs} . 1 pr to Cash	.	11	8
	Knee Gartres 1 pr to	.	1	2
	1 qt Brandy to Cash	.	2	8

8	P. C. Adams D ^r To his ord ^r in favour of David Canada	.	7	6
	Charles Brown D ^r . To his ord ^r . in fav ^r . Cpt Whitney	.	11	7
	Btter 4 ^{lb} D ^r . to Cash	.	3	8
	Wash ^g Clothes D ^r . to Cash	.	1	9
	Col ^o . Charles D ^r . To blanket money p ^d John Moltrop Rt. Feb. 8	.	12	.
3:	To Paul Beebe's do Rt 3	.	12	.
5	To Sam ^l . Maynard's do R ^t 5	.	12	.
	To Sam ^l . Maynards adv ^{ce} pay Rt. 5	2	.	0
	To Stephen Hempsteds do see Rt.	2	8	.
[51]				
8	Daniel Plumb D ^r . To Cash	.	6	.
9	Cpt. W ^m . Hull D ^r . To Cash	.3	4	.
	L ^t . Alpheus Chapman D ^r . To Cash	2	8	.
	Milk To Cash	.	.	4
	Potatoes To do	.	1	.
	Ens ⁿ . Geo: Hurlbut D ^r To Cash—	3	6	.
	Paul Beebe D ^r . To Cash	.	1	4½

	Ephraim Beebe D ^r .			
	To Cash	.	2	.
	John Holmes D ^r			
	To Blanket money	.	12	.
	To Cash	.	6	.
1775				
Dec. 29	Eph ^m . Beebe D ^r .			
	To Cash p ^d by Ens ⁿ . Hurlb ^t .			
	See Rt	1	10	.
[52]				
1775				
Dec. 29	James Ward D ^r			
	To Cash p ^d by Ens ⁿ . Geo:			
	Hurlbut (see Rt)	1	10	.
29	W ^m . Bacon D ^r			
	To Cash p ^d by Ens ⁿ . Geo:			
	Hurlbut see Rt	1	10	.
	Tho ^s . Cook D ^r			
	To Cash p ^d . by Ens ⁿ . Geo:			
	Hurlbut see Rt	1	10	.
1776				
Feb. 9	Charles Brown D ^r			
	By cash (his fine to			
	expended according			
	to the 2 ^d art. War	.	15	.
1775				
Dec. 29	Charles Brown D ^r			
	To cash (p ^d . by Ens ⁿ . Geo:			
	Hurlbut see Rt.)	1	10	.

30	Pigot C. Adams D ^r To cash (p ^d by Ens ⁿ . Geo: Hurlbut see Rt)	1	10	.
	Christopher Woodbridge D ^r To Cash (p ^d . by En. Hurlbut See Rt.)	1	10	.
[53]	Peter Robertson Ser ^t . To Cash p ^d by En. Hurlb ^t . See Rt.	1	16	.
	Jabez Maynard D ^r To cash p ^d by En. Geo: Hurlbut, see Rt—	1	10	.
1776				
Jan 2 ^d	James Dennis D ^r . To Cash (p ^d by Ens ⁿ Geo: Hurlbut see Rt)	1	10	.
	Reynold Hooper D ^r . to Cash (p ^d by Ens ⁿ . Geo: Hurlbut see Rt.)	1	10	.
1775				
Dec. 29	Stephen Hempsted D ^r . To Cash p ^d by Ens ⁿ Geo: Hurlbut see Rt	1	10	.
1776				
Jan. 4	Sam ^l . Maynard D ^r . To Cash (p ^d . by Ens ⁿ . Hurlbut see Rt.)	1	10	.
	Christopher Woodbridge D ^r . To Cash p ^d . by Ens ⁿ . Geo: Hurlbut	1	4	.

[54]

1776

Jan. 26	Matthew Melonny D ^r To Cash p ^d by Sert. Hempsted (see Rt)	1	10	.
5	Paul Beebe D ^r To Cash p ^d . by Ser ^t . Hempsted (see Rt.)	1	10	.
14	Daniel Plumb D ^r . To Cash p ^d . by Sert. Hempsted (See Rt.)	1	16	.
Feb. 10	Sugar D ^r . to Cash	.	1	6
	Apples D ^r . to Cash	.	.	2
11	Updike Fostdick Ser ^t D ^r . To 1 pr Breeches	1	14	.
	Brandy 1 qt D ^r . to Cash	.	2	.
	1 q ^t Rum D ^r . to Cash	.	1	4
	Ens ⁿ . Geo: Hurlbut D ^r To 1 Skein Silk	.	.	8
	To 1 Stick twist	.	.	6
Jan. 10	Eliphalet Button D ^r To Cash p ^d . by Lieut. Chapman see Rt—	1	16	6
	Gideon Beebe D ^r . To do	2	4	11
[55]	John Brown D ^r To Do.	2	1	3

	James Phillips D ^r .			
	To Do	1	12	2
14	Corp ^l . Asa spink D ^r			
	To do	1	15	6
	Corp ^l . Christopher Beebe D ^r			
	To Do	1	11	1
15	Enos Greenfield D ^r			
	To Do	1	10	.
	John Holmes D ^r .			
	To Do	1	4	.
Feb. 12	Ser ^t . Sage D ^r .			
	To Cash	.	4	.
	Daniel Plumb D ^r .			
	To Cash	.	6	.
	Charles Brown D ^r .			
	To his Order in favour of Ser ^t . Sage	.	14	.
	John Molthrop D ^r .			
	To Cash (p ^d . by Sert. Sage see Rt Jan. 16.	2	.	.
[56] 1776				
Feb. 12	W ^m . Parish D ^r			
	To Cash pd by John Fitch see Rt. Jan. 13. 1776	2	.	.

Stephen Ginnings D ^r				
To Cash p ^d by John				.
Fitch see Rt				
Jan ^r . 3. 1776		2	.	.
John Brown D ^r				
To 3 pr Stocking 3/		.	9	.
To 1 do Shoes		.	6	.
Eliphalet Button D ^r .				
To 1 pr Stock ^{gs} .		.	3	.
To 1 do Shoes		.	6	
Corp ^l . Asa Spink D ^r .				
To 1 pr Shoes		.	6	.
Gideon Beebe D ^r				
To pr Shoes		.	6	.
To 1 do Hose		.	3	.
[57]	Ser ^t Peter Robinson D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Shoes	.	6	.
	Corp ^l . Ch Beebe D ^r			
	To 1 pr Shoes	.	6	.
	To 2 do hoes 3/.	.	6	.
	Ep ^m . Beebe D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Shoes	.	6	.
	To 1 pr Hose	.	3	0
	Jabez Maynard D ^r			
	To 1 pr Hose	.	3	.
	To 1 do Shoes	.	6	.
	John Holmes D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Stockings	.	3	.

Charles Brown D ^r				
To 1 pr Shoes		.	6	.
Ens. Geo: Hurlbut D ^r				
To 1 pr Hose		.	3	.
P. Collin Adams D ^r				
To 1 pr Hose		.	3	.
[58]				
1776				
Feb. 12	John Holmes D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Breeches	1	9	.
	Isaac Morgan D ^r			
	To 1 pr Shoes	.	6	.
	James Phillips D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Breeches	1	9	6
	Christ ^r - Beebe D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Breeches	1	14	.
	Gid ⁿ . Beebe D ^r			
	To 1 pr Breeches	1	12	.
	W ^m . Ashcraft D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Shoes	.	6	.
	Jabez Maynard D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Breeches	1	9	6
	W ^m . Ashcraft D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Breeches	1	9	.
	Updike Fostdick D ^r .			
	To 1 pr Breeches	1	9	.

[59]	Peter Robinson D ^r To 1 pr Hose	.	4	9
	Ens. Geo: Hurlbut D ^r . To 2 pr Hose 4/9	.	9	6
	Eph ^m . Beebe D ^r . To pr Breeches	1	12	.
	P. C. Adams D ^r To Pr. Breeches	1	10	.
	Isaac Morgan D ^r . To 1 pr Breeches	1	11	6
	James Phillips D ^r . To 1 pr Shoes To do Hose	.	6 4	3 9
	Enos Greenfield D ^r . To Cash	1	2	.
	Ser ^t . Updike Fostdick D ^r . To Cash	.	2	6
[60]				
1776		£	s	d
Feb. 12	W ^m . Parish D ^r . To Cash (blank ^t . money)	.	12	.
	Asher Wright D ^r To Cash	.	2	.
13 th	Charles Brown D ^r . To his order in fav ^r . of Lieu ^t . Badcock see Ord ^r . Feb. 13. 1776	.	8	.

	Lieut. Badcock D ^r .			
	To Cash	.	1	.
	James Ward D ^r .			
	To Cash (see Rt)	7	10	6
	Christopher Woodbridge D ^r			
	To Cash	3	4	9
	Apple's Dr to Cash	.	.	2
	Milk D ^r . To Cash	.	.	8
15	Dinner D ^r . to Cash	.	1	2½
16	Shalloon ¼ ^{yd} . D ^r . to Cash	.	.	6
	1 Comb D ^r . To do	.	1	6
[61]				
17	1 qt Cyder D ^r . to Cash	.	.	2
	Mend ^g . waistc ^t D ^r to Cash	.	.	4
18	Lieut ^t . Babcock C ^r .			
	By Cash	.	1	.
19	Same D ^r . Cash	1	1	3
	Silk 1 Sk. D ^r . To Cash	.	.	8
	Cyder D ^r . To do	.	.	3
20	Breakfast D ^r . To Cash	.	1	.
	1 Pocket Handkerchief To do	.	6	.
	1 do D ^r . to do	.	7	.
	1 do D ^r . to do	.	9	6
	Buttons D ^r . To do	.	.	9
	Coffee Pot D ^r . To do	.	2	8
	Coffee Cups D ^r . To do	.	2	4
	Stop Cock D ^r . To do	.	6	.
	Carriage of things D ^r . To do	1	.	.
	do — D ^r . to do	.	2	.

	4 lb. butter D ^r . to Cash	.	3	8
22.	Mug D ^r . to Cash	.	.	9
	Guard D ^r To do	.	.	6
	Maj ^r . Brooks D ^r . to Sugar 14	.	17	.
	Cpt. Hull D ^r . to do 13½.	.	16	3
[62]				
Feb. 1776				
24 th .	Same D ^r to Cash	.	.	9
	Cpt. Hull D ^r . To Cheese 11 ^{lb} .			
26	3 ^{lb} butter D ^r . to Cash	.	3	.

[Pages 63 to 192, numbering from reverse, are blank.]

[In the center of the book, the writing faced the same way as the Diary, pages 145 and 146 contain the following accounts.]

[145]

1776

Feb^y. 6th.

The Continent C ^r .			
By Cash	.	4	.
Being the fine of William Spooner, to be appropriated according to the 2 ^d . of Continental Articles of War			
L ^t . Chapmans Rec ^t C ^r .			
By Cash	.	12	0
Breeches C ^r by Cash	1	12	6
Joseph Hale			

8	David Canada C ^r . By Pigot C. Adam's order	.	7	6
	Cpt. Whitney C ^r . By Charles Brown's ord ^r . in his favour	.	11	7
	Ens ⁿ . Geo: Hurlbut C ^r . By Cash	.	2	.
Feb. 1	Col ^o . Charles Webb C ^r By Cash	4	16	
[146] 1776				
Jan. 29.	Blanket C ^r . By Cash Asher Wright	.	10	.
Feb. 12	Ser ^t . Sage C ^r . By Cash p ^d . John Molthrop	2	.	0
16	Gun & Cartridge box C ^r * By Cash	4	.	.
26	[By]† Ration Money C ^r . by Cash Lieut Whittlesey	9	7	6

* Uncertain; it looks like C^r written over D^r.

† Crossed out.

HALE'S BOOK OF RECEIPTS FOR EQUIPMENT*

[Now published for the first time]

(Courtesy of Yale University)

[Hale's Army Receipt Book is another item sent home by Asher Wright after Hale's death. It is valuable chiefly because it contains a considerable amount of Hale's handwriting and because it shows the character of the equipment that Hale, as a Captain in the Army of the Revolution, issued to his men. Ultimately, it fell into the hands of Hale's widowed step-sister, Mrs. Alice (Adams) Ripley, who about the time of her second marriage to William Lawrence used its convenient blank pages for her own purposes.

Hale wrote out the receipts and the soldiers of his company signed them or, short of that, made their mark. The book is one of 110 pages, is bound in brownish leather, and measures six inches by a little under four inches. The brown leather cover is fastened with a brass clasp. The sheets are of rag paper, with part of a water-mark showing on each page near the binding; blotter pages of a pinkish color are bound between the sheets. What Mrs. Lawrence wrote in it is of no importance, since she does not mention Hale.

After her death the book was acquired by the late George E. Hoadley of Hartford. In January, 1925, after his death, various items in his collection were sold at auction in New York. This book, on account of being largely in Hale's handwriting, brought \$4,250. Mrs. Edward S. Harkness presented it to Yale University in May, 1927. Dr. Andrew Keogh had a photostat copy made of the book, which he loaned to the author, and Dr. Bernhard Knollenberg has given Mr. Jacobus every facility for verifying his transcription of the book with the original.—G. D. S.]

[4]

June Henry Hopping
27 1 French Fusee N^o. 5

Serg^t. Robertson
[ret^d. 13]† rem-19.s.23

Corp^l. Woodbridge
ret^d. 1 Gun N^o. 222
& bay^t. Scab^d. & Strap

* While the receipts are in Hale's handwriting, they are *signed* by the soldiers who received the equipment, whatever it was, save in a few cases where the men made their marks, showing that they could not write. These few signatures are in the handwriting of Hale.

† Crossed out.

Corp^l Woodbridge
1 New Carbine & bay^t.
C. b. Scab^d. & Strap

Corp^l. Kinasbury
ret^d. 1 New K^{'s} Arms,
compleat
D^r

To 1 New Fusee
comp^t. & C. b.

Serg Robertson
ret^d. 1 King's Arms
bay^t. [Strap]*: Scabbard
& Sling [(Strap lost)]*

S^t. Robⁿ. D^r
1 New Carbine with
bay^t. Sling. C. box Scab^d.
& Strap

[5]

June Joseph Weeks
27 1 Gun Kings Arms
with bay^t. Sling
[Cartouch b.]* Scab^d &
Strap

Ezra Smith
Cr.

Corp^l. Kingsbury
ret^d, 12. rem 6

Nat. Tuttle
1 Gun N^o. 222
bay^t. Scab^d. & Strap.

* Crossed out.

Enos Greenfield

1 Gun New Kings Arms
with Bay^t. Sling, Scabbard
& Strap — Ret^d. 1 Gun

Serg^t. Sage

Ret^d. 1 New Kings Arms Scab^d. & Sling
without bay^t. [Scab^d.]* & Strap.

D^r To 1 New Carbine with
bay^t. Scab^d. Strap & Sling & C. b.

[6]

June	Lines D ^r	
28	To Cash	9 [d]

29	Stephen Caleff D ^r
	1 Gun N ^o . 402
	1 Pouch & 23r —

John Hand

1 New Carbine with
Bayo^t. Scab^d. Strap Sling
and Car.b—

Josiah Osborn

one New Kings Arms
with Sling

Josiah Hand

His own Gun

Isaac Bran

one Gun. bay^t. & Strap
N^o. 226

Corp^l. Woodbridge

Ret^d. 18 r- rem C —

Serg^t. Fosdick

ret^d. 6 r—

* Crossed out.

[7]

June 29 Serg^t. Hempsted
18 r—

Corp^l. Spink
18 r

Serg^t. Hempsted
1 new Carbine with bay^t.
Scab^d. Strap Sling & Car-b.
ret. 1 Gun bay^t. Scab^d.

Jere Tall. ^H returnd

B^t 2 dozen Scr. Drivers
for the Company 1 [£] 16 [s]

[Jere Tallmadge D^r]*

30 P. C. Adams
one New Carbine with
bay^t. Scab^d. Strap, Sling
and Car.b. & 2 fints

Eliph^t. Button
one Gun N^o. 223 with
Bay^t. & Scab^d. ret^d. G. N^o. 243

Serg^t. Fosdick
ret^d. 12. D^r. 24

Serg^t. Sage
D^r. 24r

[8]

June 30 Jos. Weeks
18r

* Crossed out.

	M ^{rs} Spicer D ^r			
	To Cash in full			
	for board			
	to the 30 th . June	3	15	.
	Ens. Hurlbut D ^r			
	To Cash	.	.	2½
July				
5	P To Supper	.	1	1½
6	To Breakfast	.	1	.
	Capt Tuttle D ^r			
	To Cash	4	4	.
	Serg ^t . Robertson D ^r			
	To Cash (p ^d . Weeks)—	.	6	.
8	P To washing	.	13	6½
	James Phillips D ^r			
	To Cash	.	6	.
	Serg ^t . Fosdick D ^r			
	To Cash	1	16	.

[9]

July				
8 th .	P. To mak ^g . Sh ^t .	.	3	.
	To mend ^g . do—	.	1	6
	Daniel Plumbe D ^r			
	To Cash p ^d . M ^r Van der Vort		15	.
10	Q M G C ^r By Cash			
	Rations	5	13	9
	Allow ^{ce} . of butter	13	7	3
	Ditto of Sundries	4	19	.
		24	.	.

	Eben ^r . Allen D ^r			
	To Cash	.	18	.
11	Daniel Ginnings D ^r .			
	To Cash	1	4	.
	Elkanah Meech D ^r			
	To Cash	.	4	.
	Stephen Caleff D ^r			
	To Cash	.	6	.

[10]

July

15	Jabez Maynard			
16	Pharaoh Sharper D ^r			
	To Cash	.	1	.
20	P. To butter	.	0	9
21	To Same M	.	.	9
	P. To do d ^d	.	1	.

News recd Yesterday of the
Def^t of Clinⁿ's army 172 kill^d
and wounded. on our side
10 kill'd & 22 wound^d. Gen^l. Sulli-*
van arv^d. from the N. Capt.
Salt^{ll} & M^r. Adams from
Phi^a

22	P to board at M ^{rs} . Spicers	3	8	.
23	Isaac Bran D ^r			
	To Cash	.	10	.
24	Thomas Cook D ^r			
	To Cash	.	3	.

* Apparently y was written over the i.

James Phillips			
To Cash	.	10	.

[11]

July

24	P. To 1 boll Punch	.	1	6
26	Eliph ^t . Button D ^r To Cash	.	3	.
	Ebenezer Allen D ^r . To Cash	.	6	.
	William Ba[-]m D ^r To Cash p ^d . Eben ^r . Allen	.	6	.
26	P. To Sanggara	.	.	9
27	Serg ^t . Robertson D ^r To Cash	3	.	.
	William Clark D ^r To 1 osnabrig Shirt	.	12	6
Aug. 1.	Alvin Ames D ^r To Cash	.	5	6
	Pharaoh Shap D ^r To Cash	.	1	.

[12]

Aug.

1	Stephen Caleff D ^r To Cash	.	3	.
2	Davidson Williams D ^r To Cash	.	1	6
	Thomas Cook D ^r To Cash	.	1	.

	Charles Brown D ^r			
	To Cash	.	5	.
	W ^m Parish D ^r			
	To Cash	.	.	4
3	Joseph Weeks D ^r			
	To Cash	.	2	.
	Stephen Ginnings D ^r			
	To Cash	.	4	.
	Stephen Califf D ^r			
	To Cash	.	4	.

[13]

Aug.

3	Serg ^t . Hempsted D ^r			
	To Cash	1	4	.
	W ^m . Bacon D ^r .			
	To Cash	.	6	.
5 th	Serg ^t . Fosdick D ^r			
	To Cash	3	.	.
6	Corp ^l . Beebe D ^r			
	To Cash	.	12	.
	Gid ⁿ . Beebe D ^r			
	To Cash	.	9	.
7 th	P. C. Adams D ^r			
	To Cash	.	1	.
7	Joseph Weeks D ^r			
	To Cash	.	2	6
9	Matthew Melony D ^r			
	To Cash	.	1	6

[14]

Aug.

9	Eben ^r . Allen D ^r To Cash p ^d Isaac Hammon		10	.
	John Holmes D ^r To his order in fav ^r of P. C. Adams given by him to John Martin	.	3	8
	John Martin C ^r By John Holmes' ord ^r . in fav ^r . of P. C. Adams	.	3	8
	Will ^m . Willson Fife D ^r To Cash	.	18	.
10	Recd Co's Back allow ^{ce} . from July 1 st . to Aug 11 th .	9	4	5

[15]

Aug	Nat ^l Tuttle D ^r	.	4	.
10	To Cash	.	4	.
	⌘ Paul Beebe	.	4	.
	W ^m . Clark D ^r To Cash	.	2	.
	Elkenah Meech D ^r To Cash	.	12	.
	Asa Spink D ^r To Cash	.	3	.
	W ^m Putnam D ^r To 1 pr. Shoes	.	7	3

Paul Beebe D ^r			
To 1 frock	.	15	9
James Phillips D ^r			
To 1 pr Trowsers	.	12	.
P. C. Adams D ^r			
To 1 frock	.	19	9

[16]

Aug.	Alvin Ames D ^r			
10	To Cash	.		
	p ^d . Dan ^l . Ginnings	.	1	6
	Isaac Bran D ^r			
	To 1 pr Shoes	.	7	3
	To 1 frock	.	15	9
	To 1 pr Trowsers	.	12	.
	[P. C. Adams D ^r]*			
	[To 1 Frock]*	.	15	9
	[James Phillips D ^r]*			
	[To 1 pr Trowsers]*	.	12	.
	Pharaoh Sharp D ^r			
	To 1 pr Trowsers	.	12	.
	To 1 frock	.	19	9
	W ^m Putnam D ^r			
	To Cash	.	4	.
	Mess D ^r To Cash	.	12	.

[17]

Aug.	Serg ^t . Fosdick D ^r			
10	To 1 Frock	.	19	9
	To 1 pr Trowsers	.	10	.

*Crossed off.

	Serg ^t . Hempsted D ^r			
	To 1 frock	.	15	9
	To 1 pr Trowsers	.	12	.
	Elkanah Maach D ^r			
	To one Frock		15	9
11	Charles Brooks D ^r			
	To 1 frock	.	15	9
	To 1 pr Trowsers	.	12	.
	To Cash	.	3	.
12	P. C. Adams D ^r			
	To Cash	.	3	.
	To 1 pr Shoes	.	7	3
	Thaddeus Beebe D ^r			
	To Cash	.	1	6
[18]				
Aug.	Paul Beebe D ^r			
12	To Cash	.	0	9
	Fredrick Platts D ^r *			
	By Dan ^l . Plumbe's* order	.	18	.
	Charles Brown D ^r			
	To ord ^r fav ^r Dan ^l . Plumbe	.	18	.
	Stephen Caleff D ^r			
	To Cash	.	1	.
	Paul Beebe D ^r			
	To Cash	.	1	.

* The abbreviation "Cr" has been written over "Dr" and over "Danl."

Fredrick Platts D^r
 To 1 Gun old N^o. 11 New
 New 227. bay^t. & Car.b
 & 25 Cars.

[19]

Aug.

13	Frederick Platts D ^r To Cash	.	18	.
14	Guy Beckwith D ^r To Cash	.	1	.
15	Jeremiah Tallmadge Discharged			
	Alpheus Chappel his own Gun N ^o . 82 prized at	2	17	.
22	Fredrick Platts one Carbine Comp ^t .			
23	P. C. Adams Retd. one Carbine Comp ^t . D ^r M To one Gun No. 11 & 227 one Car-b & 2 hr			
30	P. C. Adams D ^r To Cash	.	.	9

[20]

Aug.

30	Will ^m Willson D ^r To 1 pr Shoes	.	7	3
	Isaac Bran D ^r To Cash	.	3	.

[Pages 20 to 48, left blank by Hale, were used by Mrs. Ripley for her Diary. Beginning with the next page, all entries in the book are written in reverse, showing that the book was turned around and the back used as a second front. These reverse entries begin in the handwriting of Nathan Hale, who here wrote out receipts for members of his company to sign. The blank pages following were again filled by his step-sister, Mrs. Alice (Adams) Ripley. In order to present the entries in their proper order, it is necessary to start here with the last page and work backwards to the middle of the book.—*D. L. J.*]

[110]

Recd New York June 27th.

1776 of Capt Nathan Hale

1 French Fusee N^o. 5

⌘ Henry Hopping*

Recd New York June 27. 1776

of Capt Nathan Hale

1 New Fusee with Sling Cartouch
box, bay^t. Scab^d. & Strap

Christopher Woodbridge

Recd New York June 27. 1776

of Capt Nathan Hale one

new Carbine with Sling

Cartouch-box bay^t. Scab^d. &
Strap.

thomas kings bury

[109]

Recd New York June 27. 1776

of Capt Nathan Hale one

new Carbine with Sling

Cartouch-box bay^t. Scabbard
& Strap.

Peter Robertson

Recd New York June 27th. 1776

of Capt Nathan Hale one

* Name crossed out.

New King's Arms with
bay^t. Sling, Scabbard and
Strap

Joseph Weeks

Recd New York June 27th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
thirty five Shillings &
six pence in full of my
wages for April last

john hoLmes

[108]

Recd New York June 27th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale ten pounds twelve
Shillings Lawful money
in full of my wages for
April last and of my
Account for recruiting
thirteen men in his Company
also recd two pounds fourteen
shillings and one penny
in full of the wages of
My Brother Diarca for
thirteen days in March, the
month of April & twenty
nine Days in May—likewise
in full of his Billetting for
Seven Days and Travel fo[r]
Seven Miles

John Elderkin QM

[107]

Recd New York June 27th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale fourteen shillings

and eight pence lawful
 Money in full of
 my wages for April
 last —

Ezra Smith

Recd of Capt. Nathan Hale
 1 Gun N^o. 222 with bayonet
 Scabbard and Strap
 New York June 27. 1776

Nathan¹ ^{his} × Tuttle
 mark

Recd New York June 27th. 1776.
 of Capt. Nathan Hale
 1 Gun New King's arms
 with bay^t. Scabbard Strap
 & Sling

Enos Greenfield

[106]

Recd New York June 28th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale one
 New Carbine, with Bayonet,
 Scabbard, Strap, Sling &
 Cartouch-box

Francis Sage

Recd New York June 29th.
 1776 of Capt. Nathan
 Hale 1 Gun N^o. 402

Stephen Caleff

Recd New York June 27th
 1776 of Capt. Nathan
 Hale three eight
 Sillings and 10½^d. lawful

money in full of my wages
&c up to the 1st. of
May last

Matthew ^{his} × Melony
mark

[105]

Recd New York June 29th.
of Capt. Nathan Hale
two pounds fourteen
shillings and /10½^d
lawful money in
full of all my arrears
of pay up to the first
of May last.

John Hand

Recd New York June 29th
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale one new Carbine
with bayonet, Scabbard,
Strap, Sling & Cartouch
box—

John Hand

[104]

Recd New York June 29th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale one Gun New King's
Arms with Sling

Josiah Osborn

Recd New York June
29th. 1776 of Capt Nathan
Hale one Gun N^o. 226
with bayonet & Strap

Isaac ^{his} × Bran
mark

Recd New York June 29th
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale nine Shillings
five pence & ½^d lawful
money in full of my
wages up to the end
of April last

Davidson Williams

[103]

Recd New York June 29th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
forty two shillings &
ten pence lawful
money in full of
my wages for April
last —

⌘

Isaac Hammond

Recd New York June 29th
1776 of Capt Nathan
Hale thirteen shillings
and six pence lawful
money in full of
my wages for april
last

Robert Johnson

[102]

Recd New York June 29
1776 of Capt Nathan
Hale one new Carbine
with bay^t. Scabbard, Strap
Sling & Cartouch-box

Stephen Hempsted

Recd New York June 29th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale six Dollars in
full of my wages
for April last

William Bacon

Recd New York June 31st. * 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale twenty
one Shillings & 14^d. lawful
money in full of my
wages for April last

William Putnam

[101]

Recd New York June 29th
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale sixteen Shillings
and five pence half
penny in full of my
wages for April last

Jeremiah Talmage

Recd New York June 30th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale one New Carbine
with bay^t. Scabbard, Strap
Sling, & Cartouch-box

Pigott Collin Adams

Recd New York June 30th
1776 of Capt Nathan
Hale one Gun N^o. 223
with bayonet and Scab-
bard - - -

Eliphalet Button

* *Sic.*

[100]

Recd New York June 31st.*

1776 of Capt. Nathan

Hale [eight Dollars

and one eighth in

full]† forty Shillings

lawful money in full

of my wages for

April last

Eliphalet Robinson

Recd New York July 22^d.

1776 of Capt. Nathan

Hale thirty [five]‡ three

Shillings and six pence

halfpenny in full

of my wages for April

last —

Ephraim Beebe

[99]

Recd New York July 2^d. 1776

of Capt. Nathan Hale

Sixteen Shill^{gs}.

& ./6½ in full of my

wages for April last

Timo ^{his} × Fargo
markRecd New York July 2^d—

1776 of Capt. Nathan

Hale forty Shillings

being my wages for

April last —

James Ward

* *Sic.*

† Crossed out.

‡ Crossed out.

[98]

Recd New York July 6th—
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale fifty Eight
Shillings lawful
money in full of
my wages for April
last

Thomas ^{his} × Fargo
mark

Recd New York July 13th.
of Capt. Nathan Hale
[fifty]* fifty five Shillings
lawful Money in full
of my wages for May
and of my back allow^{ce}
of provisions up to the
1st. of July Inst.

Stephen Hempsted

[97]

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan Hale
forty Seven Shillings
lawful money in full
of my wages for may
and of my Back Allow^{ce}
of provisions to the
1st. of July.

Eliphalet Button

Recd New York July 13th. of
Capt. Nathan Hale forty one
Shillings lawful money
in full of my wages

* Smudged with Hale's finger-print; not clear, hence he wrote the word again.

for May last & of
my back Allowance
of Provisions to the
1st. of July Inst.

Silas holly

[96]

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale forty three Shill^{gs}
& Six pence lawful
Money in full of my
back Allowance of
Provisions to the
1st. of Instant July &
of my wages for May
last —

Robert Johnson

Recd New York July 13th. 1776 of
Capt. Nathan Hale fifty one
Shillings lawful money
in full of my Back Allow^{ce}.
of provisions to the 1st. of Inst.
July & of my Wages for
May last

William Willson

[95]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776 of Capt.
Nathan Hale forty three
Shillings & six pence
lawful money in full
of my back allowance
of provisions to the 1st.
July inst. & of my
wages for May last

Silas Chapman

Recd New York July 13th. 1776 of Capt.
Nathan Hale fifty nine Shill^{gs}.
& ./8½^d lawful money in full
of my wages for May last
& of my Back allowance
of provisions to the 1st. of
inst. July ⑈

Timothy Hedges

[94]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
Seven pounds nine
Shillings lawful money
in full of my wages in
the Continental Service
to the end of May &
of my Billet, Travel
& Back Allowance
Money to the 1st. of July
Inst. —

Josiah osborn

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale fifty one
Shillings lawful Money
in full of my wages for
May last & of my back
allow^{ce}. of provisions to the
1st. of July Inst.

Christophr Beebe

[93]

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan Hale
eight pounds two Shill^{gs}-
& ./3^d in full of my wages
for may last and of my

back allowance of provisions
to the 1st. of July Inst.

⌘

George Hurlbut

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale three
pounds ten shillings & ./2^d
lawful money in full
of my wages for May
& of my back Allow^{ce}
to the 1st. of July Inst.

Stephen ^{his} × Hall
_{mark}

[92]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
thirty Shilling & ./8½^d
in full of my wages for
May & of my back
Allow^{ce}. to the 1st. of July
Inst. ⌘

Elkanah mech

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
twenty Seven Shillings
& ./1^d. lawful money in
full of my wages for May
last and of my back Allow^{ce}
to the 1st. of July Inst.

⌘ william parrish

[91]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale eleven
pounds six Shillings lawful
money in full of all my

arrears of wages in the
Continental Service to the
1st of June last & of my
back Allowance to the
1st of July Inst.

⌘

alpheous Chappels

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan Hale
forty three Shillings &
ten pence lawful money
in full of my wages for
May last and of my
back Allowance to July
1st.

⌘

Matthew ^{his} × Melony
mark

[90]

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt Nathan
Hale twenty two
Shill^{gs}. in full of my
wages for May & my
Back Allow^{ce}. to the 1st.
of July

⌘

john hoLmes

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
forty Shillings lawful
Money in full of my
wages for May last

Ezra Smith

[89]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale Seven
 Dollar & an half in full of
 my wages for May last
 and of my back allowance
 of provisions to the 1st. of
 Inst. July ☿

Christopher Woodbridge

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale eight
 Dollars and one third in
 full of my Wages for
 May last and of my
 back allowance of provisions
 to the 1st. of July Inst.

thomas Kings bury

[1 leaf torn out]

[88]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale seven
 Dollars and one Quarter
 in full of my wages
 for May last and of
 my back Allowance of
 provisions to the 1st. of
 Inst. July,

☿

Josiah Hand

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale four
 pounds sixteen Shillings
 and ./2^d lawful money
 in full of my arrears
 of wages to the 1st. of

June last and of my
back allowance of provisions
to the first of Inst. July

⌘

Enos Greenfield

[87]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale eight
Dollars and an half in
full of my wages for
May last and of my
back allowance of provisions
to the 1st. of July Inst. —

Asa Spinks

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale seven
Dollars and one quarter
in full of my wages
for May last and of
my back allowance of
provisions to the 1st. of July
Inst. ⌘

Davidson Williams

[86]

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale in full of my
wages in the Continental
Service up to the 1st. of
June & of my back
Allow^{ce}. of provisions
to 1st. of July inst.

⌘

James ^{his}
× Phillips
_{mark}

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale twenty
 one Shillings & ./10½
 in full of my wages
 for May last & of my
 back allowance of provi-
 sions to the 1st. of July
 last.

Ephraim Beebe

[85]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt Nathan Hale seven
 Dollars and one quarter in
 full of my wages for May
 last and of my back allow^{ce}.
 of provisions to the 1st. of
 July Inst.

⌘

Lebbeus Haughton

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale seven
 Dollars & one quarter in
 full of my wages for May
 last and of my back allow-
 ance of provisions to
 July 1st. ⌘

Henry Hopping

[84]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale seven
 Dollar & one quarter in
 full of my wages for May
 last and of my back allow^{ce}.
 of provisions to the 1st of July
 Inst.

⌘ John Hand

Recd New York July 13th. 1776 of
Capt. Nathan Hale forty seven shill^{ss}.
in full of my wages for
may last and of my back allow^{ce}.
of provisions to the 1st. of July
Inst. Ⓕ Gideon Beebe

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan Hale
nine Dollars and one sixth
[quarter]* in full of my
wages for May last & of
my back allowance of
provisions to the 1st. of July
Inst. Ⓕ

Francis Sage

[83]

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan Hale
Seven Dollars & one Quarter
in full of my wages for May
and of my back Allow^{ce}. to
the 1st. of Inst. July

Ⓕ

Jeremiah Talmage

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale —
nine Dollars in full
of my arrears of wages
to the 1st. of June and
of my back allowance
of provisions to the 1st.
of July Inst.

William Putnam

* Crossed out.

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale four
 pounds five Shillings & ./10^d
 lawful money in full of
 my wages for April &
 May & of My back allow^{ce}.
 of provisions to the 1st. of July
 Inst.

⌘

Asher Wright

[82]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale eleven
 pounds and three pence
 Lawful money in full
 of all my arrears of pay
 to the 1st of June last and
 of my back allowance
 of Provisions to the 1st.
 of Instant July ⌘

Samuel Maynard

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale forty
 four Shillings & ./8^d law-
 ful money in full of my
 wages for May last and
 my back allowance of
 provisions to the 1st. of
 July Inst.

⌘

John Martin

[81]

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale four
 pounds five Shillings

& ./10^d lawful money in
full of my wages for
April & May & of
my back allowance [for]*
to the 1st. of July Inst.

℥

Alvin ^{his} × Ames
mark

Recd New York July 13th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
forty Shillings lawful
Money in full of my
wages for May last

℥ Luther Martin

[80]

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale forty Seven Shillings
Lawful money in full
of my wages for May
last and of my back
Allowance of provisions
to the 1st. of July Inst.

℥

John moltrup

Recd New York July 13th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale twenty one Shill^{gs}
and five pence in full
of my wages for May
last & of my back
allowance of provisions
to the 1st. of July Inst.

℥ Samuel Ames Jur

* Crossed out.

[79]

Recd New York July 15th
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale four pounds seven
shillings lawful money
in full of my wages
for April & May last
and of my back allow-
ance of provisions to
the 1st. of July inst.

Isaac morgan

Recd New York July 15th. 1776
of Capt Nathan Hale seven
Dollars & one quarter in
full of my wages for
May last & of my back
allowan[c]e to the 1st. of July
Inst.

Thadeus beebe

[78]

Recd New York July 15th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale two pounds eleven
Shillings & nine pence
in full of my wages
for May last and of
my back allowance
to the 1st. of July Inst.

Joseph Church

Recd New York July 15th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan Hale
two pounds fifteen shill
ings and six pence lawful
Money in full of my
wages for May last and
of my back allowance

to the first of July Inst.
& of my blanket bounty.

John Chappell

[77]

Recd New York July 15th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale four pounds
three shillings and
six lawful money
in full of the Wages
of Daniel Plumbe
of S^d Captain's Comp^y.
for April & May
last and of his back
allowance of provisions
up to the 1st. of July
inst.

George Hurlbut

[76]

Recd New York July
15th. 1776 of Capt Nathan
Hale seven Dollars
& one quarter
in full of my wages
for May last and
of my back allowance
to the 1st. of July Inst.

Guy BeCkwith

Recd New York July 15th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale seven
Dollars & one quarter in
full of my wages for
May last and my back
Allowance of provisions
to the 1st. of July Inst.

William Clark

[75]

Recd New York July 15th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale seven
 Dollars and one quarter
 in full of my wages for
 May and my back
 Allowance of provisions
 To the first of July Inst.

⌘

Timothy ^{his} × Fargo
 mark

Recd New York July 15th.
 1776 of Capt. Nathan
 Hale fifty five Shillings
 & ./10^d lawful money
 in full of my wages
 for May last and
 of My back allowance
 of provisions to the
 1st of July Inst.

Daniel Ginnigs*

[74]

Recd New York July 15th.
 1776 of Capt. Nathan
 Hale forty five Shill^s
 and ./10^d lawful money
 in full of my wages
 for May last and of
 my back allowance of
 provisions to the 1st. of
 July Inst.

Eliphelet Robinson

*Ginnings or Jennings; poorly written and the spelling of the surname is uncertain.

Recd New York July 16th. 1776
of Captain Nathan Hale
forty five shillings & ./10^d
Lawful money in full
of my wages for May
last and my back
allowance of provisions
to the 1st of July Inst.

Stephen Caleff

[73]

Recd New York July 16th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale seven Dollars &
one quarter in full
for my wages for
[April]* May last
and of my back
allowance to the 1st
of July Inst.

Thomas ^{his} × Fargo
_{mark}

Recd New York July 17th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
twelve Shillings & ./9^d lawful
Money in full with what I have recd of my
wages for May & my
back Allow^{ce}. to the 1st.
of July Inst.

William Bacon

[72]

Recd New York July 18th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan Hale
twenty six shillings
and four pence lawful

* Crossed out.

Money in full of my
wages for May last
and of my back allow^{ce}.
of provisions to the 1st.
of July Inst.

Pigott Collin Adams

[71]

Recd New York July 19th—
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale forty five shill^{gs}.
& ./10^d lawful money
in full of my wages
for May & my back
Allow^{ce}. to the
1st. of July Instant

Paul Beebe

[70]

Recd New York Aug.
10th. 1776 of Capt.
Nathan Hale five
pounds eight shill^{gs}
lawful money in
full of my wages
for May last —

John Elderkin

[69]

Recd New York Aug.
13th. 1776 of Capt.
Nathan Hale one
Gun. N^o. 227.
with bayonet
Cartouch box &
25 Cartridges

[fradrick Platts]*

* Signature crossed out.

Recd New York Aug 14th.
1776 of Capt Nathan Hale forty four
Shillings in full
of my wages for
June last.

William Willson

[68]

Recd New York Aug. 14th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale
seven Dollars & 1 third
in full of my wage
for June last

Asa Spinks

Recd New York Aug. 14th
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale Seven Dollars
and one Sixth in
full of my wages
for June & back
allowance to the
present time —

Paul Beebe

Recd New York Aug. 14th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale six
Dollars & two thirds in
full of my wages for
June last —

James Ward

[67]

Recd New York Aug. 14th. 1776
of Capt Nathan Hale
Six Dollars and two thirds
in full of my wages
for June last

Thoams Cook [*sic*]

Recd New York Aug. 14th. 1776
 of Capt Nathan Hale six
 Dollars, & two thirds in full
 of my wages for June
 last.

Stephen Caleff

Recd New York Aug 14th 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale
 [seven]* Eight Dollars [&]*
 [one third]* in full of my
 wages for June last —

Francis Sage

Recd. New York Aug. 14th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale [seven]*
 six Dollars & 2 thirds
 in full of my wages
 for June last —

Daniel ginings

[66]

Recd New York Aug. 14th. 1776
 of Capt. Nathan Hale six
 Dollars & 2 thirds in full
 of my wages for June
 last

Alvin ^{his} × _{mark} Ames

Recd New York Aug. 14th
 1776 of Capt Nathan Hale
 forty Dollars in full
 of my Wages in the
 Continental Service
 to the end of June
 last

Stephen ginnigs

* Crossed out.

Recd New York Aug 14th. 1776
of Capt. Nathan Hale six
Dollars & 2 thirds in full
of my wages for June
last

Silas Chapman

[65]

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my
wages for June last

John Hand Jur

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
for June last

Josiah Osborn

New York Aug 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my
wages for May & June
last Pharoah Sharpr

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
in full for June last

Robert Johnson

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
in full for June

William Bacon

[64]

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt Hale my wages
in full for June last —

Henry Hopping

New York Aug. 15th. 1776.
 Recd of Capt. Hale my wages in
 full for June last

David Williams

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
 Recd of Capt. Hale my
 wages in full for June last.

Thomas ^{his} × Fargo
 Mark

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
 Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
 in full for June last

Thaddus bebe

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
 Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
 in full for June last.

Joseph chu[r]ch

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
 Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
 in full for June last

william Clark

[63]

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
 Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
 in full for May & June last

Peter Robertson

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
 Recd of Capt. Hale my wages in full of June
 last

Ephraim Beebe

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
 Recd of Capt. Hale my wages in full of June
 last

John Martin

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
in full for June last
Joseph Bolles

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
for June last —
Christopher Woodbridge

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd my wages of Capt. Hale in
full of June last —
thomas kings bury

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale in full of my
wages for June last —
Guy BeCkwith

[62]

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
in full of June last
Lebbeus Haughton

New Yor[k] Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages in
full of June last —
John Chappell

New York Aug. 15th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages in
full for June last—
William Parrish

New York Aug. 15th—1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
in full for June last
Isaac morgan

Recd New York Aug 15th. 1776
of Capt. Hale my wages in
full for June last –

Timothy Hedges

New York Aug. 15th–1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my wages
in full for June last

Ezra Smith

[61]

Recd New York Aug. 15th. 1776 of Capt.
Hale my wages in full for June last

Ebenezer Allen

Recd New York Aug. 15th. 1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale my wages in full for June last

Alpheous Chappels

Recd New York Aug. 15th. 1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale my wages for June last in full

Silas Holly

Recd New York Aug. 15th. 1776 of Capt.
Hale my wages in full for June last

John hoLmes

Recd New York Aug. 15th. 1776
of Capt. Hale my wages in
full for June last.

Matthew ^{his} × Melony
mark

[60]

New York Aug. 20th. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale my
wages in full for June
last

Enos Greenfield

Recd New York Aug. 20th.
1776 of Capt. Hale my
wages in full for [June]*
May & June

Joseph Weeks 2^d

Recd New York Aug.
21st. 1776 of Capt. Hale
my wages in full
for June last

Luther Martin

[59]

Recd New York Aug. 22^d
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale one New Carbine
with bay^t. Sling Strap
Cartouch-box & 24
Cartridges

Fradrick Platts

Recd New York Aug. 24th.
1776 of Capt. Hale my
wages in full of May
& June

Nathanall tuthell†

New York Aug. 26. 1776
Recd of Capt. Hale forty
shill^{gs}. lawful in full
of my wages for June
last

Josiah Hand

* Crossed out.

† Nathaniel Tuttle; the signature is poorly written and some of the letters uncertain.

[58]

Recd New York Aug 30
of Capt. Nathan Hale
my wages in full of
June last

Eliphalet Button

Recd New York Aug. 20th.
1776 of Capt. Nathan
Hale 40 ^s/. L.M. in full
of my wages for
June last —

Eliphalet Robinson

Recd New York Aug. 31st 1776
of Capt. Hale my
wages in full of June
last.

William Putnam

Date		Time		Location		Remarks	
1911	10/1	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/2	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/3	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/4	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/5	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/6	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/7	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/8	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/9	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/10	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/11	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/12	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/13	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/14	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/15	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/16	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/17	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/18	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/19	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/20	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/21	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/22	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/23	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/24	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/25	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/26	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/27	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/28	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/29	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/30	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15
1911	10/31	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15

The above is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Board of Directors of the City of New York for the year 1911.

HALE'S BOOK OF MUSTER ROLLS

[Now published entire for the first time]

(Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society)

[All of the notes under the above heading are supplied by Mr. Jacobus.]

[The Muster Rolls, in Nathan Hale's handwriting, occupy a large part of the first 27 pages of a large blank-book, now bound in heavy manila wrappers, probably not the original binding. The pages are not all of precisely the same dimensions, but measure approximately a bit under 12½ inches in length by a bit over 7½ inches across. The paper contains a small watermark near the center of the sheets, but it is hard to make it out. It is not the large watermark with the arms of Britain commonly used in legal papers of the period. The remaining 47 pages, which are numbered in the original book from 1 to 47, were used by Billy Hale, Nathan's brother, for his blacksmith business accounts, his first entry being May 2, 1780, "Asher Wright Dr To shoing," and the accounts run at least to July 11, 1782. Most spaces left blank by Nathan in the first (unnumbered) 27 pages have been filled in with accounts (dated 1781 and 1782) and other matter. The book was presented to the Connecticut Historical Society in 1859 by Rev. Robert C. Learned of Berlin, Conn., but we do not know when or how it came into his possession. Beyond doubt the Muster Rolls were in Hale's Army Trunk containing his clothes and books and papers. These belongings were brought home in June, 1777, as stated by Enoch Hale in his diary.]

[*Second page blank*]

[*Third and fourth pages*]

Return of Capt Hale's Company Col^o. Webb's Regiment, giving the Stat[e] of it, morning and evening each Day. Beginning April 20th. 1776.

Capt. Nathan Hale

Lieut. Alpheus Chapman

Lieut. John Elderkin

Ens. Geo: Hurlbut

Serg^t. Updike Fosdick

Sergt. Stephen Hempsted

Sergt. Francis Sage

Sergt. Peter Robertson

Corpl. Christopher Beebe

Corpl. Asa Spink

[First page]

[] Robertson					Ibid	New London	New London	Ibid	New London	New London		
[] Sharp	25	10	5	9¼	New York						March	1
Jeremiah Tallmadge	28	6	5	8¼	New York		_____				March	1
James Ward	24	7	6	8½	Connecticut	New London	New London	Rhode Island		Newport	Nov.	15
Davidson Williams	21	8	5	6½	Connecticut	New London	_____	Connecticut	New London	New London	March	19
Henry Wordon					Ibid	_____	Stonington					
Asher Wright	22		5	9½	Ibid	Windham	Coventry	Connecticut	Windham	Coventry	Dec.	26
John Chappel	55	7	5	7½	Ibid	New London	New London				March	29
Silas Chapman	16	8	5	4	Ibid	_____	_____	_____	New London	New London	March	23
Joseph Church	17	10	5	6½	Ibid	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		30
Samuel Ames Junr.	21	6	5	9½	Ibid	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	April	2 ^d
Elkenah Meech	16	6	5	5¾	Ibid	_____	Groton			Groton		1
Thomas Merrit									G		March	9
Nathaniel Tuttle			5	7¾	New York							1
Robert Johnson*			5	6	Connecticut*	New London*	New London*	Connecticut*	New London*	New London*	Nov.	*15
Corp ^l . Christopher Woodbridge	20	10	5	8	New York	_____	Stonington	_____	_____	Stonington		15
Silas Holly											Apr.	23
Ezra† Smith												20
Simon Neil												
Ezra Williams												
Joseph Weeks												

* Crossed out.

† The name *Ezra* is written over *William*, crossed off.

HALE'S BOOK OF MUSTER ROLLS

[Now published entire for the first time]

(Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society)

[All of the notes under the above heading are supplied by Mr. Jacobus.]

[The Muster Rolls, in Nathan Hale's handwriting, occupy a large part of the first 27 pages of a large blank-book, now bound in heavy manila wrappers, probably not the original binding. The pages are not all of precisely the same dimensions, but measure approximately a bit under 12½ inches in length by a bit over 7½ inches across. The paper contains a small watermark near the center of the sheets, but it is hard to make it out. It is not the large watermark with the arms of Britain commonly used in legal papers of the period. The remaining 47 pages, which are numbered in the original book from 1 to 47, were used by Billy Hale, Nathan's brother, for his blacksmith business accounts, his first entry being May 2, 1780, "Asher Wright Dr To shoing," and the accounts run at least to July 11, 1782. Most spaces left blank by Nathan in the first (unnumbered) 27 pages have been filled in with accounts (dated 1781 and 1782) and other matter. The book was presented to the Connecticut Historical Society in 1859 by Rev. Robert C. Learned of Berlin, Conn., but we do not know when or how it came into his possession. Beyond doubt the Muster Rolls were in Hale's Army Trunk containing his clothes and books and papers. These belongings were brought home in June, 1777, as stated by Enoch Hale in his diary.]

[*Second page blank*]

[*Third and fourth pages*]

Return of Capt Hale's Company Col^o. Webb's Regiment, giving the Stat[e] of it, morning and evening each Day. Beginning April 20th. 1776.

Capt. Nathan Hale

Lieut. Alpheus Chapman

Lieut. John Elderkin

Ens. Geo: Hurlbut

Serg^t. Updike Fosdick

Sergt. Stephen Hempsted

Sergt. Francis Sage

Sergt. Peter Robertson

Corpl. Christopher Beebe

Corpl. Asa Spink

Corpl. Tho^s. Kingsbury
Corpl. Christ^r. Woodbridge
Fifer William Willson
Drum^r. Lem^l. Maynard
Pigot C. Adams
Ebenezer Allen
Alvin Ames
Samuel Ames
William Bacon
Guy Beckwith
Thaddeus Beebe
Gideon Beebe
Ephraim Beebe
Paul Beebe
Joseph Bolles
John Brown
Charles Brown
Eliphalet Button
Stephen Califf
David Canada
Silas Chapman
John Chappel
Alpheus Chappel
Joseph Church
William Clark
Thomas Cook
Diarca Elderkin
Thomas Fargo
Timothy Fargo
Stephen Ginnings
Daniel Ginnings
Enos Greenfield
Stephen Hall
Isaac Hammon
John Hand
Josiah Hand
Timothy Hedges

John Holmes
 Henry Hopping
 Lebbeus Houghton
 Robert Johnson
 Luther Martin
 John Martin
 Samuel Maynard
 Jabez Maynard
 Elkenah Meech
 Matthew Melony
 John Moltrop
 Isaac Morgan
 Josiah Osborn
 William Parish
 James Phillips
 Daniel Plumbe
 William Putnam
 Arthur Robertson
 Eliphalet Robinson
 Pharaoh Sharp
 Jeremiah Tallmadge
 Nathaniel Tuttle
 James Ward
 Davidson Williams
 Asher Wright
 Henry Wordon
 Thomas Merrit

[The above muster roll is ruled into thirty-six columns, for the morning and evening of eighteen days, numbered [Apr.] 20 to [May] 7. The columns contain no notation, and are here omitted. At the end of the foregoing pages is the following.]

21—3—11
12—9— 6
8—14 5

Sick Present	s
Sick Absent	b
At the Hospital	h

On Command	c
On Furlough	w
Without Arms	u
Not join'd	n
Inlisted	i
Deserted	d
Discharged	o
Dead	*
On Fatigue	t
On Guard	g
Officers Servants	v
Not at Roll-call	r
Absent from quarters without leave	a

[A second roll, filling the fifth and sixth pages, gives precisely the same names, and is ruled in the same way to cover the period [May] 8 to [May] 26 inclusive. We have not repeated the list, but have utilized it to the extent of correcting a slip of the pen in the first roll, in which *Gideon* Beebe's name was written *Gideus*, perhaps because of mental association with the immediately preceding name, Thaddeus Beebe.]

[*Eighth to Eleventh pages*]

[An ordnance account, showing the guns, cartridge boxes, and cartridges assigned to each man, is incomplete, beginning with the name of Enos Greenfield. Columns are ruled for "Guns," No. and Date; "Car. boxes," No. and When; "Cartridges," No. and When; "Cars. Ret^d", No. and When; "Used th order," No. and when; "Wasted," Num. and when; "Old Cars. Del^d"; and "Old Cars Ret^d." Few entries were made in the latter columns, and they were used after Hale's death, presumably by members of his family, for copy-book maxims and other notations. We read, for example: "Coventry Coventry January 1 AD 1782 I the subscriber for value receiv^d I promis to pay unto the Sum of forty forty pence lawfull money at or before the first"; and "Good manners Creates Esteem." A touch of pathos is felt in the quoted line, "Se the Vain race of mortals move like Shadows on." The names in the account, written by Hale, follow.]

Enos Greenfield
 Stephen Hall
 Isaac Hammon
 John Hand

Josiah Hand
Timothy Hedges
Silas Holley
John Holmes
Reynold Hooper
Henry Hopping
Lebbeus Houghton
Robert Johnson
Luther Martin
John Martin
Samuel Maynard
Jabez Maynard
Elkanah Meech
Matthew Melony
Thomas Merrit
John Moltrop
Isaac Morgan
Josiah Osborn
William Parish
James Phillips
Daniel Plumbe
William Putnam
Arthur Robertson
Eliphalet Robinson
Pharaoh Sharp
Ezra Smith
Jeremiah Tallmadge
Nathaniel Tuttle
James Ward
Davidson Williams
Ashar Wright
Ezra Williams
Joseph Weeks
Simon Neil
Henry Wordon

[*Twelfth page*]

Casualties in Capt. Hale's Company Col^o. Webb's Regiment
1776

- May 12
- Ser^t. Thomas Updike Fosdick s[e]nt recruiting
to the East end of Long Island & New London
Instructions written not by Col^o. Webb but by
his order.
Jeremiah Tallmadge sent on command to
the eastern part of Long Island after
arms belonging to himself & some others
of the Company Living near by him.
- 28
- Samuel Maynard Joined the Company
- June 4
- John Martin Joined the Company.
- 8
- Enos Greenfield returned from 12 Days
command.
Serg^t. Thomas Updike Fosdick returned
from recruiting & joined the Company.
- 29
- Jeremiah Tallmage returned having
been detained at home by Sickness.

[There is some figuring on the bottom of this page; $18 \times 15 \div 20$ with the result.]

[*Thirteenth to Seventeenth pages*; accounts, not in Nathan Hale's handwriting, mostly of 1781 and 1782.]

[*Eighteenth and Nineteenth pages*]

[18]

A Pay Abstract of Capt. Hale's Company Colo. Webb's
Regiment for y^e Month of April 1776. June 10th. 1776.

Mens Names — — — — —		Sum of Wages		
		£	s	d
Capt.	Nathan Hale	8.	0.	0
Lieut.	Alpheus Chapman	5.	8.	0
Lieut.	John Elderkin	5.	8.	0
Ens.	George Hurlbut	4.	0.	0

Serg ^{ts} .	Thomas Updike Fosdick	2.	8.	0
	Stephen Hempsted	2.	8.	0
	Francis Sage	2.	8.	0
	Peter Robertson	2.	8.	0
Corp ^{ls} .	Christopher Beebe	2.	4.	0
	Asa Spink	2.	4.	0
	Thomas Kingsbury	2.	4.	0
	Christopher Woodbridge	2.	4.	0
Drum ^r .	Lemuel Maynard	2.	4.	0
Fif ^r .	William Willson	2.	4.	0
Privates	Pigot Colin Adams	2.	0.	0
	Ebenezer Allen	2.	0.	0
	Alvin Ames	2.	0.	0
	William Bacon	2.	0.	0
	Guy Beckwith	2.	0.	0
	Thaddeus Beebe	2.	0.	0
	Gideon Beebe	2.	0.	0
	Ephraim Beebe	2.	0.	0
	Paul Beebe	2.	0.	0
	Joseph Bolles	2.	0.	0
	John Brown	2.	0.	0
	Charles Brown	2.	0.	0
	Eliphalet Button	2.	0.	0
	Stephen Califf	2.	0.	0
	David Canada	2.	0.	0
	Silas Chapman	2.	0.	0
	John Chappel	2.	0.	0
	Alpheus Chappel	2.	0.	0
	Joseph Church	2.	0.	0
	William Clark	2.	0.	0
	Thomas Cook	2.	0.	0
		£87.	12.	0

[19]

	£	s	d
Thomas Fargo	2.	0.	0
Timothy Fargo	2.	0.	0
Stephen Ginnings	2.	0.	0

Daniel Ginnings	2.	0.	0
Stephen Hall	2.	0.	0
Enos Greenfield	2.	0.	0
Isaac Hammon	2.	0.	0
John Hand	2.	0.	0
Josiah Hand	2.	0.	0
Timothy Hedges	2.	0.	0
Henry Hopping	2.	0.	0
John Holmes	2.	0.	0
Lebbeus Houghton	2.	0.	0
Robert Johnson	2.	0.	0
Luther Martin	2.	0.	0
John Martin	2.	0.	0
Samuel Maynard	2.	0.	0
Jabez Maynard	2.	0.	0
Elkanah Meech	2.	0.	0
Matthew Melony	2.	0.	0
John Moltrop	2.	0.	0
Isaac Morgan	2.	0.	0
Josiah Osborn	2.	0.	0
William Parish	2.	0.	0
James Phillips	2.	0.	0
Daniel Plumbe	2.	0.	0
William Putnam	2.	0.	0
Arthur Robertson	2.	0.	0
Eliphalet Robinson	2.	0.	0
Pharaoh Sharper	2.	0.	0
Jeremiah Tallmadge	2.	0.	0
Nathaniel Tuttle	2.	0.	0
James Ward	2.	0.	0
Davidson Williams	2.	0.	0
Asher Wright	2.	0.	0
	£70.	0.	0

[*Twentieth page, scribbled over*]

[21]

An Account of Arms, Amunition and Accutremments Capt Hale's
Company Col°. Webb's Regiment.

Nathan Hale Capt.

George Hurlbut Ens.

Serg^t. Thomas Updike Fosdick

Stephen Hempsted Serg^t. Mar. 4 1 G. N^o. 49. 24 r. bay^{t*} & Car-b.
1 Carb. Comp^t.

Francis Sage Serg^t. red^d. K Arms Comp^t. Jun. 27 Carb^{ne} Comp^t.

Peter Robertson Serg^t. Mar. 4 New Gun* compl^t. 24 r & 4 fl
Jan 27 1 Carb^{ne} Comp^t.

Asa Spink Corp^l. Mar. 4 1 G. N^o. 230. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^t & Car-b.

Christopher Beebe Corp^l. March 4th. 1 G. N^o. 239 B. C-b. 24 r.
& 4 fl.

Thomas Kingsbury Corp^l. Kings Arms. June 27 1 Carb^{ne}.
Comp^t. & C b

Christ^r Woodbridge Corp^l. Mar. 4. 1 G N^o. 222. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^{t*}.
Car-b. Jan 27 1 Carbine bay^t. C-b Scb^d. & Strap

William Willson Fifer

Lem^l. Maynard Drum^r.

Pigot Colin Adams Old Gun lost. June 30 1 Carb^{ne}. Comp^t.

Alvin Ames

[The entries are widely spaced, and another hand has written in some of the spaces: "Richard Hale Jun^r of Coventry"; "Richard Hale of Coventry in the State"; "David Hale of Coventry in the County"; "Billey Hale of Coventry in the County of Windham in the State of Connec"; "Billey Hale of Coventry." The name "Alvin Ames" has been repeated twice, and parts of the heading four times.]

[22]

Samuel Ames

Ebenezer Allen

William Bacon Mar. 4th. 1 G. N^o. 264. 24 r. 4 fl. 1 bay^t. & C-b.

Guy Beckwith

Thaddeus Beebe

Gideon Beebe Mar. 4th. 1 G. N^o. 248. 24 r. 4 fl. 1 bay^t. & C-b.

Ephraim Beebe Mar. 4 1 G. N^o. 23. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^t. & Carb.

Paul Beebe

Joseph Bolles

Isaac Bran June 29 1 Gun. N^o 226 bay^t. & Strap

* Words starred have been crossed out.

John Brown Mar. 4. 1 G. 225. 24 r. 4 fl. 1 bay^t. & C-b.

Charles Brown

Eliphalet Button June 30 1 Gun N^o. 223. bay^t. & Scab^d. ret^d. 1
ditto 243

Stephen Califf June 29 1 G. N^o. 402 & Pouch

[23]

David Canada

Silas Chapman

John Chappel

Alpheus Chappel

Joseph Church

William Clark

Thomas Cook Mar. 4 1 Gun N^o. 242. 24 r. 4 fl. b^t. & Car-b.

Thomas Fargo

Timothy Fargo

Stephen Ginnings Mar 4 1 G. N^o. 42. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^t. & Car-b.

Daniel Ginnings Mar. 4 1 G. N^o. 231. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^t. & Car.b

Enos Greenfield June 27 1 G. Comp^t. K.Arms.

Stephen Hall Mar. 4 1 G. N^o. 227. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^t. & C-b—

[24]

Isaac Hammon

John Hand Jun 29 1 Carb^{ne} Comp^t.

Josiah Hand June 29 his own Gun

Henry Hopping

Timothy Hedges

Silas Holley

John Holmes Mar. 4 1 G. N^o. 64. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^t. & Car-b.

Lebbeus Houghton

Robert Johnson

Luther Martin

John Martin

Samuel Maynard

Jabez Maynard Mar. 4 1 G. N^o. 48. 24 r. 4 fl. bay^t. & Car.b.

[25]

Elkenah Meech

Matthew Melony

Thomas Merrit

John Moltrop Mar. 4 1 G. N°. 263. 24 r. 4 flints bay^t. & C.b—

Isaac Morgan Mar 4 1 G. N°. 254. 24 r. 4 fl. b^t. & Car-b.

Josiah Osborn Jun. 29 1 K.Arms & 2 ll^r.

William Parish

James Phillips

Daniel Plumbe March 4th. 1 G. N°. 256. 28 C. & 4 Flints

William Putnam

Arthur Robertson

Eliphalet Robinson Mar. 4. 1 G. N°. 45. 24 r. 1 bay^t. & Car-b—

Pharaoh Sharp

Ezra Smith

[26]

Jeremiah Tallmadge

Nathaniel Tuttle Jun 27 1 Kings arm's N°. 222 Comp^t.

James Ward

Davidson Williams

Joseph Weeks Jan. 27 1 K. arms Compt.

Asher Wright March 4. New Gun. 24 r. 4 fl. b^t. & Car-b.

[The rest of page 26, and page 27, contain accounts, not in Nathan Hale's handwriting.]

BRITISH HEADQUARTERS ORDER, SEPT. 22, 1776

(Courtesy of The New York Historical Society.)

[The following statement relative to the British orderly book which mentions the execution of Nathan Hale was made by Dorothy C. Barck, Head, Reference Department, The New York Historical Society :

“The original manuscript British orderly book, containing the entry of September 22, 1776, about ‘a spy from the Enemy’ has been owned by this Society since 1894. It is the orderly book of one of the regiments of foot guards in the Brigade of Guards, commanded by Brigadier General Edward Mathew, and contains general orders, brigade orders and regimental orders.

“The Brigade of Guards was made up of officers and men from the First Regiment of Foot Guards, the Coldstream Guards, and the Third Regiment of Foot Guards. According to Brigade Order of Aug. 16, 1776, the corps of Guards was arranged in two battalions, the first composed of the grenadier company and four companies; and the second of the light infantry company and four companies. Most of the names mentioned in the regimental orders are officers of the First Regiment of Foot Guards. The history of that organization and the names of its officers who were chosen from it for service in America in 1776 may be found in the 2nd volume of Sir F. W. Hamilton’s *The Origin and History of the First or Grenadier Guards* (London, 1874).”]

Head Q^{rs} New york Island Sep^r: 22^d: 1776

Parole London

Count: Great Britain

the 2^d: & 6th. Brigades & 3^d Battⁿ of

Light Infantry & Artillary as order’d for to

day are to March to Mor^w at 9 oClock under

the Command of LGen^l: E: Percy——

the Packet for Europe will be Ready to

Sail Tuesday the 24th Ins^t:————

A spy f^m the Enemy (by his own full
Confession) Apprehended Last night, was
this day Executed at 11 oClock in front
of the Artillery Park*_____

Memmorandum

QM^{rs} to take Particular Care that the
Necessary Houses are frequently Chang'd
Field off^r: for P^t this Evening LColo Howard
In Waiting LColo: Hyde

* No one questions but that this "spy" was Nathan Hale.

[The Rev. Dr. Theodore T. Munger (1830-1910, Yale 1851) characterized Hale as "coming nearest the full ideal of heroic patriotism to be found in American history," and as the "truest hero in Yale's lists and her most beautiful and precious gift to the Country."—*G. D. S.*]

[I like to think that he went to his doom simply and quietly, thinking of the high fields of his home in Coventry, of the college yard and buildings at New Haven, of his family and his friends; that he bore himself calmly—a brave fellow about to die. I can imagine him unflinching without, but tremulous within—he was young, life was dear to him, the earth that he looked out upon was fair, friendship had been sweet to him; he did not wish to die.—*G. D. S.*]

**DIARY ENTRY OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1776 OF
LIEUTENANT FREDERICK MACKENZIE (?-1824)
British Officer and Diarist**

[Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard University.]

[The "Diary of Frederick Mackenzie" was published by the Harvard University Press in 1930. In the Publishers' Preface, Mackenzie is rated second to none, in this language. "As a diarist, Mackenzie is strictly professional. His record of facts has a soldierly precision. Day after day passes with no entry except the date and a notation of the weather, but when he does write he gives in the clearest and most direct style information that is of real value. He shows no rancor toward the Americans. He gives the facts as he saw them in a notably impersonal way. His coolheadedness, his judiciousness, his competence as a soldier, his keenness as an observer, and his dry exactness of style inspire the reader with the greatest confidence and make his one of the best British diaries of the Revolutionary period that we have."—*G. D. S.*]

22nd Sep^t

"A person named Nathaniel Hales, a Lieutenant in the Rebel Army, and a native of Connecticut, was apprehended as a Spy, last night upon Long Island; and having this day made a full and free confession to the Commander in Chief of his being employed by Mr. Washington in that capacity, he was hanged at 11 o'Clock in front of the Park of Artillery. He was about 24 years of age, and had been educated at the College of New-haven in Connecticut. He behaved with great composure and resolution, saying he thought it the duty of every good Officer, to obey any orders given him by his Commander-in-Chief; and desired the Spectators to be at all times prepared to meet death in whatever shape it might appear."

[It is to be noted that Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie's entry in his diary respecting the capture and hanging of a rebel Captain was made on the very same day on which the execution took place. It was inevitable that such an outstanding incident should have been a leading subject of conversation between the British Officers then stationed in New York, which explains the amount of detail about Hale, gathered by Mackenzie for his diary entry. It will be remembered that Hale had his Yale diploma with him when captured. How and where he was taken would, of course, have been a matter of paramount interest and this fact heightens Mackenzie's statement that Hale was taken on Long Island, as also stated much later by Barber and Lafayette.—*G. D. S.*]

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARY OF ENOCH HALE

(Courtesy of the First Church of Christ in Westhampton, Massachusetts.)

1775

December

14 Brother Joseph home from the Camp.

1776

January

4 Call upon Rev^d H[untingto]ⁿ & Sister Rose.

Thur Brother Cap^{t*} been home now gone to N London

31

Wed- Brother Jo^s going Ensⁿ into t[he] service for 2
nesday months in stead of 1st Lieut Robertson resigned after 5
days in Qubic [*Quebec*]

February

23 Write to Brother-Captain.*

March

29 Col. Miflin goes thro' Lyme for N. York. 5 Reg^{ts} gone
by water from N London. Brother Capt.* gone.

April

2 Ride to Norwich dine at Rev^d., Judgson's. See Marvin
Lodge at Lebanon see Billey &c.

3 Ride home in t[he] rain dine with Brother Rose—†

8 Gen. Washington enters Norwich—Lodge with Bostick
at Hon^d. Sam^{el} Huntington's Esq Miss Lucy Devotion
there &c—Write short to Brother Captain—*

May

24 Ride to Capt Robinson's Hump.‡ Dows & M^r., Duty's
get M^{rs} Ripley & Joanna's shoes.

* Nathan Hale.

† Dr. Samuel Rose, husband of Hale's eldest sister Elizabeth, a Surgeon in the Army of the Revolution.

‡ Humphrey.

25 Mother comes home from Canterbury & with her M^{rs}. Williams—

27 Call upon sister Rose. She cuts my hair then go home—

June

11 warm & aft[ernoon]. thunder shower. weak at my brest since friday. Write to Cap^t. Brother* at or Near N. York—

14 Finish & send to Mr., Eb.^r Williams by 'Squire Whiton a letter part written in characters some time since.

19 Aft[ernoon]. John Jo.[†] & Alice[‡] go to the Wedding (as invited yesterday) of M^r. Jabez Ripley & Miss Mary Hawkins
Wed John got home at night, has received a Letter
nesday from Natⁿ* dated 17th at New York. has sent one for me by way of Norwich not received yet.

20 Set down to write again to him. &

21 Carry it to Serjeant Nat. Root with one for John to carry to New York.

July

23 Get to New Haven about 8 o'clock put up at M^r Jer. Atwater's.

24 See t[he] President pay him for Degrees§ for myself &
Wed brother* 4 dol. dine with Hilhouse Esq. drink tea at Rev^d.
nes Edwards President makes a blundering hand in giving
day degrees. lodge with Robinson.

25 At N-Haven. dine with Hilhouse again. tea at Rev^d Whittlesey. call upon Cogswell & Fitch buy of F.¶ M'fingal 1^s/- - sign for 1/. M^r Dwight's oration Hilhouse is to send them me.

—Candidates meeting to be at Rev^d Perry's at Harwinton|| 3^d tuesday in September next. Write to Brother* to tell him I have got him his degree.

* Nathan Hale.

† Perhaps Joanna Hale, Enoch's sister.

‡ Mrs. Alice Ripley.

§ This refers to the M.A. degree to which Enoch and Nathan were entitled upon payment of the regular fee.

¶ Fitch.

|| Harwinton.

26
friday Leave N Haven have had a good Commencement Goodrich made the Cliaophic oration & Russel t[he] valedictory M^r Dwight the Answer. besides we had a Dispute & Dialogue.—See Camp Atkins Merwin Hilhouse Robinson Whittlesey & W^{ms} at Townsends shaving hair cutting com[b]ing & braiding /11^d. . . .

August

15 Write to Brother Cap^t.* by cousin Jo's who goes with the Melitia.

September

21 write a line to send to Uncle Samⁿ Hale at Portsmouth.

Sat.

23 Pleasant morn. Write to brothers t[he] Captⁿ & Ensⁿ†

30 Aft[ernoon] ride to Rev^d Strong's Salmonbrook‡—Hear a rumour t[hat] Capt Hale* belonging the east side

Mon Connecticut river near Colchester who was educated at College was seed§ to hang on t[he] enemies lines at N York being taken as a spy—or reconnoitring t[hei]^r Camp—hope it is without foundation—something troubled at it sleep not very well.

[Two days later, October 2nd, his entry reads:]

October

2 Stay to dine on Turkey &c. Call at Rev^d. Strong's &
Wed preach him a lecture—agree to exchange with Rev^d—
nes Church next Sabath. Home¶ in evening.—At the meet-
day ing house see Uncle Elnathan Strong lately from N Y.
Hear some further rumors of t[he] Capt*—not altogether agreeing with t[he] former!

* Nathan Hale.

† Nathan and Joseph.

‡ Granby, Conn.

§ *Seen* is intended.

¶ Coventry.

- 14 Ride home. by the way call at Rev^d Strong's, Hinsdale's
 & Perry's. Tuesday night lodge at Rev^d Huntington's
 thursday preach a lecture for Rev^d Strong N Coventry
 Rev^d Colton present, Vid N^o 40*—Friday return to Sal-
 monbrook, Call at Squire W^m Wolcott's got a pass to
 ride to N York—Rev^d Strong goes to London† Sat
 return to Granville—friend Lyman gone to the Camp
 N York Accounts from my brother t[he] Capt- are
 indeed melancholly!—That about the 2^d week of Sept. he
 went to Stanford‡ crossed to long Island. (Doct Waldo
 writes) & had fin[ishe]^d his plan but before he could get
 off was betrayed taken & hanged without ceremony! tis
 said by his cousin Sam^l Hale!§ Some entertain hope that
 all this is not true but it is a gloomy dejected hope.
 Time may determine. Conclude to go to t[he] Camp
 next week. On return find M^r & M^{rs} Parsons gone
 for a Doc^t for her arm. The Council have set here &
 what they have done is uncertain as yet. two Ferriages
 5^s/5^d—

[October]

- 21 Ride to Southington about 37^m -2^d.
 22 Ride to Fairfield 45^m thro' N. Haven 3^s/
 23 Ride to Greenwich lodge at M^r Titus Mead's 28^m-5^s/0^d
 24 Courteously entertained at Mr. Mead's gratis—Ride to
 Camp see some friends Jos. & Rich^d¶ & return to Rye
 ponds a round about way 17^m . . . 0^d In company of
 Jno. Richards

* Enoch Hale numbered his sermons. He used "Vid" (Videlicit) for "Viz,"—"namely."

† New London, Conn.

‡ Stamford, Conn.

§ The words "tis said by his cousin Sam^l Hale" were interlined here but deleted when Dr. Edward Everett Hale published his transcription of the diary of his grandfather, Enoch Hale.

¶ His brothers.

- 25 Ride to White Plains & return to the edge of Greenwich
2/6 Camp alarmed. 19^m buy a Croper for my Saddle in
the room of one I broke & lost the 24th 2/0
- 26 Go to camp see officers of Col Webb's Reg^t—& talk
some of my Brother. He went to Stanford & crossed
over the sound to Long Island. The next account of
him by Col. Montezure* with a flag. That one Nathaniel
Hale was hanged for a Spy Sept. 22^d Aid de Camp Webb
with a flag, informs That Being suspected by his move-
ment the [that] he wanted to get out of N York was
taken up & examined by the Gen^l & some minutes being
found with him orders were immediately given that he
should be hanged. When at the Gallows he spoke &
told that he was a Capt in the Cont^l Army by name
Nathan Hale! —Some deserters asserted the fact &
described his person—Lieut. ——— said he saw a
Woman that said she was then in N Y, saw—& k[n]ew
him hanging having been before acquainted with him.—
— His effects are mostly saved His money (if he left
any) plundered—& Considerable due to his under Offi-
cers, as well as 25 Dol. that belonged to A. Wright, &
42 to another which he had in keeping—Return & lodge
at T. M.† Greenwich. Ride 20^m cost 1/8.

Oct. 29—Ride to White plains See Doct^r Ely & Capt. Dana
others gone upon the lines conclude to return home leav-
ing a Letter for Maj Brook with Doc Waters, desiring
his [him] to write the state of my brothers accounts &
copy of his inventory. lodge at Mr. T. M. Greenwich.
Ride 16^m—2^s/9^d—

[Enoch arrived back at Granville, Mass., November 2nd, and returned to
Coventry four days later. No further references to Nathan appear in the
entries in his diary for the remainder of 1776.

These extracts, now transcribed in full for the first time from the faded and
brittle pages of Enoch Hale's 1776 diary, evoke the situation with painful

* Captain Montresor.

† Titus Mead's.

vividness—homely and matter of fact as the entries are. We see the young and sociable diarist in his lively round chiefly among the ministers of the neighborhood waiting for a call to a promising parish, and preaching and lecturing here and there for his ministerial friends of whom the Stronges are relatives. He goes back and forth between their homes and his on horseback, crossing the Connecticut River by ferry. Suddenly on September 30th, while away from home at Salmonbrook (now Granby) at the home of his uncle, the Rev'd Joseph Strong, he hears the first rumor of the heart-breaking calamity which has fallen upon him and his family. This is a vague rumor, but we do not wonder that he is troubled and cannot sleep. Two days later we find him at his own home in Coventry at an evening meeting where he sees his mother's brother, Elnathan Strong, who has just come from New York with further rumors regarding Nathan, not altogether agreeing with the former, but apparently not reassuring. A fortnight of suspense now intervenes. Sometime before October 17, a letter reaches Coventry from Dr. Waldo at camp giving an account of Nathan's fate and suggesting his betrayal by his cousin Samuel. Dr. Waldo's letter is unhappily not preserved, but Enoch's brief digest of it contains the main elements of the story as we know it to-day. Enoch must have received this information as early as October 17th because he records that on that day he called at Squire Wolcott's (East Windsor) to get a pass to ride to New York, which he concludes to do the following week—not, as it would appear, that he really entertains any hope that his brother has not perished so much as from a natural desire to learn further particulars and to talk face to face with those who last saw his brother in life. He executes his plan and in his entry of October 26th records in outline what he learned in New York.—*G. D. S.*]

Coventry 25th Jan^r AD 1777

25 Pay Miss Ripley* 4^s/0 for making two shirts of the Cloth brother N-† left viz 7^{yds} Ride thro' Hartford & to Wethersfield to see Maj Wyllys. who has returned from Captivity at N Y— He saw my Brother's‡ Diaploma which t[he] Provo' Marshal§ showed him who also had two letters of his one to me the other to his Commanding Officer,§ written after he was sentenced. Get to Southington at even. Slappy travelling 40ms 1^s/9^d

* Enoch's step-sister, Mrs. Alice (Adams) Ripley, then a widow. The term "Miss" was then applied to single women, whether maidens or widows.

† Nathan Hale.

‡ Cunningham.

§ One letter was written to his brother Enoch Hale, the other to his commanding officer, Colonel Knowlton. Major Wyllys saw both letters, which disposes of the story that one was written to his step-sister, Mrs. Alice Ripley.

4 June Wednesday Coventry 1777

pleasant. Brother Nⁿ's things brot home yesterday—
aft[ernoon] attend conference meeting M^{rs} Merrows' Jⁿ
ride to Uncle Strong's & lodge Rev^d & Uncle Asa Strong
there—3^{ms*}

6† pleasant ride home after calling at S^r‡ Rose's 2^{ms}—busy
myself a little looking over some paper &c of Brother
N^{ns}§—Rev^d Judgson & wife call here aft[ernoon]

28th Make in part a distribution of Brother N's§ Cloathing—
Lave in t[he] pond,¶ & aft[ernoon] rid to Rev^d Cotton's.
He returned home to day

* miles.

† June 6th was Nathan's 22nd birthday.

‡ Sister.

§ Nathan Hale.

¶ Waumgumbaugh.

FROM THE LONDON COURANT AND
WESTMINSTER CHRONICLE,
MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1780

[This item was discovered by the author's friend, Mr. Richard T. Haines Halsey, in the newspaper files of the Yale University Library.]

.4 Fact.] The death of the unfortunate and much lamented Major André being industriously represented to the public, as a cruel and unprecedented stretch of power on the part of the Americans, a person who was in the English army, and at that period serving under General Howe, thinks proper to state to the public, and recal[sic] to their minds the story of Major Hale.—This unfortunate young man, a native of Connecticut, of genteel parents, liberal education, and great military abilities, had arrived to the rank of Major of Brigade in the American army; when in the autumn 1776 he was induced to offer his services to General Washington, by going into New York soon after the British Army possessed it, and giving an account of its strength and position, in which he had so far succeeded as to have gained returns of many of the corps, and plans of the fortifications of the King's troops. Having so far effected his purpose, he was endeavouring to pass over from the camp below Haerlem to the American posts, on the heights of that place, when he was suspected—stopped—examined before a general officer—the identity of his person proved by a near relation of his own, who enjoys a pension from government—and before sun-set the same day he was hanged in sight of the American camp. Gen. Montresor, who came out with a flag of truce that evening, gave Mr. Washington an account of the unceremonious manner of Major Hale's trial and execution, which the American General lamented exceedingly, but acknowledged to be every way consistent with the laws of war.

[An extended comment on this letter will be found in the Appendix to this book.—G. D. S.]

A GRISLY CUSTOM OF WAR

WITH EXCERPTS FROM ENOCH HALE'S DIARY

Hale was left hanging after execution as an example and warning to spies. This was a custom of war, and was doubtless one of the arguments advanced by Hale's comrade-at-arms, Captain Hull, who did his best to dissuade Hale from going into the enemy lines as a spy, even at the behest of Washington; whatever the effort to dissuade him, Hale took the chance.

The fact that Hale was left hanging after his execution cannot be gainsaid, though the author has never heard it spoken of or seen it referred to in print, but the author aims to give the facts, however distressing.

That Hale was left hanging is twice referred to in Enoch Hale's diary entries made at the time, and the original document is before the author as he writes this.

Thus, in the diary entry of September 30, Enoch writes:

"Aft(ernoon) ride to Rev^d Strong's Salmonbrook—Hear a rumour t(hat) Capt Hale belonging the east side Connecticut river near Colchester who was educated at College was seed (seen) to hang on t(he) enemies lines at N York being taken as a spy."

This was the first *rumor* Enoch had heard, and it had nothing to do with the circumstances of Nathan's trial or sentence. It was simply that he was seen hanging within the British lines. This rumor was confirmed by the long diary entry, covering October 14 to 19, inclusive, in which Enoch records what he learned in New York, in camp.

He now writes in part:

"When at the Gallows he spoke & told that he was a Capt in the Cont^l Army by name Nathan Hale!—Some deserters asserted the fact & described his person—Lieut. ———— said he saw a Woman that said she was then in N Y, saw—& k(n)ew him hanging having been before acquainted with him."

The name of the Lieutenant is left blank; perhaps, Enoch did not learn the name; perhaps, he withheld it; but there is no doubt concerning the testimony of the woman who knew Hale, having

been before acquainted with him. She saw him hanging—she could not have been mistaken about that.

Moreover, it was the custom of war thus to treat spies as a terrible example and warning. It may well be that the reason why no tradition of the place of Hale's burial has survived is because his body was left hanging as a warning, though probably not in Artillery Park, where he was hanged. Hale's body was presumably buried somewhere in New York but there is nothing to indicate the place of burial. When cut down, his cadaver was, beyond doubt, stripped and put, uncoffined, into a hastily dug shallow grave, unmarked, of course.

"A British officer, writing from New York on Sept. 26, states: 'We hung up a rebel spy the other day, and some soldiers got, out of a rebel gentleman's garden, a painted soldier on a board, and hung it along with the Rebel; and wrote upon it—General Washington—and I saw it yesterday beyond headquarters, by the roadside.'"—*Kentish Gaz.* (Canterbury, Eng.), N 6-9, 1776.—I. N. Phelps Stokes, "The Iconography of Manhattan Island."

The British officer beyond doubt saw Hale hanging there by the roadside, some three days after his execution, as an example and warning to spies.

By contrast, it may be mentioned that after he was hanged by the Americans, the body of the British spy, Major John André, was laid in a coffin and, forthwith, decently buried at Tappan, where his grave was left undisturbed and even respected until his bones were exhumed (to the surprise of everyone, they were the bones of a small man) and transferred to a British man-of-war, and thus convoyed across the Atlantic for burial in Westminster Abbey, with the greatest names in English history. A pretentious marble monument marks the place where André's bones now lie.

About a decade after the Treaty of Paris, a stricken old man put up, in far-off Coventry, a rude headstone as a memorial to his son, and moss-grown and gray, it may be seen today, with its touching tribute to one who "resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty."

ACCOUNT OF HALE IN THE ESSEX JOURNAL, FEBRUARY 13, 1777

[Published in the *Essex Journal*, February 13, 1777, Newburyport, Mass.; reprinted in other newspapers, including the *New London Gazette*, March 14, 1777.—G. D. S.]

The following is a genuine specimen of tory benevolence and may be depended upon as real matter of fact :

Samuel Hale, late of Portsmouth N. H., after his elopement from thence, visited an uncle in Connecticut, where he was hospitably entertained ; but as his uncle was a Whig, and had a son, a young gentleman of liberal education, and most amiable disposition, who strongly felt for his bleeding country, and being active in the military way was urged and prevailed on to take a commission in the Continental Army ; consequently Samuel was obliged to conduct with caution and counterfeit, as well as he could, a Whiggish phiz, while he tarried, which was, however, but a short time before he made his escape to General Howe in New York. Sometime after this Captain Hale, at the request of the General, went into New York in disguise, and having nearly accomplished his designs, who should he meet but his above-said cousin Samuel, whom he attempted to shun ; but Sam knew him too well. Captain Hale soon found he was advertised, and so particularly described, that he could not get through Long Island. He therefore attempted to escape by King's Bridge and so far succeeded as to get to the outer guard, where he was suspected, apprehended, carried back and tried, and yet would have been acquitted, had not his affectionate and grateful cousin Samuel appeared and made oath that he was a captain in the Continental Army, and that he was in there as a spy ; in consequence of which he was immediately hung up. However, at the gallows, he made a sensible and spirited speech ; among other things, told them they were shedding the blood of the innocent, and that if he had ten thousand lives, he would lay them all down, if called to it, in defence of his injured, bleeding Country.

LETTER OF SAMUEL HALE, THE TORY
(SON OF NATHAN'S UNCLE JOHN HALE)
WRITTEN BY HIM TO REFUTE THE CHARGE THAT
HE BETRAYED HIS COUSIN NATHAN

[Running like a blood-red thread through the whole story of Hale's capture is the charge that he was betrayed by his own first cousin, Samuel Hale, an incorrigible Tory, who was in New York at the time, serving Sir William Howe as Deputy Commissary of Prisoners. The first news brought to Coventry that Hale had been "taken, and hanged without ceremony," carried also word that he had been "betrayed," and the fact that his Tory cousin was in New York in an official capacity lent color to the charge that he was the betrayer.

Let us look for a moment at the record of Samuel Hale. He was a son of John Hale of Gloucester, Massachusetts, a brother of Nathan's father. In the records of Harvard College, where he graduated in 1766, the date of his birth is given as March 29, 1746, making him nine years older than Nathan. He was helped through college by his uncle, Major Samuel Hale, himself a graduate of Harvard in 1740, and a prominent citizen of Portsmouth. When Nathan visited his Uncle Samuel's family in September, 1773, the younger Samuel was practising law in Portsmouth and must certainly have made Nathan's acquaintance. When the Revolution broke out, this Samuel opposed the movement and became an avowed loyalist, and "in 1776," says Johnston, "he followed Howe's army to New York and was there appointed 'Deputy Commissary of Prisoners,' remaining in the service about two years." Soon afterwards he fled to England, and he never returned to his wife and son. He died in England in 1787. A further account of him will be found in Johnston's "Hale, 1776" (pages 165-6).

The letter in which Samuel Hale seems to deny the charge that he betrayed his cousin was first made known by Stuart in the Second Edition of his "Life of Hale," 1856, from which I now reprint it. It was furnished to Stuart by Hon. William Hale, son of Major Samuel Hale and first cousin to both Nathan and Samuel the Tory, but whether Stuart had the original letter or only a copy of it does not appear. In the letter Samuel seems plainly to refer to the article in the *Essex Journal* just reprinted herein, but he makes no flat and emphatic denial of the ugly charges made in the article. The fundamental charge against Samuel Hale was the *betrayal* of his Cousin Nathan, a charge which the letter wholly fails to meet. The letter simply denies that Samuel was guilty of "ingratitude, &c." and lets it go at that.

Throughout the present book the author has used the word *betray* because it is the word that was used in this connection back in 1776 and always thereafter. The author is disposed to think that the word *betray* connotes too much and that the word *identify* would be more accurately descriptive. As Deputy Commissary of Prisoners under Sir William Howe, Samuel Hale must

have been well known in the British army in and about New York, and when a young man carrying a diploma in the name of Nathan Hale was apprehended and brought in, it is altogether likely that Samuel Hale was sent for and confronted with the prisoner. If that was the case, it must be admitted that Samuel was in a tight place and that he can hardly be said to have betrayed Nathan in the usual sense of the word. Samuel does, considering all the circumstances, appear in his letter in an unattractive light, and his behavior in fleeing to England and in remaining there when he was seemingly free to come home to his wife and son will seem to some to condemn him. The question must ever be undecided. There is no official account of Hale's capture, nor any account by an eye-witness, much less one that connects Samuel Hale with the capture. It was simply natural that Nathan Hale's family and friends should connect the Tory cousin with Nathan's capture.

Whatever was exactly Samuel's part, it may be said in justice to him that he was putting loyalty to what he called "the old Constitution of my country" above loyalty to his cousin. In this connection the author recalls a conversation he once had with the late Josiah Royce, the eminent philosopher, who said that loyalty to a principle must always transcend loyalty to an individual. That rule would go far to justify Samuel Hale, if it be assumed that he had a part in the capture of Nathan. Samuel Hale must be judged by his letter to his wife, unsatisfactory and inconclusive as is the letter.—*G. D. S.*]

September 10th, 1777

My dear Girl.—This you will get by Mr. Hart's flag of Truce, who is coming to Boston for his family. I know the disposition of the Leaders at Boston so well, that I doubt not of his success. I would have come for you and the boy, but I thought you would leave your father with reluctance, nor am I sure that I could have obtained leave for you to come away, if you were disposed. I fear the resentment of the people against me may have injured you, but I hope not. I am sorry such a prejudice has arisen.

Depend upon it there never was the least truth in that infamous newspaper publication charging me with ingratitude, &c. I am happy that they have had recourse to falsehood to vilify my character. Attachment to the old Constitution of my country is my only crime with them—for which I have still the disposition of a primitive martyr.

I hope & believe you want no pecuniary assistance. If you should, you may apply to some of my friends or your relations. You may then use my name with confidence that they shall be amply satisfied. I believe I shall have the power, I am sure I have the will, to recompense them again. I somewhat expect to see you in a few months—perhaps not before I have seen England. In the meanwhile, my dear Girl, take care of your own, and the Boy's health. He may live to be serviceable to his country in some distant period. Respect, Love, Duty, &c, await all my inquiring and real friends. I am, &c.,

S. Hale.

To Mrs. Hale

[It is not clear when Samuel Hale fled to England, but probably soon after this letter was written.—*G. D. S.*]

GENERAL HULL'S ACCOUNT OF THE LAST HOURS AND LAST WORDS OF HALE

[To Captain William (afterwards General) Hull (1753-1825) we owe all that we know of Hale's last hours and the preservation of Hale's immortal Last Words. Hull, a native of Derby, Connecticut, was in the class just ahead of Hale in college, and probably they first knew each other at Yale. Hull is referred to in Hale's Diary and Army Accounts. Both were engaged in the siege of Boston, and both went to New York with the army at about the same time. By the time Hale was solicited by Washington to enter the enemy's lines as a spy, such a strong feeling of attachment and confidence existed between the two men that Hale told Hull that he was asked to become a spy. Hull tried in vain to dissuade Hale, but to no avail. But let him tell the story himself, which I take from his Life based upon his own manuscript material and published years ago. I now quote from the "Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull; prepared from his Manuscripts, by his daughter, Mrs. Maria Campbell, together with the History of the Campaign of 1812, and Surrender of the Post of Detroit, by his grandson, James Freeman Clarke," New York, 1848.

Years ago I endeavored to locate the manuscripts of Hull to see if they had undergone any changes before publication. I learned, alas, that they had been accidentally destroyed in a fire.—*G. D. S.*]

[Pages 33-38]

It was evident, that the superior force of the British, would soon give them possession of New York. The Commander-in-chief, therefore, took a position at Fort Washington, at the other end of the Island. To ascertain the further object of the enemy, was now a subject of anxious inquiry with General Washington. He communicated his wishes to Colonel Knowlton, who made it known to Captain Hale and other officers of his regiment. Captain Hale had recently been transferred from the regiment of Colonel Webb to that of Colonel Knowlton. There existed a warm friendship between himself and Captain Hull. They were of the same age, and had been classmates at Yale College. Two years after they graduated, the war commenced. They heard of the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. Their names were soon enrolled under the standard of their country, and they marched in the same regiment, to join the army of Washington at Cambridge, shortly after his arrival in camp.

Captain Hull had every opportunity to learn the true character of his much loved associate, nor can it be supposed, that there was a want of discrimination in the warm expression of his sentiments. He says in his MSS. Memoirs: "There was no young man who gave fairer promise of an enlightened and devoted service to his country, than this my friend and companion in arms. His naturally fine intellect had been carefully cultivated, and his heart was filled with generous emotions; but, like the soaring eagle, the patriotic ardour of his soul 'winged the dart which caused his destruction.'

"After his interview with Colonel Knowlton, he repaired to my quarters, and informed me of what had passed. He remarked, 'That he thought he owed to his country the accomplishment of an object so important, and so much desired by the Commander of her armies, and he knew of no other mode of obtaining the information, than by assuming a disguise and passing into the enemy's camp.' He asked my candid opinion. I replied, that it was an action which involved serious consequences, and the propriety of it was doubtful; and though he viewed the business of a spy as a duty, yet, he could not officially be required to perform it. That such a service was not claimed of the meanest soldier, though many might be willing, for a pecuniary compensation, to engage in it; and as for himself, the employment was not in keeping with his character. His nature was too frank and open for deceit and disguise, and he was incapable of acting a part equally foreign to his feelings and habits. Admitting that he was successful, who would wish success at such a price? Did his country demand the moral degradation of her sons, to advance her interests? Stratagems are resorted to in war; they are feints and evasions, performed under no disguise; are familiar to commanders; form a part of their plans, and, considered in a military view, lawful and advantageous. The tact with which they are executed, exacts admiration from the enemy. But who respects the character of a spy, assuming the garb of friendship but to betray? The very death assigned him is expressive of the estimation in which he is held. As soldiers, let us do our duty in the field; contend for our legitimate rights, and not stain our honour by the

sacrifice of integrity. And when present events, with all their deep and exciting interests, shall have passed away, may the blush of shame never arise, by the remembrance of an unworthy, though successful act, in the performance of which we were deceived by the belief that it was sanctified by its object. I ended by saying, that should he undertake the enterprise, his short, bright career, would close with an ignominious death.

“He replied, ‘I am fully sensible of the consequences of discovery and capture in such a situation. But for a year I have been attached to the army, and have not rendered any material service, while receiving a compensation, for which I make no return. Yet,’ he continued, ‘I am not influenced by the expectation of promotion or pecuniary reward; I wish to be useful, and every kind of service, necessary to the public good, becomes honourable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious.’

“He spoke with warmth and decision. I replied, ‘That such are your wishes, cannot be doubted. But is this the most effectual mode of carrying them into execution? In the progress of the war, there will be ample opportunity to give your talents and your life, should it be so ordered, to the sacred cause to which we are pledged. You can bestow upon your country the richest benefits, and win for yourself the highest honours. Your exertions for her interests will be daily felt, while, by one fatal act, you crush for ever the power and the opportunity Heaven offers, for her glory and your happiness.’

“I urged him, for the love of country, for the love of kindred, to abandon an enterprise which would only end in the sacrifice of the dearest interests of both.

“He paused—then affectionately taking my hand, he said, ‘I will reflect, and do nothing but what duty demands.’ He was absent from the army, and I feared he had gone to the British lines, to execute his fatal purpose. In a few days an officer* came to our camp, under a flag of truce, and informed Hamilton,* then a cap-

* Captain John Montresor and Alexander Hamilton.

tain of artillery, but afterwards the aid of General Washington, that Captain Hale had been arrested within the British lines, condemned as a spy, and executed that morning.

"I learned the melancholy particulars from this officer, who was present at his execution, and seemed touched by the circumstances attending it.

"He said that Captain Hale had passed through their army, both of Long Island and York Island. That he had procured sketches of the fortifications, and made memoranda of their number and different positions. When apprehended, he was taken before Sir William Howe, and these papers, found concealed about his person, betrayed his intentions. He at once declared his name, his rank in the American army, and his object in coming within the British lines.

"Sir William Howe, without the form of a trial, gave orders for his execution the following morning. He was placed in the custody of the Provost Marshal, who was a Refugee, and hardened to human suffering and every softening sentiment of the heart. Captain Hale, alone, without sympathy or support, save that from above, on the near approach of death asked for a clergyman to attend him. It was refused. He then requested a Bible; that too was refused by his inhuman jailer.

" 'On the morning of his execution,' continued the officer, 'my station was near the fatal spot, and I requested the Provost Marshal to permit the prisoner to sit in my marquee, while he was making the necessary preparations. Captain Hale entered: he was calm, and bore himself with gentle dignity, in the consciousness of rectitude and high intentions. He asked for writing materials, which I furnished him: he wrote two letters,* one to his mother and one to a brother officer.' He was shortly after summoned to the gallows. But a few persons were around him, yet his characteristic dying words were remembered. He said, 'I only regret, that I have but one life to lose for my country.' "

* See Enoch Hale's Diary (page 298), which proves that one of these letters was written to his brother Enoch, not to his mother, who was dead, nor to his step-mother.

SERGEANT HEMPSTEAD AND HALE

[The following letter from Hale's Sergeant, Stephen Hempstead, of New London, was contributed to the *Missouri Republican*, in 1827, and reprinted in the *Long Island Star* on April 5 of the same year. This copy is from the *Star*.]

THE CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF CAPT. HALE, IN 1776

Most of those who achieved our Independence are no more. The common age of man has passed since the days of '76, and "the time that tried men's souls." But a few have been permitted to live beyond that age, and these few are every year, nay, daily gathering unto their fathers. When the few surviving shall *cease to be*, the oft-told tale, by eye witnesses, of many interesting incidents of that glorious struggle, will soon become a traditional legend—a fable—and a tale; their authenticity lost, by growing time, and the real facts and circumstances clothed with so many accumulating and varying folds of fancy, and imagination, as to be no longer discernible. Impressed with this conviction, I have, Mr. Editor, thought it a duty every survivor of the Revolution owes to himself, and country, to contribute his mite to her glory, in communicating such matters as would be worth preserving; and as you have already learnt, I had a share in the toils and sufferings of that period. I have noted two incidents, for my own satisfaction and the benefit of my children, which you are at liberty to publish. The first of these, is the capture and execution of Captain Nathan Hale, September, 1776, on New York Island—[the other I will communicate hereafter.]*

Captain Hale was one of the most accomplished officers, of his grade and age, in the army. He was a native of the town of Coventry, state of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College—young, brave, honorable—and at the time of his death a Captain

* The second article was on the capture of the Groton fort by the British when Arnold set fire to New London in 1781. Hempstead was desperately wounded in the affair. The account is given in Allyn's book on the Groton fight. Stuart gives a good notice of Hempstead in the Appendix to his work. After the Revolutionary War the sergeant removed to the vicinity of St. Louis, where he lived and was highly respected for many years.

in Col. Webb's Regiment of Continental Troops. Having never seen a circumstantial account of his untimely and melancholy end, I will give it. I was attached to his company and in his confidence. After the retreat of our army from Long Island, he informed me, he was sent for to Head Quarters, and was solicited to go over to Long Island to discover the disposition of the enemy's camps, &c., expecting them to attack New York, but that he was too unwell to go, not having recovered from a recent illness; that upon a second application, he had consented to go, and said I must go as far with him as I could, with safety, and wait for his return. Accordingly, we left our Camp on Harlem Heights, with the intention of crossing over the first opportunity; but none offered until we arrived at Norwalk, fifty miles from New York. In that harbor, there was an armed sloop and one or two row galleys. Capt. Hale had a general order to all armed vessels, to take him to any place he should designate: he was set across the Sound, in the sloop, at Huntington (Long-Island) by Capt. Pond, who commanded the vessel. Capt Hale had changed his uniform for a plain suit of citizens brown clothes, with a round broad-brimmed hat, assuming the character of a Dutch school-master, leaving all his other clothes, commission, public and private papers, with me, and also his silver shoe buckles, saying they would not comport with his character of school-master, and retaining nothing but his College diploma, as an introduction to his assumed calling.* Thus

* As to Hale's "brown clothes," it is interesting to note the request he made of his brother Enoch in the postscript to his letter of June 3, 1776: "Sister Rose talked of making me some Linen Cloth Similar to brown Holland for Summer ware. If she has made it desire her to keep it for me." The "brown clothes" may have been made from this "brown Holland."

As far as we can check Hempstead's account his memory appears to have been quite accurate. We know there was a Captain Pond commanding a sloop at Norwalk or vicinity and that two "rebel" sloops were in Huntington Harbor at about the time Hale crossed. We know for certain from Enoch Hale's Diary that Hale had his diploma with him when captured. Enoch, to be sure, says that his brother crossed the Sound from Stamford, while Hempstead says Norwalk. Hempstead should be followed as having been Hale's attendant, while Enoch got his information in camp near White Plains at a time in October when Hempstead was with the Rangers above Harlem. The sloops were at Norwalk.

equipped, we parted for the last time in life. He went on his mission, and I returned back again to Norwalk, with orders to stop there until he should return, or hear from him, as he expected. to return back again to cross the sound, if he succeeded in his object. The British army had, in the mean time, got possession of New York, whither he also passed, and had nearly executed his mission, and was passing the British piquet guard between the lines of the two armies, within a mile and a half of his own quarters, when he was stopped at a tavern, at a place called the "Cedars." Here there was no suspicion of his character being other than what he pretended, until, most unfortunately, he was met in the crowd by a fellow-countryman, and an own relation (but a tory and a renegado), who had received the hospitality of his board, and the attention of a brother from Captain Hale, at his quarters at Winter Hill, in Cambridge, the winter before. He recognized him, and most inhumanly and infamously betrayed him, divulging his true character, situation in the army etc. ; and having him searched, his diploma corroborated his relative's statement when, without any formality of trial, or delay, they hung him instantaneously, and sent a flag over to our army, stating "that they had caught such a man within their lines, that morning, *and had hung him as a spy.*" Thus suddenly and unfeelingly did they rush this young and worthy man into eternity, not allowing him an hour's preparation, nor the privilege of writing to his friends, nor even to receive the last consolations of his religion, refusing to let the chaplain pray with him, as was his request. After parting with Captain Hale, of all these circumstances, I was authentically informed at the time, and do most religiously believe them.

Such was the melancholy fate of Capt. Hale. While the stern rigor of military law justified his execution, (betrayed as he was, most foully, by this ungrateful relation and villainous tory), yet, who that knew him as I did—embarked in the same hazardous enterprize, and had been together in the perilous service of the field—but would drop the tear of pity for his worth? It is true he died upon the "inglorious tree," not the death of the soldier; but it is likewise true, he suffered for his country's sake. And André died also the "death of a spy," but did he fill an inglorious

grave? I do not mourn at the sympathy for the man, which was felt for André—in Europe and American—by the fair, and the brave—the friend and the foe—by America and by Briton. No! God forbid!—But I do think it hard, that HALE—who was equally brave, learned, young, accomplished, and honorable—should be forgotten on the very threshold of his fame, even by his countrymen; that while our own historians have done honor to the memory of André, HALE should be unknown; that while the *remains of the former* have been honored, even by our own country, those of the latter should rest among the clods of the valley, undistinguished, unsought and unhonored.

STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD, SR.

[NOTE BY HEMPSTEAD.—“The only historical notice I can find of this event, is in Mrs. Warren’s *History of the Rise and Progress of the American Revolution*. Vol. II, p. 264.” Hempstead then gives the Warren extract, which is of a general character, comparing Hale with André. Hempstead’s letter was also reprinted in the *Supplement to the Hartford Courant*, for April 2, 1827. It omits the first few sentences and the quotation from Mrs. Warren’s *History*.]

“THE TESTIMONY OF ASHER WRIGHT”

[Now published for the first time]

[The Testimony of Asher Wright among the Stuart papers in the Connecticut Historical Society is written in a fine, clear hand on a single sheet of paper folded to form four pages. The document is unaddressed, undated, and unsigned, but the text shows that the information contained in it was secured from the venerable Asher Wright in 1836 when he was in his 82nd year.

The opening paragraph of the “Testimony” reads as follows: “Minutes of Conversations between Mr. Ashur Wright of Coventry, Connt and M^r R. N. Wright of Hanover N H—taken by the latter & communicated by him to me.” From this language I conclude that it is more than likely that the Minutes were actually written out by Mr. Cyrus P. Bradley himself for his future use and that Mr. R. N. Wright must have visited Coventry to see his aged relative for the purpose of collecting information for Mr. Bradley, who perhaps learned about Asher Wright from his correspondence with Deacon Jasper Gilbert, of Coventry, a member of the Hale family circle and postmaster of Coventry at the time. My idea is that Mr. Stuart came into possession of this “Testimony” of Asher Wright and the letters of Deacon Gilbert to Bradley at the time he was collecting material for his “Life of Hale.” The above explanation would account for the Testimony of Asher Wright and other Bradley material in Mr. Stuart’s possession and left by him in the custody of The Connecticut Historical Society, where they now are. Stuart refers in his “Life of Captain Nathan Hale—The Martyr Spy of the American Revolution” to the “Testimony of Asher Wright” and makes two quotations from it but in no place gives any clue to its history.—*G. D. S.*]

[1]

MINUTES

of Conversations between Mr. Ashur Wright of Coventry, Connt and M^r R. N. Wright of Hanover N H—taken by the latter & communicated by him to me.

Note. M^r Ashur Wright is now in the eighty second year of his life, and besides the infirmities of advanced age, has been affected in his mind, ever since the melancholy death of his young master, Captain Nathan Hale. What is gathered of him, can be learnt only at intervals and when he is in the humor of conversation. He was a schoolmate & playmate of Capt Hale, a near neighbor in his youth, and always experienced and evidenced for him the deepest affection.

[The author has had, what he regards of particular interest, set up in black-face type.]

Nathan Hale was in Webb's Regt—Col. Charles Webb, of Stamford, west of Conn^t, 2^d year of war—Hale was out first for six months. His time was out & he come up here (Coventry) in Dec, and had a capt's commission. First of January, Hale enlisted for a year. I engaged under him for a year & several from Windham, New London, New Haven, and some from Long Island. Went to Cambridge, and remained a month & then stationed at Roxbury. He held a Lieut^{ts} commission during the former six months. Went on to Dorchester in spring [1775 or 1776?] and built a breastwork. Snow had gone off & was no frost on the ground. I worked second night. Next night, some fools went down on to Neck within half a mile of British & made up fires. The British began to [2] send over balls. Soon the British took the hint & evacuated Boston, went to Halifax, rec^d reinforcements; in the latter part of summer, landed on west end of Long Island.—Left Dorchester in April & went to New York—took tents at Grand Battery near New York till Sept^r. Latter part of Sept, went to Harlem, perhaps five miles from New York. Capt Hale went away, was gone about a fortnight before I knew what had become of him. He went onto Long Island, passed the whole length of it & into New York & pass'd all but the last guard before he was taken up. Got within three miles of us, where he was executed. When he left us, he told me he had got to be absent a while, and wanted I should take care of his things & if the army moved before he returned, have them moved too. He had on a frock, when I last saw him, made of white linen, & fringed, such as officers used to wear. He was too good-looking to go so. He could not deceive. Some scrubby fellows ought to have gone. He had marks on his forehead, so that anybody would know him who had ever seen him—having had powder flashed in his face. He had a large hair mole on his neck just where the knot come. In his boyhood, his playmates sometimes twitted him about it, telling him he would be hanged.

He passed all their guards on Long Island, went over to New York in a ferryboat & got by all the guards but the last. They stopped him, searched & found drawings of the works, with descriptions in Latin, under the inner sole of the pumps which he wore. Some say his cousin, Samuel Hale, a [3]tory, betrayed him. I don't know; guess he did.*

Hannah Adams states that Hale wrote letters to his mother, after he was taken up —probably incorrect. She was only his mother in law† & he would have been as likely to write to any other one as her. There is no proof of it.

[Note.] I understand the above to be the statements derived from several conversations which Mr Wright held with his venerable relative. At another time, as Mr W. sat in the room with him, reading in Hume's History, he met with some character that reminded him of Nathan Hale, read it aloud to the old gentleman & then continued in his book. The old man, after a silence of half an hour, & after Mr Wright had forgotten the circumstance suddenly spoke in allusion to it, and Mr W. noted his words in a blank leaf of his book;‡

Capt. Hale was a praying man. He prayed for his first waiter, who was taken sick of a fever. He was from New London, his father came after him. He recover'd after a while, but when he was taken down, Capt. Hale was a mind I should take his place. And I did & remained with him till he went on to Long Island. When he went away, he did not tell me where he was going, but wanted I should take care of his clothes & if the army moved before he return'd to have his things taken along with it.

[4] The following is a statement taken by Mr Wright from the same old waiter, relative to the engagem^t of Hale;

James Sprague, my aunt's cousin, was out in the old French War; he was desired by Col Knowlton, to go on to Long Island.

* This story is generally rec^d in the neighborhood of Hale's birth. Hale's cousin was in Boston & went to Halifax with the British. Some say he discovered, but tried to save his cousin. [Footnote in the original Minutes.]

† This term was then used in the state of stepmother.

‡ The author concludes that this note in the manuscript was written by Cyrus P. Bradley.

He refused, saying, I am willing to go & fight them, but as for going among them & being taken & hung up like a dog, I will not do it. Hale stood by and said, I will undertake the business.—Col Knowlton was of Mansfield. His Company was enlisted for a year, in this region.

Family Notes, collected by Mr R. N. Wright

Richd Hale came from Newbury Massts, where he left brothers. He had children, Samuel; Maj John; Joseph; Rev Enoch now of West Hampton in Northampton Ms, superannuated and deranged in intellect; Nathan; Richard; Billy; Judge David; Elisabeth, m^d Deac. Rose; Anna, md D^r Howard, who are both living. D^r Howard is very intelligent & the justice & clerk of Coventry. David's wife is living, in New York. Her son David is Senior Editor of the New York Journal of Commerce, & has two sons, one in Amherst college & the other at M^t Pleasant Institution & two daughters. This David married his cousin Laura, daughter of Richard Hale & Mary Wright.

LIEUTENANT ELISHA BOSTWICK'S NARRATIVE

[An account of the discovery of Bostwick's narrative by the author will be found herein, see pages 412-414. The copy we follow was duly certified by G. M. Saltzgaber, Commissioner of Pensions, December 1, 1914. When first printed, *The Hartford Courant* carried the following editorial by Watson Sperry:

"This old document is as fresh and vivid as if it were written yesterday . . . or during the days when Hale kicked the football over the trees in the old New York Bowery or turned his masterly hand to making a quill pen. . . The young man comes before us in these old lines as vigorous and undaunted as on the day when the British hanged him. It was all in the day's work. Young men are doing the same thing in Europe today and with the same belief in their duty. . . Hale did not pull back from death even when it faced him in its meanest form. He knew that that also was in his day's work. . . So out of this old manuscript the young captain steps again in his immortal youth. He stands just over yonder, with blue eyes and light hair cut short, with straight legs and regular features, of good height and with well set shoulders—a personable and solid young man, with a body fit for the sports of youth and for the length of days required by old age. . . Military necessity knows nothing of what is glibly labeled dangerous or disgraceful. If a thing has to be done, in war, it has to be done, and some brave and capable soul has to do it. . . Thus young Hale died tranquilly for duty's sake, and for Washington's sake, and for this country's sake, just as he steps out of this old manuscript. He is one of the fortunate few who do not die. . . When Sir William Howe ordered him to be strung up he no doubt meant to make an end to the young American captain, but in fact he made the beginning of him. From that moment young Hale passed from an engaging and capable personality into an enduring national symbol."—G. D. S.]

IN CONGRESS

The Delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, to *Elish: Bostwick*

Gentleman

We reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity, DO by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Second Lieutenant of Captain Isaac Bostwicks Company in the nineteenth Regiment of foot Commanded by Colonel Charles Webb — in the army of the United Colonies, raised for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Second Lieutenant by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, as Second Lieutenant And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as

you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the time being of the army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you.

This commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

Attest

By Order of the Congress,

Cha Thompson Secy.

JOHN HANCOCK President.

January the first 1776 —

A Sketch &c — In the month of May 1775 I inlisted as Sergeant & Clark in Capt. Isaac Bostwicks Company, Colo. Charles Webbs Regt. march'd for Boston for 8 months, viz from 1st May to last Decr. & when arived at Hartford recd. orders to go by water down Connecticut river to Lyme, where we kept Guard at Governor Griswolds house left by his family, the enemy being in the Sound; thence march'd to Newlondon, kept guard there awhile — thence to Stonington & back to Newlondon, thence thro' Norwich, Providence &c to Genl. Washingtons head quarters at Cambridge—Encamped on Winterhill — there remained until first of Jany. 1776 when our Regt. was discharg'd — I then had the offer of a Lieutenancy in the Continental Army for 12 months in a new Regt. to be commanded by the same Colo. Charles Webb — Street Hall Lt. Colo. — John Brooks Major — Capt. Bostwick went home to Newmilford to raise his new company, & I took winter quarters with the few men which then inlisted for the ensuing year, at the Temple house North of Bunkers hill — In the Spring, the Regt. being fill'd up we were Stationed at Roxbury near Boston neck.—was in the party which on the 4th of March took possession of & fortified Dorchester heights under the command of Genl. Thomas — remained at Roxbury until the British evacuated Boston on the 17th day of March 1776: upon which our Regt. with others recd. orders immediately to repair to New York; march'd direct to Newlondon; thence by water to N. York, remained there and on long island until the retreat of our Army from N. York — The first battle I was in was at the white plains, where our army was defeated Octr. 29th. Lt. Yates' Platoon

which was next to that of mine received a Cannon shot which with one ball kill'd three men, namely — Sergeant Garret & Smith & Taylor, & Chilsey had one arm taken off by the same ball. Some while after had orders to march into Jersey, cross'd the Hudson at Peekskill Novr. 15th. — on our march thro' Jersey our General Charles Lee was taken Prisoner by a party of light horse, being put up for the night a mile or two in rear of our main Army, (which was a discouraging stroke to us for the time) — continued our march—crossed the Delaware & encamped at a place called Newtown on the Pensylvania side—and on the 24th of Decr. our whole Army being very small Recd. marching orders; toward evening Crossed the Delaware 9 or 10 miles North of Trenton: but by reason of ice in the river & the storm of snow & hail the whole Army, did not get across till late at night—it being dark every Officer commanding a platoon for distinction had a piece of white paper placed on his hat; & each Officer having a Watch at the time our line of march began had it set exactly by the time of his excellency's watch,—Soon began our March and march'd in the Storm till day break—a halt was made—at which time his excellency* with his Aids came from the rear encouraging & talking to the soldiers as he rode by them toward the front & the words of his Excellency which I heard I well remember were these “Soldiers keep by your Officers, for Gods sake keep by your Officers” Spoken with a deep & solemn voice it being then twilight; the horses taken out, & the Artillerymen harness'd & prepared march'd on & it was not long before we heard the firing of the out Centrys of the enemy both on the North road that we ware in & the road which leads from Princeton into Trenton from the East; & their out Guards retired firing; & our Army taking a very quick march soon entered the town on both roads at the same time; the Enemy having scarcely time to parade made but little resistance—their Artillery taken, about one thousand resign'd their arms all Hessians; the remainder crossing the bridge at the lower end of the town escaped — Their commander Colo. Rhall a Hessian officer was mortally wounded & perhaps 15 or 20 killd; our loss only one killd, two officers & a few Soldiers wounded.—

* General Washington.

March'd the next day with our Prisoners back to our encampment at Newtown — then recrossed the Delaware & returned back to Trenton & there on the first day of Jany. 1777 our years service expired. And then by the pressing Solicitation of General Washington a part of those whose time of service was out, consented on a ten dollars bounty to stay six weeks longer; & although desirous to return home I engaged to stay, & made every exertion in my power to make as many stay with me as I could: and before night on that same day an express from our piquet Guard inform'd that the Enemy were advancing upon us from Princeton: an Alarm was made, our Army crossed the bridge and formed on the South side of the Creek South of the town: where, in the evening & thro' the night fires were kept burning, while our Army by a Cercuitous night march arived by sunrise the next morning at Princeton; where we attack'd those of the enemy who were left there kill'd about one hundred & took about 300 prisoners — (In this action it was said that the person of his excellency was to much exposed to the enemy's fire)

NB: The body of a British Capt. by the name of Lesslie was found among the dead, which was carried along with us in a waggon & the next day buried with the honors of war — he was said to be a Nobleman's son — General Mercer of the Pensylvania Melitia & sundry other excellent officers & soldiers were killd in this Battle — The prisoners being British & some highlanders with their Scotch Plaid dress were conducted to Peekskill; from whence those of us who composed their guard return'd to headquarters at Morristown — The enemy having with drawn to Brunswick made continual excursions after forage & plunder —, which rendered it necessary we should have strong guards on the lines — I was detached in one of them of 300 men under Colo. Scott for a fortnight, during which time we all slept on our arms & in our clothes — while we lay at a place called Quibbletown, had sundry skirmishes with those foraging parties, one of which was severe; we drove them some time & they began to leave their waggons, but at last they brought their Artillery to bear upon us & we having none retreated leaving our wounded in the field, among which was our Adjutant — Kelley — an Active charming Officer,

he was wounded in the flesh of his thigh by a musket ball, he could still walk & the soldiers endeavoured to bring him off, but being press'd he told them to leave him, saying I must be a prisoner: — but horrid to tell, as soon as they came to him while asking for quarter they took his own Rifle & with the butt of it broke & pounded his skull to pieces & then cutting off both skirts of his coat took them off with both pockets & their contents — and a Soldier in my Platoon — Andrew Cushman a pleasant youth was left among the wounded, & with the rest were all murdered with the Bayonet by repeated Stabs, they were buried there — but Kelley was brought into Camp and buried under arms — Such is British Clemency & mercy! And with this tour of Duty my time of service in the Continental Army expired — I then return'd to headquarters at Morristown Feby. 15th, 1777: And being discharged, from thence waded in the snow on foot home to my fathers house — And may I add that my heart was impressed with the tenderest sensations, and I trust with Gratitude & thankfulness to God that *my* life was spared, while alas my companions were slain by my side & left in their graves —

NB:—The Logical advice of Colo. Scott when we were going into a skirmish one day I always remember, & the glib manner in which he spoke it—said he—“Take care now & fire low, bring down your pieces, fire at their legs, one man wounded in the leg is better than a dead one, for it takes two more to carry him off, & there is three gone—leg them, dam 'em I say leg them.”—

When the enemy destroyed the publick stores at Danbury (April 26 1777) & burnt the town, there was not enough of us collected to make any resistance, but the next day as they return'd by the way of Ridgefield had a skirmish with them there, a number kill'd on both sides — Genl. Wooster mortally-wounded I saw him a little before the Action began but not afterward — slept in a barn — next day followed them to Wilton — slept that night in Marvins barn — next day followed them to Compo where we attack'd them while going on board their Ships — Lt. Seeley mortally wounded — a number of others killed & wounded.

Colo. Knowlton who commanded the rear Guard of our Army

in the Retreat from N. York being mortally wounded & the enemy pressing upon them ordered his men who were trying to bring him off to take him aside out of the road that he might die alone where the enemy could not see him & abuse him John Terrill of our Company was there with him.

One peculiar circumstance I here state, as a remarkable occurrence — A soldier in my family mess Paul Todd of Massachusetts, in the evening of one day when we had been skirmishing with the enemy on the lines near Brunswick while we were at supper found a musket ball lodged in a piece of bread which he had carried all day upon his back in his pack; we immediately made search to find how it got there; but to our astonishment for some time could not find any bullet hole in his pack, but at length it was found on that side of his Pack which was next to his back. we then searched his cloathes & found a bullet hole in the back of his coat, our wonder still increasing he striped off his clothes & found that the ball had passed through all his cloaths in a slanting direction, & passed first through the elbow of his coat, then entered the side of his coat under the arm, went thro his coat & his vest & shirt & so into his pack & bread, the force being spent it lodged there.—

I will now make some observations upon the amiable & unfortunate Capt. Nathan Hale whose fate is so well known; for I was with him in the same Regt. both at Boston & New York & until the day of his tragical death: & although of inferior grade in office was always in the habits of friendship & intimacy with him: & my remembrance of his person, manners & character is so perfect that I feel inclined to make some remarks upon them: for I can now in imagination see his person & hear his voice—his person I should say was a little above the common stature in height, his shoulders of a moderate breadth, his limbs strait & very plump: regular features—very fair skin—blue eyes—flaxen or very light hair which was always kept short—his eyebrows a shade darker than his hair & his voice rather sharp or piercing—his bodily agility was remarkable I have seen him follow a football & kick it over the tops of the trees in the Bowery at New York,

(an exercise which he was fond of)—his mental powers seemed to be above the common sort—his mind of a sedate and sober cast, & he was undoubtedly Pious; for it was remark'd that when any of the soldiers of his company were sick he always visited them & usually Prayed for & with them in their sickness.—

A little anecdote I will relate; one day he accidentally came across some of his men in a bye place Playing Cards—he spoke—what are you doing—this won't do,—give me your cards, they did so, & he chopd them to pieces, & it was done in such a manner that the men were rather pleased than otherwise—his activity on all occations was wonderful—he would make a pen the quickest & the best of any man—

Innumerable instances of occurances which took place in the Army I could relate, but who would care for them: Perhaps it may be thought by some that I have already been at the expense of Prolixity: nobody in these days feels as I do, left here alone, & they cannot if they would. but to me it is a melancoly pleasure to go back to those Scenes of fear & anguish & after the laps of 50 years (1826 was in my 78th year) to rumenate upon them which I think I can do with as bright a recollection as though they were present—One more reflection I will make—why is it that the delicious Capt Hale should be left & lost in an unknown grave & forgotten—

The foregoing Statements were mde from Memory & recollection & from documents & Memorandoms which I kept.

ELISHA BOSTWICK

N.B. Soon after my return from the Army I received a Lieutenants Commission in the Militia afterwards a Captains Commission & served in various terms of duty in Alarms to the close of the War: during the War was in six actions, to wit: that at White Plains — at Trenton — Princeton — Quibbletown — Ridgefield & Compo—in the later part of the War a Captain

ELISHA BOSTWICK—

born in Newmilford —

Decr. 17th — (O.S.) 1748

The
INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE,
and the
UNIVERSAL ADVERTISER,
Thursday, May 17, 1781.
Massachusetts State: Boston.

Printed by Nathaniel Willis, Opposite the Court-House

For the Boston Chronicle.

America has not only produced great military characters, but exhibited many striking instances of humanity and generosity in the present war. Among the last we may place the treatment given to Major André, a British spy, who came within our works with a design to ruin our country. Justice was indeed executed, and André died: But justice was executed with humanity, and every alleviation afforded him that the public safety would allow: The generous Americans seemed to forget the nature of his *attempt*, in the regard they paid to his accomplishments as a *Man* and a *Soldier*: And he was supported in his last scene by seeing respect and compassion towards him in every countenance, and in every action of those into whose hands he had fallen. But while we pay the debt of humanity to our enemies, let us not forget what we owe to our friends. About four years ago, Capt. HALE, an American officer of a liberal education, younger than *André*, and equal to him in sense, fortitude, and every manly accomplishment, tho' without opportunities of being so highly polished, voluntarily went into the city of New York, with a view to serve his invaded country. He performed his part there with great capacity and address, but was accidentally discovered. In this trying circumstance he exhibited all the firmness of *André*, without the aid of a single countenance around him that spoke either respect or compassion, and tho' every thing that was said or done to him was adapted to make him feel that he was considered as a traitor

and rebel. André appeared great in not confessing the clear grounds upon which he was condemned, and in refusing to employ the absurd and frivolous[sic] pleas that Clinton would have put into his mouth. Hale, tho' not at all disconcerted, made no plea for himself, and firmly rejected the advantageous offers made him by the enemy upon condition of his entering into their service. André earnestly wished the *mode* of his death might have been more like that of a soldier; but consoled himself by observing, that in either way it would be "but a moment's pang." Hale, calm and collected, took no notice of either of those circumstances. André as he was going to die, with great presence of mind and the most engaging air, bowed to all around him, and returned the respect that had been and was still paid to him; and said, "gentlemen, you will bear witness that I die with the firmness becoming a soldier."—Hale had received no such respects, and had none to return; but just before he expired, said, aloud, "I am so satisfied with the cause in which I have engaged, that my only regret is, that I have not more lives than one to offer in its service."

Let justice be done to the character both of the Briton and American, and to the behaviour of their respective nations, upon this and similar occasions.

[This article, the author thinks, was contributed or inspired by General William Hull, probably on account of Anna Seward's "Monody on André," which had been recently received in Boston.—G. D. S.]

EXCERPT FROM
A SUMMARY HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND
By HANNAH ADAMS, Dedham, 1799

[Pages 357-361]

Perhaps the fate of America was never suspended on a more brittle thread, than previously to this memorable retreat. A spectacle is here presented of an army, destined for the defence of a great continent, driven to the narrow borders of an island, with a victorious army of double its numbers in front, with navigable waters in its rear; constantly liable to have its communication cut off by the enemy's navy, and every moment exposed to an attack. The presence of mind, which animated the commander in chief, in this critical situation; the prudence, with which all the necessary measures were executed, redounded as much, or more to his honor, than the most brilliant victories. An army, to which America looked for safety, preserved! A general, who was considered as an host himself, saved for the future necessities of his country. Had not, however, the circumstances of the night, of the wind and weather, been favorable to this operation, the plan, however well concerted, must have been defeated. To a good Providence, therefore, are the people of America indebted for the complete success of an enterprise so important in its consequences.

This retreat* left the British in complete possession of Long-Island. What would be their future operations, remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose, General Washington applied to col. Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the van of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Col. Knowlton communicated this request to captain Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, who then was a captain in his regiment.

This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself, by which he might be use-

* Of the Continental Troops, after the Battle (Aug. 28-29) of Long Island.—*Editor.*

ful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long-Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

In his attempt to return he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views.

Sir William Howe at once gave an order to the provost marshal to execute him the next morning.

This order was accordingly executed, in a most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a bible for a few moments devotion was not procured, although he requested it. Letters, which, on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother, and other friends, were destroyed;* and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost marshal, "that the rebels should not know they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness."

Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this, as his dying observation, "that he only lamented, that he had but one life to lose for his country."

Although the manner of this execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war, and the practice of nations in similar cases.

It is, however, a justice due to the character of captain Hale to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different from those, which generally influence others in similar circumstances.

Neither expectation of promotion, nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion, which

* Cunningham did not destroy the letters when Hale was executed, but kept them and showed them to Major Wyllys. See Enoch Hale's Diary herein, page 298.

he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the public good, became honorable, by being necessary, were the great motives, which induced him to engage in an enterprize, by which his connexions lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

The fate of this unfortunate young man excites the most interesting reflections.

To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings, even of his enemies.

Should a comparison be drawn between major André and captain Hale, injustice would be done to the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. Whilst almost every historian of the American Revolution has celebrated the virtues, and lamented the fate of André, Hale has remained unnoticed, and it is scarcely known such a character ever existed.

To the memory of André, his country have erected the most magnificent monuments, and bestowed on his family the highest honors, and most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale, not a stone has been erected, nor an inscription to preserve his ashes from insult.*

[The foregoing is believed to be the first fairly comprehensive account of Hale to appear in print, and was widely copied. The footnote giving credit to General Hull is in the original book.—G. D. S.]

* *The compiler of the History of New-England is indebted to Major-General Hull, of Newton, for the interesting account of captain Hale.*

LETTERS CONTAINING PRIMARY INFORMATION

(Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society)

[These several letters were among the papers found in 1892 by Mr. Bates in or on a bookcase, where they had been left by Mr. Stuart, to whom they had been entrusted, as it is conjectured, by Mr. Chauncey Howard.—*G. D. S.*]

[Now printed for the first time]

REVEREND ENOCH HALE TO CAPT. JOSEPH ROSE* OF COVENTRY, CONNECTICUT

[1]

Westhampton May 16 1833

Your letter, my dear cousin,* was duly received, and has not been forgotten. You requested an answer soon, but as Congress was to rise in a few days, so as not to admit an application to be made to it, until another session, a little delay I thought could be of no injury to the cause. I have written to my children in Boston, one of them in answer writes, "I have conferred with my brothers with regard to the monument to uncle Nathan. They think that the object would be perfectly proper, and there would be no difficulty in getting from Congress a suitable appropriation for it. They think that the proper way would be to get some member of the Connecticut delegation to bring the subject forward as they should think best, probably by a Committee of inquiry. They think the subject ought not to be brought forward in the shape of a petition from any members of the family or their friends." The opinion here expressed is mine. I am glad you have thought of the subject and hope, that you and other friends at Coventry will pursue it. You may I conclude easily determine to which Connecticut Delegate to apply, in making the request that he will undertake the matter. If any thing farther be necessary you will know and be able to do what is requisite and proper. My best wishes will attend you.

My family enjoy comfortable health, attended with the infirm-

* Captain Joseph Rose was born in 1774, the eldest child of Elizabeth (Hale) Rose, elder sister of Nathan and Enoch Hale. Rev. Enoch Hale addresses him as "cousin," an old-fashioned term which once was used instead of "nephew."

ities incident to our age. Whether I or Mrs. Hale [2] shall ever again visit Coventry is uncertain. I hope we shall remember each other, and cultivate our mutual friendship as Providence gives opportunity, while our primary attention will be bestowed on the duties which respect our future well being. It is profitable and wise to conduct temporary concerns with everlasting things in view, & to keep in mind the uncertainty and transitoriness of all earthly prospects. The generation which began life with me has mostly finished what belonged to this world. The remaining few may well be looking out for their release; and be doing what they find to occupy their remaining days, with the remembrance of the uncertainty which belongs to their increased number of days.

It would be gratifying to see you or any other of our Connecticut friends here, and if that cannot be made convenient, to hear from you by letter. The time that we can hope to promote each others happiness by attention to such circumstances, we cannot expect to enjoy long. What we do must be performed soon.

The state of Westhampton continues much as it has been several years past. The stupidity of people in regard to religious concerns is affecting and lamentable; but it always has been common except at seasons of God's bestowing special influences of his Holy Spirit. It is in the day of Christ's power that his people are willing to serve him with wakefulness and ardor.

[3] Christ tells us, and we think that we believe him, that one thing is needful. An interest in Christ, a treasure in heaven, secured by believing in him, is important more than any earthly good. And is it manifest that this is our faith? that we habitually realize its truth? and seek first the kingdom and righteousness of God? But do not men act according to their belief? Is not their heart with their treasure? Why then do we so little evidence the sincerity of our belief, that Jesus Christ is the only Savior, that he has eternal life, and is known and obeyed by all that love him. Certainly christians are beings of great inconsistency and contradictoriness. And it is thro' grace, wonderful grace in God, that any rationally hope to gain everlasting life.

Blessed be the Lord God that he is wonderfully merciful, in pardoning sin and accepting believers through the blessed Savior. They who are forgiven, pardoned thro Christ's having died to atone for their wickedness, have abundant reason to bless and praise God for his wonderful grace, and forgiving love.

M^{rs} Hale unites in love to you & your family, with your friend and uncle

Enoch Hale

[4]

Westhampton Ms

Paid 10

May 21

Capt. Joseph Rose

Coventry N. Society Conn

DEACON JASPER GILBERT OF COVENTRY, CONNECTICUT, TO CYRUS P. BRADLEY OF HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

[1]

Coventry Nov 7—1835

M^r Bradley

Dear Sir

I received your favor of Sept 25th in due season and I owe you an apology for not sooner answering it. To be brief the only apology I have to offer is I have been much of the time absent and when at home much pressed with business. A few leisure hours at this time afford me an opportunity of attending to your request and I do it with pleasure and shall without further introduction proceed to give you the result of my inquiries. From a sister of Capt Hale laboring under the infirmities of 71 years from other relatives of the Hale Family, From records contain^d in the family Bible and from Monuments erected to the Hale Family and to Capt Hale in the burying ground of South Coventry I have collected the following information. Richard

Hale (Father of Capt Hale) was born at Nubury Ms Feby 28—1717. He emigrated to Coventry Ct when young and here married Elizabeth Strong by whom he had 12 Children 9 sons and 3 daughters. He afterwards married a second wife by the name of

Adams from Canterbury Ct by whom he had [no] children. He died June 1 1802. He was by occupation a farmer, a man of sterling integrity, of untiring industry, and was for a long time Deacon in the Church of South Coventry and died much lamented. Elizabeth his wife was born in this Town 1727 and died April 21 1767. Their Children were first Samuel born May 25—1747 died April 17—1824. He was never married. John Born Oct 21—1748 Married Miss Adams a daughter of his fathers second wife by her first husband He died Dec 18—1802 and left no children was much esteemed by all that knew him. He held a Majors commission in the Militia of this State He was by Occupation a farmer. [2] Elizabeth born Jany 1—1752 Married Samuel Rose by whom she had 3 Children was left a widow and afterwards married Rev Mr Taylor by whom she had two Children. She died Oct 1—1813. Rev Enoch Hale born Oct 28—1753. He married the Rev M^r Troups daughter of Bozrah Ct by whom he had 3 Sons and 5 Daughters all of which are settled in different parts of the Country. He is still living at West Hampton Ms where he was first settled in the Ministry. He graduated at Yale Collige in [1773.]

Nathan born June 6th—1755. Fitted for Collige with Doct Huntington minister of South Coventry. Graduated and took the first Honors of Yale Collige Sept. 1773. When young was feeble in health and it was at the special request of his Mother that he was educated. He was of a ruddy contenance and verry good looking. his figure was elegant and commanding he possessed a kind and amiable disposition was courtly and prepo[sse]ssing in his manners remarkably active and it is said he was the flower of the Hale family—— In the languages and sciences he is said to have been at the head of his class in Collige. He received a Lieutenants commission near the commencement of the War in Colo Webbs regiment and after 6 months was promoted to the rank of Captain. How or when he joined Colo Knowltons Reg

is not known very distinctly. One of the relatives informs me that Knowltons Reg was a select Reg and that he had the privilege of selecting both Officers and Men from other Reg and that Capt Hale was selected on the account of his worth and united to that Reg^t. This much I believe is true that it was Colo Knowlton that recommended him to Washington. He was never married. It is said and believed that he was recognised and betrayed by his own Cousin who had turned traitor to his Country. He was executed Sept 22— 1776 and was refused impliments for writing to his friends and even a Bible to assist him in his preparation for death. He died lamented by all that knew him.

[3] Richard born Feb 20— 1757 Married Miss Wright of this Town by whom he had one daughter. He died in St Eustatia (where he had gone for his health) Feb 12— 1793. by occupation a farmer.

Billy born 23^d April 1759. Married Miss Barker of Franklin Ct by whom he had one Son residence not known. Died Sept 7— 1785 aged 27. Joseph should have been entered next after Samuel I think was born 1749 month not known he died April 30. 1784 aged 35 years—

David born Dec 14— 1761. Graduated at Yale College 1785 was a minister of respectable standing in Lisbon Ct untill his health failed. He then returned to Coventry and occupied the farm left by his Father became a Judge of the County Court. He married Lydia Austin of New Haven by whom he had one son* who is now Editor of a paper in New York called the Journal of Commerce. He died much respected and lamented Feb 10— 1822. Jonathan Twin brother of David died Dec 21— 1761.

Joanna the only daughter now living was born March 1764. Married Doct Nathan Howard a respectable Phisitian of this Town by whom she had 10 Children two only of which arrived to the age of manhood and but one of them is now living.

* "David Hale is senior editor of that paper." This note, inserted in the original, is not in Gilbert's handwriting.

Susannah born Feb 17—1776 died March 1776 There are not any of the Hale decendants by the name of Hale now living in this place. There are a number of the great grand Children decendants of the daughters one of which I married. Respecting your Interogations the 1st 2^d 3^d & 4th are answered above. The 5 After Graduating did he he immediately engage in teaching? He did at New London Ct. The 6th When did he join Colo Knowltons Reg I can add nothing as also on the 7th more than is above stated. The 8th is answered and also the 9th 10 & 11th——

[4] The following particulars I obtained from an old Superanuated Gentleman now living in this place who was waiter to Capt Hale at the time he was executed. and while he related the circumstances the tears were chaseing each other down his furrowed cheaks. He says that he joined Colo Charles Webbs Reg the first year of the war and that he never left it. That he was promoted to the Rank of Capt about 6 months after joining the Reg. That they were stationed at Harlem near N York at the time he left on his expedition that he passed up the sound into Con^t crossed over on to Long Island then down below Brooklyn and then crossed over into N York. That he had accomplished his business and had got within an hours walk of his Reg when taken. He left his baggage in his care with his directions if they were driven back before his return. He says he was one of the best looking men there was in the army and nothing about him but what was pleasing. He had been his waiter for 3 or 4 months Thus Sir I have given you such particulars as I have been able to collect. I lament they are not more full Much more I presume might be collected had I time that would be interesting. By the papers which I have examined I should conclude that his confidential correspondant was a M^r Saltinstall of New London Ct Respecting the papers I sent you if you hear nothing more from me respecting them you may keep them. I have not as yet seen all the relatives consequently cannot yet determine. Any communication from you will be thankfully received and any requests carefully attended to. In friendship and esteem I remain your humble servant

J Gilbert

DEACON JASPER GILBERT* TO CYRUS P.
BRADLEY

[1]

Coventry Jany 9— 1836

M^r Bradley

Dear Sir

Your last letter to me came safe to hand and I am happy to learn that you contemplate writing the Biography of Capt Hale. I am sensible that the materials for such an object are any thing but what we could wish them. Yet I am perswaded that exertion and perseverance would bring to light many facts and incidents which would be exceedingly interesting and would contribute greatly to enhance the value of such a publication. It would seem that there might be found some of the letters which he wrote after uniting with the Army among his numerous correspondants embracing as they did many of the first men of our State that would be extreemly interesting. I give you the names and places of residence of his principle correspondants. Gilbert Saltingstall John Hallam Edward Hallam Timothy Green, Thomas Fosdick of New London Ct Ebenezer Williams of Wethersfield and James Hillhouse of New Haven.

There are many letters from those gentlemen among the few papers of Capt Hale which have escaped the wreck of time written mostly after he joined the army and they are generally in answer to letters written by him. From the contents of these letters I am led to conclude that his to which those were answers must have been exceedingly interesting. Whether any of them are now in existence or can be found is to me unknown. If they could be found I have no doubt but they would greatly add to the interest of your contemplated biography. Since I received your last favor a letter written by you to the Rev Enoch Hale has been put into my hands with a request that I would so far as able answer it, as M^r Hale has become so far superanuated as

* He became a member of the Hale family circle when he married Elizabeth Hale Rose, daughter of Captain Joseph Rose, son of Dr. Samuel Rose, who married Hale's sister Elizabeth.

to be totally unable to comply with your request. The following extract is taken from a letter written by the Rev. E. Hale Nov 25— 1833 to Nathan Hale Rose Esq a Nephew of Capt Hale and named after him.—“Westhampton Nov 25— 1833 My Dear Cousin Your letter to my Father of the 15 Inst was [2] duly received and as he has become somewhat infirm and writes with difficulty he requests me to answer it. We have not been able to find any printed account of Uncle Nathan Hale but I believe there has been something published within a few years in some periodical which may be in the house altho we have not found it.—The following account is from my Fathers recollection and you will consider it his though written by my hand—— Capt Nathan Hale was born at Coventry Ct June 6— 1755— Graduated at Yale College Sept 1773. He joined the Army in 1775 with the Commission of Capt Lieutenant in a Regiment of Connecticut troops Commanded by Colo Webb. He was with the Army near Boston in 1775 and in the spring of 1776 he went with the Army to N York. In the summer of -76 Gen^l Washington selected a regiment of troops from the Army for special service under the command of Colo Knowlton of Ashford. Capt Hale was appointed by Col^o Knowlton to some special service and left the Army at New York and went to Stamford in Ct and from there he crossed over to Long Island in a small boat with a Seargent Hemstead. This was the last authentic account of him till Gen^l Washington was informed by a Col^o Montazuar (who was sent to our army with a flag) that he was taken and executed on the 22^d of Sept—Soon after Capt Hale left N York the American army retreated and Colo Knowlton was Killed in an action near the City. The late Gov^r Brooks of Massachusetts and ——— Lattimer of New London were Majors in Colo Webbs regiment. The late Gen^l Hull was a Capt in the same Regiment and was said to be the writer of the account of Capt Hale published in Miss Adams history of the war”

This Letter was signed by Richard Hale You will see that in 1833 Mr Hale was obliged to make use of his son as a scribe and he is now unable even to dictate a letter. I wrote you in my last letter that Joanna the sister of Capt Hale married Nathan Howard Esq M.D. of this town and that she was still living. I

applied to a Grandson of hers who has both leisure & ability [3] and I inclose you what he has written. He is hoping he shall be able to find something more that will be interesting and if he does I shall forward it to you. I have lately seen and conversed with Mr Wright the old gentleman who was waiter to Capt Hale when he left the Camp for the British army. He informed me that they were born and brought up within a few rods of each other were playmates during their youthful days. That he (Wright[]) enlisted under him (when Hale was a Lieutenant) in this place sometime in the month of January. They soon march^d to Boston. Some time in April or May following they left Boston and went to New York. That he was his waiter (I think) from some time in May untill his death. That he is confident that he never united with Knowlton^s Regiment but belonged to Webbs at the time of his death and I am satisfied that he is correct. I questioned him particularly on many circumstances relative to the war and that Campaign and his answers were explicit and correct. After all the investigation and inquiry I have made I have come to the following conclusion. It seems that Col^o Knowlton was a confidential friend of Washington and that the Commander in Chief requested Knowlton to send him a suitable person to go on this hazardous expedition. It appears that application was first made to a Lieutenant Sprague said to belong to Willington Ct. His reply was that he was ready to fight at any time or place however dangerous but never could consent to expose himself to be hung like a dog. Application was then made to Capt Hale which was refused but on a second and more pressing application he consented to go. He was accompanied from the Amerⁿ Camp by Serg Hemstead who it appears was his confident and was acquainted with his business. Hempstead has written and published in some periodical the most particular account of this affair I am told that has ever been given to the public. This account I have no recollection of ever seeing neither do I know in what paper it was published but think it was copied into the Connecticut Courant published at Hartford. Hemstead I am told has died within a few years in some of the western state but which I have not lear[n]t. I would refer you to Dwights Con-

quest of Canaan, Barlows [4] Columbiad, Hannah Adams History and perhaps in John Trumbulls Poems for interesting notices of Capt Hale I am in hopes to be able to lay my hand on Hemstead^s publication ere long. If I do I shall forward it to you. There are many papers in the hands of Capt Hales relatives written mostly after he left college—but so far as I have examined them I think they would not add to the interest of you[r] history. Perhaps you would think differently, were you to see them. Should you wish to examine these papers and the letters written by his correspondants which have escaped I will endeavor to forward them. Could you adopt any plan to get them from Hartford I could forward them there any time on a few days notice as I am but 16 miles from there. You mention about sending to Boston. I know of no direct opportunity to send them there before spring, unless I send them by the stage. They will make too large a bundle for the mail. In the spring I can send them safely by a friend and perhaps I might before. Should you wish to see them you will forward your directions & I will comply with them. The people in this place some time ago petitioned Congress for an appropriation to erect a monument to the memory of Capt Hale in the burial ground of this his native place; and there is a fair prospect of obtaining it. Since writing the above I learn that Mr Howard has forwarded you a bundle of the above papers. Should any more come to light (and I think there will) we shall forward them. You will conclude by this time that I am a lazy correspondent.—I have been waiting for a long time hoping that I should have had something of more importance to have forwarded you. I found a gentleman going to New London some time ago and sent by him hoping to have found some of Hales original letters, but he accomplished his business without going there. Mr Howard has been thinking of going there on this business but has not yet gone but I think he will ere long. I think that by delaying the writing and pursuing your inquiries you will add greatly to the materials for the biography. [5] I shall continue to make inquiries on this subject every opportunity and every thing friend worth your attention will be forwarded. It will probably quicken my exertions should you continue your inquiries and suggestions. I

have just received the following answers to your inquiries. Respecting his contemplated occupation for life nothing certain is known but the relative of whom I inquired says from all I can learn from individuals and from the books which Hale left it is satisfactory to me that his mind was of a cast highly scientific.—2^d He commenced his School at N London very soon [*after*] he left College——

[3 *He nev*]er taught school before he left College

4 Nothing is known how the news of his death reached his father nor respecting his calculation on matrimony—

I have been recently told that his private journal* is in being if so I shall forward it if possible I have written this letter by piecemeal you will therefore excuse its imperfections. Since writing the above I have seen and conversed with an old gentleman an officer† in Colo Knowltons Regiment and well acquainted with Capt Hale he is [*a*] resident of Coventry and this is his native place—[*He*] was acquainted with him from his youth up and he confirm all that I have written to you respecting him as to his talents, looks, patriotism scholarship &c &c— He says that he never did belong to Knowltons Reg— which puts this subject to rest.

I must now bring this letter to a close by signing myself your
Obedient Humble servant

J Gilbert

[*Addressed*] Cyrus P. Bradley Esq
Hanover
N Hampshire

I. HOLBROOK TO DR. NATHAN HOWARD

[1]

Norwich Feb. 19th 1836

Dr Sir—

I have had it in contemplation for some time past, to publish in the form of a book, the life, adventures &c. of Capt. Nathan Haile, who I believe was a native of your town. Of course I

* Hale's Diary herein printed (see pages 173–199).

† This officer has not been identified.

shall be somewhat dependent, in procuring materials &c. on his relatives and friends, who doubtless have in their possession facts and anecdotes enough to make out a very interesting work. My first step therefore, is to secure a promise from those individuals that they will thus assist me so far as in their power. If I go on with the project, I intend to employ an accomplished writer to arrange the materials &c. Mr Judson has given me your name as an individual who would be likely to take an interest in the matter. Will you Sir, do me the kindness to converse with some other persons and write me immediately by mail, informing me of the feelings of yourself and others, and also what materials you think can be obtained. I shall if you think best, visit your town immediately, on hearing from you. I intend to issue the work without delay if at all.

Yours very Res^{ly}
I. Holbrook

[2]

Doct Nathan Howard,
South Coventry
Ct.

DEACON JASPER GILBERT TO CYRUS P. BRADLEY

[1]

Coventry May 7—1836

M^r Bradley

Dear Sir

Your favor of Jany 25 which came to hand in due course of mail yet remains unanswered and for several reasons, the principal one is that about the time I was prepared to write I was laid aside by sickness from which I am now so far recovered as to be able to attend to some business. I embrace the first favorable opportunity to answer your letter but in doing this my communication must be brief. The word in my last defaced by breaking the seal you will read (Scientific.) Capt Hale never taught school while an undergraduate. I have convers^d with the relatives of Capt Hale respecting the Cousin* which report says

betray^d him. They feel that prudence as well as delicacy will require a total silence on that subject as the whole matter is buried in uncertainty and rests on no better foundation than mere report. And even if true they feel that at this late day it had better be left in oblivion if possible. I did hope that ere this I might have lit on some opportunity to have sent to N London and ascertained if any of his letters were in being among the decendants of his correspondents but sickness has prevented. I sometime ago procur^d the journal[†] of Hale and while on my sick bed I heard that a friend of mine was going to Boston and I forwarded the book to him as soon as possible but it arrived a few hours too late. I now learn that he will go again in a short time and I shall [2] without fail send it as directed in your letter, but I feel that it will be of but little use. Inclosed I send you another short communication from my friend Howard, and also the report of the special Committee appointed by the House of Rep^{ves} of the U States on the petition sent from this Town for a monument to be erected to his memory. Another little anecdote I have learn^d When Hale was divesting himself of his military dress and assuming another more suitable to the business on which he was going he drew his watch[‡] from his pocket and handed it to his friend[§] with directions to keep it untill his return. After a moments reflection he requested it again sayin[g] he would venture his watch where he would his life. These are the only additional particulars that I have been able to collect as yet. I ought to say to you that the surviving relatives of Capt Hale have recently received a communication from a Gentleman of Norwich Ct on this same subject requesting the same information that you did and with the same object in view. His name is Holbrook. I saw Doct Howard yesterday and he requested me to communicate this information to you and to inquire if you had come to a final conclusion to pursue the undertaking. If so he

* Samuel Hale.

† Hale's Diary.

‡ Referred to in his Diary, probably the "memento" referred to in Roger Alden's letter, see page 34.

§ Stephen Hempstead.

felt that your claim was first and that he should advise the other gentleman to abandon the undertaking. I do not know whether he has gathered many materials for the work or not. Doct Howard wished you to write me on the subject when you receive this with your views and determination as he wishes to answer the letter of Mr Holbrook as soon as possible. [3] I have not as yet been able to lay my hand on the narrative of Hemstead. It was published in the Supplement to the Connecticut Courant April 2^d 1827. Again I must beg of you to excuse the many errors and imperfections of my letter. I write but little and almost always in a hurry. I am anxious that you proceed with your undertaking and wish you much success. and at the same time let me assure you that I remain your friend and humble Servant

Jasper Gilbert

[*Addressed*] Cyrus P Bradley Esq
Hanover
N Hamp^{re}

HONORABLE WILLIAM HALE, M.C., SON OF
MAJOR SAMUEL HALE, AND FIRST COUSIN
OF SAMUEL HALE, THE TORY, TO
CYRUS P. BRADLEY

[1]

Dover N. H. Sept 21—1836

Cyrus P. Bradley Esq

Sir

I duly receiv'd your letter of 18 Ult and delayed replying in the hope of being able by search & enquiry to afford you some information relative to the interesting subject of your letter when Cap^t Nathan Hale visited my father at Portsmouth more than sixty years since I was too young to retain any knowledge of his person or conversation I was the youngest son, and neither of my three elder brothers were in Portsmouth when Cap^t Hale made his visit, two of them have since died, I had three sisters, that have all deceas'd, two of my sisters were grown

up when he made his visit, and I have heard them & my father frequently speak of Cap^t Hales interesting appearance and accomplishments and I perfectly recollect the anguish experienced by my Father & sisters when the account of his death was receiv'd, and I well recollect the great excitement of my father when he saw in a Newbury-port Newspaper an account alledging that Cap^t Hale was betrayed at New York by his cousin, and his determination to fully investigate the subject, he wrote to his brother, Cap^t Hales father, at Coventry and receiv'd a letter in reply, which with the result of other enquiries fully satisfied him that the account of Cap^t Hales being betrayed by his cousin was wholly without foundation, this letter I have seen, and regret that it is not now to be found,* my youngest sister lived upon the spot my father occupied in Portsmouth, and at the great fire in Portsmouth her house was burnt with my fathers account books & most of his papers——† Inclosed is a Portsmouth Journal in which you will find a statement occasioned by the republication of the base charge‡ that Cap^t Hale was betrayed by his cousin—

I am glad that you are writing Cap^t Hales biography, his career 'though short was brilliant, his glorius self [2] sacrifice, the magnanimous manner in which he met his death, reflects honour upon his memory & upon the Country that gave him birth—

Respectfully

Your Obed^t servant

W^m Hale

[Addressed] Cyrus P. Bradley Esq
Hanover
N. H.

* Deacon Hale's letter dated March 28th, 1777, was hidden by Major Samuel Hale in the secret drawer of his desk, where it remained until sometime in 1911 the desk was sold at auction, and the buyer investigating his purchase found the imprisoned letter. This important letter will be found at the end of the Documentary Section of this book. Its general tenor is quite different from William Hale's recollection of it.

† [Footnote in the original letter] "The Portsmouth Journal alluded to is forwarded by a separate inclosure." [Under this in a different handwriting] "Portsmouth Journal Sept. 23 1826."

‡ In the Essex Journal, February 13, 1777.

**LEVERETT SALTONSTALL TO CYRUS P.
BRADLEY**

[1]

Salem Jan^y 7. 1837.

Dear Sir,

Your's of the 31st ult. was rec^d yesterday. It would give me great pleasure to give you the information you request, were it in my power. The Saltonstalls at N. London, whom you mention were descendants—grandchildren, I suppose, of Gurdon Saltonstall, the distinguished Gov^r of Connecticut, of whom you will find an account in the history of Havrehill—7th Vol. (I believe) of the 2^d Series of th[e] historical Society's collections. Gurdon S. was born at Havrehill—I am descended from his brother Richard. We are all descended from Sir Rich^d S. one of the patentees of Mass. & also of Connect^t. One Brother & myself are the only descendants of the name, from the Mass. branch & there are only one or two of the [2] Connect^t. branch. The members of the family have been very shortlived. There has been but little intercourse between the two branches—owing to the distance & the difficulty of communication, in old times.

I think I know who Gilbert & Dudley Saltonstall were. You will find Gilbert's name in the class of 1770—of Harvard College. He was a classmate of L^t Gov^r Winthrop, & I have heard Gov. W. speak of him in the highest terms. I shall probably be in Boston in the course of a few days & will call on Gov^r Winthrop & make inquiries. I will also write to a M^{rs} Saltonstall who (I believe) lives in N. London for information as to the others & write again to you. I am glad you are engaged in th[e] work you mention. I rejoice that American history has recently excited so much more attention than formerly.

Very resp^yY^r Ob Serv^t

Leverett Saltonstall.

[2]

To

Cyrus P. Bradley Esq.

Lincoln—

Mass—

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL TO CYRUS P.
BRADLEY

[1]

Salem Jan^y 17. 1837.

Dear Sir,

I addressed a letter to W^m W. Saltonstall of New London—a very respectable merchant—to which he has very promptly replied. He has I suspect mistaken the object of my enquiries, in part at least, & he supposed that it was to obtain information relative to Capt. Hale, rather, than his own relatives. M^r S. writes “I with pleasure communicate the result of my enquiries respecting Capt. N. Hale & my Uncle Gilbert Saltonstall. The former was a teacher of grammar school in this town, and gave up the charge of it on the news of the battle of Lexington, as will appear from the following incident related to me by my aged friend, Capt. Richard Law, who at that time was his pupil, & subsequently in the same ship with my Uncle, as midshipman. M^r Hale kept the Union grammar school in this place, at & previous to the commencement of hostilities in 1775, & on the arrival of the express in April, with the news of the battle of Lexington, [2] there was a Town meet^s called, which was numerously attended in the evening at *Miner’s* (I believe) tavern, judge Law* in the chair, when among other patriotic resolutions, it was determined that Capt. Coit’s independent company, which was the only uniform company in the place, should march the next morning for the scene of hostilities. M^r Hale requested to be allowed to join the company as a volunteer, saying “*let us march immediately and never lay down our arms untill we obtain our Independence.*” He accordingly assembled his school the next morning, made an affectionate address, and took his leave.

Capt. Law† states that *he* was very young at that time, but partaking of the general excitement, on the arrival of the express, accompanied his father (the judge) to the meeting, when struck by the noble demeanour of Hale, and the emphasis with which

* Judge Richard Law, 1736–1806, Yale College, 1751.

† Captain Richard Law, son of Judge Law.

he addressed the assembly, he enquired of his Father, what it meant. A few days since, among other early reminiscences, this scene forcibly occurred to his memory. To day I applied to him for any hints respecting his early instructor, upon which he gave me the above account." This sketch is certainly interesting—probably it is not new to you.

[3] Mr S. says "There are in this Town several persons who knew M^r Hale, intimately, to whom I will with pleasure propound any enquiries which M^r Bradley may deem adviseable in his present researches." Perhaps you will think it best to go to N. London as Capt. Hale resided there—if you do—M^r S. will be glad to see you and aid you.

M^r S. writes, "Gilbert Saltonstall (the correspondent of Hale) was the person who you say you have heard Gov. Winthrop mention as his classmate at Cambridge. He was in the naval service as Capt. of Marines, several years, and came out of the prison ship with Capt. Law. Dudley Saltonstall (his Brother) was commander of the Alfred Trumbull, and of the unfortunate Penobscot expedition, where his reputation as a commander was cruelly & unjustifiably sacrificed.

Capt. Nath^l Saltonstall was Lieut. to Dudley.

Col. Gurdon Saltonstall was the Father of Gilbert & Dudley & was engaged in the Autumn of '75, as M^r Bradley states in his letter." So far M^r S.

I am mistaken in thinking I have heard L^t Gov. W. L. Winthrop speak of Gilbert S. as his classmate. That cannot be, as G.S. graduated in 1770 & Gov. W. in 1780. [4] It must be that he said he knew him well &c. Gov. W. was from N. London I believe. I will endeavor to see Gov.W. & if I gain any valuable information, I will write to you.

It seems that the Saltonstalls at N. L. were active, ardent & leading Patriots in Con^t, in the revolution. I have always understood that in the opinion of his friends, & other judicious persons, Commodore S. as he was called, suffered cruelly, as many other unsuccessful officers have done. But that question is foreign from your object. These Saltonstalls were descendants of Gurdon S. long Gov. of Connect^t, & who was one of the first men NewEngland has ever produced. See Elliots Biograp^l history—or Allens—or Trumbull's hist. of Connect.

The family have to this time been of great respectability—but very unfortunate, particularly in the early decease of the male members, so that my correspondent on this occasion is almost the only representative of that branch. I shall be happy to render you any aid I can.

Y^s very truly &c

[Addressed] To /

L. Saltonstall.

Cyrus P. Bradley Esq.

Lincoln—

Mass.=

**WILLIAM W. SALTONSTALL TO CYRUS P.
BRADLEY***

[1]

Mrs. Poole is speaking:

“Altho long an inmate of the same family with the deeply lamented Capt Hale, I have no recollection of any incident that would be interesting or suitable for a work intended for the public eye.

His Capacity as a Teacher, and the mildness of his mode of instruction, was highly appreciated by Parents & Pupils; his appearance, manners, & temper secured the purest affections of those to whom he was known. As a Companion in the social, particularly in the domestic circle, his simple unostentatious manner of imparting right views & feelings to less cultivated understandings was unsurpassed by any individual who then, or since has fallen under my observation. He was peculiarly free from the shadow of guile! his remarkably expressive features were an index of the mind & heart that every new emotion lighted with a brilliancy perceptible to even common observers. No species of deception had any lurking-place in his frank, open meek & pious mind; his soul disdained disguise, however imperious circumstances of personal safety might demand a resort to duplicity & ambiguity.—On the whole I then thought him (& his tremendous fate has not weakened the impression) one of the most perfect human characters recorded in history or exemplified in any age or nation.”

* The communication starts abruptly with Mrs. Poole's quoted tribute, and Mr. Saltonstall's letter follows, beginning near the bottom of the first page.

New London March 1. 1837

Cyrus P. Bradley Esq

D^r Sir,

The above is a communication from my aged friend M^{rs} Elizabeth Pool* which I believe expresses the opinions entertained here of Capt Hales character by all those who [2] knew him, but whose advanced age & infirmities prevent their attesting so clearly his worth.—

I have not been able to ascertain anything relative to Capt Hale previous to his residence in this place.—He *did* march with Capt Coits company as a *volunteer*—Capt Law supposes he was commissioned as Lieutenant & joined Col Webbs regiment *after* he left here—the company in which he volunteered being an *independent* one & not attached to any particular regiment.—

I regret that I have no clue to the papers of Uncle Gilbert, Jn^o Hallam, Geo Hurlbut or Timothy Green—the first I have no doubt have been destroyed & the descendants of the others, as far as I can learn, have none in their possession.

Tendering any further services I can render

I am Respectfully

Yours

W^m W Saltonstall

I should apologise for the tardiness of my reply—the infirmity of M^{rs} P. prevented my receiving her communication until very recently—altho it was requested immediately after the rec^t of yours of 30th Jan^y.—

[3 blank]

[4] [*Addressed*] Cyrus P Bradley Esq

Hanover

New Hampshire

To remain in the Post Office

untill called for—

* Mrs. Poole was Elizabeth Adams, the daughter of Pygan Adams. She figured in the correspondence as Betsey Adams. See also page 19.

LETTER OF REBECKAH (HALE) ABBOT

[This letter, written in 1856 by Abiel Abbot at his mother's dictation, contains the evidence that the shadow portrait on the door is that of Nathan Hale, and it was this letter which guided the compiler to the discovery of the portrait. Rebeckah (Hale) Abbot (1781-1860) was daughter of Nathan Hale's brother, Lieutenant Joseph Hale.—*G. D. S.*]

East Wilton, March 5th, 1856.

Dear Brother,

In Sarah Jane's communication to mother last week was enclosed a letter of inquiry addressed to yourself by I. W. Stuart, Esq., author of the "Life of Capt. Nathan Hale", which you so kindly sent to mother a few weeks ago. Your letter to her making similar inquiries was received yesterday. Mother has written several letters lately, and finding it tire her hand somewhat she requests the use of mine to write you in reply, as I now proceed to do in her stead however imperfectly. The book has been a source of great satisfaction to her. She remarked after reading it "I suppose there is no one now living who can have so many old associations & memories to be called up by it as myself, and no one therefore likely to feel so deep an interest in it." Her father, whose robust constitution was undermined by the war, died when she was three years & three months old; but she has many distinct recollections of him,—“his coming up one morning to where herself & sisters slept & telling them they had a little sister”—“his sitting by the fire in the mornings looking pale & feeble, and calling them to him & smoothing their hair” &c. and after his death she remembers “a sister of Asher Wright being there to do sewing” for the funeral. His widow & children went to the old homestead, and after residing there three years occupying with other rooms the *North chamber*, she married again & moved with her other children to Franklin; but mother's home continued to be at the old homestead in the family of her grandfather & her Uncle John till her own marriage & removal to Wilton in 1799. She has outlived, as she thinks, all who were members of that family at any time during these fifteen years and even previous to the death of her grandfather in 1802.

What she wrote a fortnight ago in a letter to her Cousin Mrs. Elizabeth Hubbard of Manchester Ct. shows the feeling of the family relative to her Uncle Nathan. She wrote,—“From my earliest recollection I have felt a deep interest in that unfortunate Uncle. When his death or the manner of it was spoken of my grief would come forth in tears. Living in the old homestead I frequently heard allusions to him by the neighbors & persons that worked in the family, much more so than by the near relatives. It seemed that the anguish they felt did not allow them to make it a subject of conversation. Was it not so with your mother?”

“The portrait of Capt. Nathan Hale on the chamber door”, was merely a profile on the inner side of the only door opening into the north chamber,—near the middle of the upper pair of panels, extending partly on each panel, about the height of a man standing. It was simply a head showing the front features of the face in profile, drawn about the size of life as though by means of a shadow on the door from a distant light, with one continuous strong line from neck & to neck again,—black enough for ink yet not ragged as ink lines on wood often are,—possibly made with a very black pencil.

The door, she thinks, had never been painted. The house was built many years before; but parts, still unfinished when she went to live there, were finished at different times afterwards. Allusions were still frequent to “the old house” then torn down, which had stood two or three rods to the southeast.

The profile was always regarded in the family as taken for her Uncle Nathan. She does not recollect to have ever heard the fact either doubted or positively stated; or to have known when or by whom it was taken, or whether considered a good likeness, or otherwise, or to have heard any criticisms or even much conversation respecting it. She says “probably less was thought of such things in those days than at present—besides, his image was so strongly impressed on their hearts they had no need of the profile as a remembrancer”,—and, though sometimes alluded to, it was too nearly connected with his unhappy fate to permit them to say much about it. The profile remained without

change so long as she resided there & for many years after, probably as long as any of the Hale family occupied the place. In her visits to Coventry she always went to the old homestead, (until after the spring of 1820 the last time she ever remained over night at the house), generally if not always occupying that chamber; and she never noticed any change; if she had it would have made an impression not to be forgotten. But on the completion of the Hale monument (1846) she with her son Harris & sister Nelson visited Coventry, and called at the old homestead and, mentioning the profile on the door with a request to see it were kindly shown up,—when to her surprise she found it invisible; the chamber, including of course the door, had been painted.

In relation to “letters or manuscripts of Joseph Hale or any of his sayings or accounts preserved”, I will state, that his widow, on her marriage with Mr. Abell in 1787, carried the papers of her first husband with her to Franklin,—where she died in 1814. A year or two after her death, Uncle & Aunt Nelson went over from Lisbon to Franklin to recover such of them as were remaining but were unable to find any, it appearing that from want of care, as often happens with old papers, they had all been lost. The only manuscript of any kind that Mother has any knowledge of as now existing in the handwriting of her father, is a letter in her possession, written in Nov. 1779 at New London to his wife at Coventry, speaking of the troops going into winter quarters, his own to be probably at the house of her father, Judge Harris, on Town Hill—and arrangements to have her join him there. It contains no allusion whatever to anything connected with his brother Nathan.

Neither has mother any recollection of ever having heard any traditionary “sayings” of her father relative [to] his brother Nathan. Losing him at an early age and being soon separated from her mother, the natural treasury of such sayings, she was less likely to hear them than she otherwise would be.

Uncle Abiel Abbot, many years minister of Coventry, stated to me a few years ago, that Capt. Nathan Hale was “Mr.” that

is, that he had received his second degree a few days before his death.

The literary Abbots of New York are only fourth cousins of your wife, or in other words, their grandfather's grandfather was brother to her grandmother's grandfather. *They* never lived in Wilton; but their father was born here & lived here to the age of about fifteen, when his father & family moved to Andover, but while in town his sister was married to my Uncle Benjamin.

From this bushell of chaff I leave you to select the wheat & pass it over to Mr. Stuart—being just now in great haste

Yours affly

Abiel Abbot

HALE IN BALLAD POETRY

[In his "Literary History of the American Revolution" (New York, 1897), Moses Coit Tyler, writing of Hale, says:

"Moreover in the very year of his self-immolation, his fate was sung in a ballad which for poetic quality—for weird pathos, for a strange sweet melody—probably deserves to be placed at the head of this entire class of writings as produced during the period of the Revolution." (Vol. II, p. 184.)

Tyler is here referring to a ballad printed in F. Moore's "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution" (New York, 1855), entitled "Nathan Hale, 1776." Where Moore found the ballad is not known, nor what authority he had for giving it the date of 1776. The present writer has for many years endeavored to identify the author of the ballad and the place of its first appearance, and he has enlisted the interest of such authorities as Mr. Albert Matthews, of Boston, and Professor George Lyman Kittridge, of Cambridge. Newspapers of the Revolutionary period too have been examined, but all in vain. The ballad may have appeared in the form of a broadside, but if so, it is strange that not a single copy of it has ever turned up. My valued friend and neighbor, the late Professor Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury (Yale 1859), thought well of the verses as ballad poetry.—*G. D. S.*]

A BALLAD

(By an Unknown Balladist)

The breezes went steadily thro' the tall pines,
A-saying "oh, hu-sh!" a-saying "oh, hu-sh!"
As stilly stole by a bold legion of horse,
For Hale in the bush; for Hale in the bush.

"Keep still!" said the thrush as she nestled her young,
In a nest by the road; in a nest by the road;
"For the tyrants are near, and with them appear,
What bodes us no good; what bodes us no good."

The brave captain heard it, and thought of his home,
In a cot by the brook; in a cot by the brook.
With mother and sister and memories dear,
He so gaily forsook; he so gaily forsook.

Cooling shades of the night were coming apace,
The tattoo had beat; the tattoo had beat.
The noble one sprang from his dark hiding place,
To make his retreat; to make his retreat.

He warily trod on the dry rustling leaves,
As he pass'd thro' the wood; as he pass'd thro' the wood;
And silently gain'd his rude launch on the shore,
As she play'd with the flood; as she play'd with the flood.

The guard of the camp, on that dark, dreary night,
Had a murderous will; had a murderous will.
They took him and bore him afar from the shore,
To a hut on the hill; to a hut on the hill.

The brave fellow told them, no thing he restrained,
The cruel gen'ral; the cruel gen'ral;
His errand from camp, of the ends to be gained,
And said that was all; and said that was all.

They took him and bound him and bore him away,
Down the hill's grassy side; down the hill's grassy side.
'Twas there the base hirelings in royal array,
His cause did deride; his cause did deride.

Five minutes were given, short moments, no more,
For him to repent; for him to repent;
He pray'd for his mother, he ask'd not another;
To Heaven he went; to Heaven he went.

The faith of a martyr, the tragedy shew'd,
As he trod the last stage; as he trod the last stage.
And Britons will shudder at gallant Hale's blood,
As his words do presage; as his words do presage.

"Thou pale king of terrors, thou life's gloomy foe,
Go frighten the slave; go frighten the slave;
Tell tyrants, to you, their allegiance they owe.
No fears for the brave; no fears for the brave."

A RARE HALE ITEM

"Who would not weep for Lycidas?"

—*Milton.*

[This article was written by the author at The Birth-Place, April, 1925, and he is constrained to use it now as then written.—*G. D. S.*]

Of all the contemporary personal accounts of Hale, I know of none more comprehensive than a rhymed tribute, "wrote soon after his death," and first printed in 1836 in a short-lived local magazine, numbers of which are almost unknown. The entire poem has never been reprinted. I am, therefore, constrained to reprint it in full. Want of space alone prevents me from printing with it a long inquiry, written two or three years ago, into the authorship of the verse, and a detailed, almost line by line, criticism of the statements and allusions to be found in it. I must content myself now with the statement that the poem was written by Dr. Eneas Munson, Sr. (Yale 1753), a friend and correspondent of Hale's, and certainly not by the first President Dwight (Yale 1769), also a friend and correspondent of Hale's, to whom the poem has sometimes been attributed. I cannot adduce positive proof of my attribution, but I have no doubt of it.

The poem was first published in the February issue of the *American Historical Magazine*, of which a few numbers were published in the fore part of 1836 under the editorship of Colonel Ebenezer Baldwin (Yale 1808), an uncle of our Governor Simeon Eben Baldwin. In a note preceding the poem, the Editor says in part:

"The following article is from the pen of an aged and respected citizen, now deceased [the elder Munson died June 16, 1826]; and whatever may be incidental errors in poetical illustration, will be compensated by the *facts disclosed in it* [*Italics mine*]. We have been desirous to preserve a registry of all circumstances attending the fate of Nathan Hale."

This notice was followed by a note dated August 9, 1784, evidently written by the poet, and then by the poem of 160 lines in eighteenth century heroic couplets.

NEW HAVEN, Aug. 9, 1784.

I was personally acquainted with, and entertained a high opinion of the amiable Capt. NATHAN HALE, who suffered death in New York, [State,] by the hands of the British troops, in 1776;

a character on some accounts similar to Major ANDRE, and on many, greatly superior. Every man who regards the welfare of his country, must revere a patriot who died in its defense; and while the English Magazines, news, &c. were filled with the praises of Major Andre, it gave me no small degree of regret, that Capt. Hale's virtues should be so little celebrated in the country, where, and for which, he died. This I am able to impute to nothing, but the great distress in which America was at that time involved. This gave rise to the following piece, which was wrote *soon after Hale's death*.

TO THE MEMORY OF CAPT. NATHAN HALE

"Heu! miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris." VIRG. Lib. vi. line 882.

A MUSE who ne'er drank Heliconian spring,
Shall strive to raise her feeble voice to sing;
Can she forbear, although 't will naught avail,
When low in earth is laid her favorite HALE?
Shall haughty Britons in heroic lays,
And tuneful numbers, chant their ANDRE's praise;
And shall Columbia,—where blest freedom reigns
With gentle sway, to bless her happy plains,—
Where friendship, truth, and simple manners shine,
And noblest science lifts her head divine;
Shall she forget a son's—a patriot's name,
A hero's glory, and a martyr's fame?
And shall not one, of all her tuneful choir,
Whose bosom glows with true poetic fire,
Attempt to sing that dear departed youth,
Who fell a victim in the cause of truth?
Rous'd by the thought, a friend presumes, thus late,
Lov'd HALE, thy life and death to celebrate.

Dear shade of him, whose life drew all men's love,
If you regard from your bright seat above,
Aught that's transacted on this ball of clay,
Forgive this simple, unadorned lay.

Forgive the fondness of an infant muse,
Who dares to sing what nobler bards refuse,
And let her friendship plead for her excuse.

Erect and tall, his well-proportion'd frame,
Vig'rous and active, as electric flame;
His manly limbs had symmetry and grace,
And innate goodness marked his beauteous face;
His fancy lively, and his genius great,
His solid judgment shone in grave debate;
For erudition far beyond his years;
At Yale distinguish'd above all his peers,—
Speak, ye who knew him while a pupil there,
His numerous virtues to the world declare,
His blameless carriage, and his modest air;
Above the vain parade and idle show,
Which mark the coxcomb and the empty beau,
Removed from envy, malice, pride and strife,
He walked through goodness as he walked through life;
A kinder brother nature never knew,
A child more duteous, or a friend more true;
His teachers' precepts he obeyed with ease,
The charms of science every hour could please;
Then he with rapture read those polished lines,
Where Grecian wit and Roman genius shines,—
Where the great worthies of the former age
Live in the poet's and historian's page,
Raised to a hight which envy dares not blame,
Crown'd with a glorious and immortal fame!
Their bright example fired his gen'rous mind;
Like them, the friend and lover of mankind,
He glowed with zeal for his dear country's cause,
And to support her mild and equal laws,
When impious Britain, drunk with pride and power,
Sent forth her legions in an evil hour,
To strow this hapless land with heaps of slain,
With step intrepid sought th' embattled plain;

And soon distinguish'd, in his first essay
Of valiant deeds, on that important day,
When titled slaves, brave freemen's valor tried,
And Bunker's hight with British gore was dyed.
Merit like his could not unnoticed lie,
Beneath the ken of his great leader's eye;
He early marked him, in the patriot line,
A genius fit for ev'ry great design,—
His virtues trusted, and his worth admired,
And mutual friendship both their bosoms fired;
For kindred souls, whom ends most noble move,
Are ever certain of each other's love.

New York, strong post, by impious Howe was held,
While patriot legions spread th' adjacent fields,
And Fabius wished to learn the foe's designs,
Their numbers, order, batteries, forts and lines.
To gain that knowledge was the task he chose,
And free,—alas! too free,—his life t' expose,
Trusted himself amid his savage foes.
With close attention all their works he scann'd,
And executed what great Fabius plann'd;
Then far removed from ev'ry friendly aid,
By force arrested,—by a wretch betrayed,—
Arraigned before a savage, bloody court,
Where harden'd souls at human sufferings sport,
Cool, firm, undaunted, and composed he stood,
Among those butchers—thirsting for his blood.
Not all their pomp, parade, and lordly pride,—
Not all their threats, nor all the arts they tried,—
Nor death, that King of Terrors, nature's dread,
Hov'ring in air, incumbent o'er his head,
Could tempt his soul to use the least deceit,
Or speak one falsehood to elude his fate!
But clear and open as the noon-day sun,
Declared the cause why he the hazard run,
Why from the calm retreats of rural life,
He plunged amid the dang'rous martial strife:

“Hate of oppression’s arbitrary plan,
The love of freedom, and the rights of man;
A strong desire to save from slavery’s chain
The future millions of the western main,
And hand down safe, from men’s invention cleared,
The sacred truths which all the just revered;
For ends like these, I wish to draw my breath,”
He bravely cried, “or dare encounter death.”
And when a cruel wretch pronoun’d his doom,
Replied, “ ’t is well,—for all is peace to come;
The sacred cause for which I drew my sword
Shall yet prevail, and peace shall be restor’d.
I’ve serv’d with zeal the land that gave me birth,
Fulfill’d my course, and done my work on earth;
Have ever aimed to tread that shining road
That leads a mortal to the blessed God.
I die resign’d, and quit life’s empty stage,
For brighter worlds my ev’ry wish engage;
And while my body slumbers in the dust,
My soul shall join th’ assemblies of the just.”

He spent the time until he met his fate,
With smiling patience, and in pious state;
Which when arrived,———
To draw that scene, the powers of language fail,—
Love, grief and pity break the mournful tale.
Not Socrates, nor noble Russell died,
Or gentle Sidney, Britain’s boast and pride,
Or gen’rous Moore, approach’d life’s final goal,
With more compos’d, more firm, and stable soul.
The flesh sunk down, to mix with kindred clay,—
The soul ascended to the realms of day.

A form so manlike, with such sweetness join’d,
Such fortitude, and so enlarg’d a mind,
Such pleasing manners, and such spotless truth,
Such majesty and grace, in bloom of youth,

Such patriot love, that match'd the *Desius*' zeal,
 Or *Codrus*, dying for his country's weal,—
 Produc'd effects almost beyond belief,
 Struck e'en his barb'rous, savage foes with grief.
 The wretches felt, by whose vile hands he died,—
 Though flushed with conquest, and elate with pride,—
 Though born in Britain, and to murder bred,—
 Lost their base errors, and rever'd the sacred dead!

In earth's full bloom, fell this lamented friend;
 But life is long, that answers life's great end,—
 That leaves embalm'd a pure, unsullied name,
 And adds a worthy to the rolls of Fame.
 Ye sons of Science and of Virtue, mourn,
 With copious tears bedew his silent urn;
 And thou, fair Yale, the Muses' blissful seat,
 Nurse of the learn'd, the virtuous, and the great,—
 Thy mournful notes, let Melopene swell,
 And solemn dirges ring his funeral knell.
 Chief let th' assembly, where the valiant meet,
 Which, dangers past, in friendship, renders sweet,—
 Where conquest gain'd o'er haughty Britain's arms,
 The well-earn'd peace, and sacred freedom's charms,
 Give joys, which none but worthy souls can know,—
 At Hale's sad fate let fall the tears of woe.
 Thus wept Achilles his Patroclus' fate,
 A sorrow worthy of the truly great.
 Let all the fair, the gen'rous, learn'd and brave,
 Approach with rev'rence his untimely grave;
 While living laurels, with eternal bloom,
 Shall deck the scene, and shade the warrior's tomb.

In my long discussion of the poem, I conclude that it was written or begun "soon after Hale's death," September 22, 1776, to satisfy the poet's own deep feeling about Hale, and then laid aside and finally taken up, added to and completed after the War was won in 1783, and therefore after the reception in this country of Anna Seward's sulphurous "Monody on André," unmistakably referred to, though not by name, in the opening of the poem. Copies of the

"Monody" were received here in this country in the forepart of 1781. My opinion is that the poem was not finished in its present form until about August 9, 1784, the date of the poet's prefatory note. The narrative section of the poem (lines 50-127) is the least felicitous part of it, and the least convincing. Inasmuch as the very circumstances of Hale's secret mission, capture and execution were nearly as much veiled then as now, we can excuse inaccuracies in the narrative part of the poem, in which the poet, whose aim was laudation, seems to have claimed too much service for the hero. Apart from this, the poem is a touching tribute of friendship by a New Haven friend who knew him well and loved him and resented the neglect of his memory by friends better qualified to celebrate his virtues and mourn his tragic fate. The defects of the poem do not impair its value as a nearly-contemporary document, of the first importance, bearing on the story of Hale. It was our eloquent Governor Hubbard who in his oration on Hale delivered in 1883 so happily characterized Hale as the "Lycidas of our heroic dead."—*G. D. S.*

The Birth-Place, April, 1925.

DESCRIPTIONS OF HALE BY DR. ENEAS MUNSON, JR.*

(1763-1852, Yale College 1780)†

[Dr. Munson, the Younger, contributed the following notice of Hale to the first number, January 1836, of the "American Historical Magazine and Literary Review," published at New Haven.—*G. D. S.*]

Nathan Hale I was acquainted with, from his frequent visits at my father's house, while an academical student. His own remarks, and the remarks of my father, left at that period an indelible impression on my mind. Hale remarked to my father, that he was offered a commission in the service of his country, and exclaimed, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." These were some of the last expressions I ever heard fall from his lips. The remarks of my father, after Hale left the house, were "That man is a diamond of the first water, calculated to excel in any station he assumes. He is a gentleman and a scholar, and last, though not least of his qualifications, a Christian." Hale's urbanity and general deportment were peculiarly attracting, and for solid acquirements I am sure he would lose nothing on comparison with Andre. Cannot you rouse the dormant energies of an ungrateful republic, in the case of Capt. Hale, to mark the spot where so much virtue and patriotism moulder with his native dust? His name ought to be engraven with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond, that future generations may bow at his shrine, and reverence the cenotaph, as containing the ashes of a paragon, while they deplore his untimely end. M.

* Attention is called to the portrait of Munson, the Younger, in the Appendix and to the note accompanying the portrait.

† The reader will not fail to note that, as Munson was only ten years old when Hale left college, his fulsome tribute to Hale must be based largely on his father's talk after Hale was hanged. The fact, however, that he knew Hale personally is enough to qualify him as a witness and to give him a place in this gallery of Hale's friends. Attention is called to the portrait of Munson the Younger in the Appendix and to the note accompanying the portrait.

[Benson J. Lossing, in "The Two Spies," 1886, page 5, states: "In the autumn of 1848 I visited the venerable Eneas Munson, M.D., at New Haven. He had been assistant surgeon, under Dr. Thatcher, in the old War for Independence. He knew young Hale well during the later period of his life at Yale College, for he was then a frequent visitor at the home of Dr. Munson's father." Dr. Munson's statement follows.—*G. D. S.*]

I was greatly impressed with Hale's scientific knowledge, evinced during his conversation with my father. I am sure he was equal to André in solid acquirements, and his taste for art and talents as an artist were quite remarkable. His personal appearance was as notable. He was almost six feet in height, perfectly proportioned, and in figure and deportment he was the most manly man I have ever met. His chest was broad; his muscles were firm; his face wore a most benign expression; his complexion was roseate; his eyes were light blue and beamed with intelligence; his hair was soft and light brown in color, and his speech was rather low, sweet, and musical. His personal beauty and grace of manner were most charming. Why, all the girls in New Haven fell in love with him, and wept tears of real sorrow when they heard of his sad fate. In dress he was always neat; he was quick to lend a helping hand to a being in distress, brute or human; was overflowing with good-humor, and was the idol of all his acquaintances.

EXCERPT FROM
"THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN"
BY TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Published 1785

[Timothy Dwight, afterwards Yale's great President, introduced the following tribute to Hale, in his now forgotten epic, "The Conquest of Canaan," Hartford, 1785. The inclusion of André shows how completely Dwight (and indeed all America) was captivated by André's story. It was fundamentally snobbishness. To characterize André, aged 31, as an "opening blossom" (he was already getting a bit fat) shows how far sentiment had gone—how far he had been idealized. It is too true that "sad Columbia wept his hapless doom." By the time Dwight's poem was published Hale was almost forgotten. The two footnotes are Dwight's.—G. D. S.]

[pp. 3-4.]

Thus, while fond Virtue wish'd in vain to save,*
Hale, bright and generous, found a hapless grave.†
With genius' living flame his bosom glow'd,
And science charm'd him to her sweet abode:
In worth's fair path his feet adventur'd far;
The pride of peace, the rising grace of war;
In duty firm, in danger calm as even,
To friends unchanging, and sincere to heaven.
How short his course, the prize how early won!
While weeping friendship mourns her favourite gone.
With soul too noble for so base a cause,
Thus Andre bow'd to war's barbarian laws.
In morn's fair light the opening blossom warm'd,
Its beauty smil'd, its growing fragrance charm'd;
Fierce roar'd th' untimely blast around its head;
The beauty vanish'd, and the fragrance fled;
Soon sunk his graces in the wintry tomb,
And sad Columbia wept his hapless doom.

*) *While*, *amid*, and *among*, are used throughout this poem, *euph. grat.* instead of *whilst*, *amidst*, and *amongst*.

†) *Hale bright*) The comparisons of this kind were all written in the early stages of the late war, and annexed to the poem to indulge the Author's own emotions of regard to the persons named in them. As it was impossible to pay this little tribute of respect to all the deserving characters, who have fallen in defence of American liberty, the Author determined to desist, after the first attempt. The lines on Major Andre are an exception to the above remark, as are those on General Mercer.

REFERENCES TO HALE IN THE PENSION PAPERS BY MEN OF HIS COMPANY

[It would be interesting if we could hear the stories of Hale's military comrades, the members of the company he commanded. About twenty-five of them survived to be pensioned in their old age. Their applications for pension have been examined. Their affidavits were concerned, naturally, with proofs of their own service, of which their service under Hale was a part. Only six made more than casual reference to membership in Hale's company. These six statements are here reproduced in full. They differ materially in importance, some of the men being better informed than others as to the details of Hale's capture and execution. The men in Hale's company must have felt great interest in his fate, at the time, and the following documents show, allowing for faults of memory after the passing of the years, a composite picture of the story as currently accepted in army circles. The following notes are based on an examination of the Archives of the Pension Bureau in Washington, D. C. —D. L. J.]

[For convenience, the references to Hale herein have been set in black-faced type.]

1. *Joseph Church, Revolutionary Pension Files, W.23806*

To Calvin Goddard Esq one of the Judges of the Superiour Court of the State of Connecticut.

The petition of Joseph Church of Montville in the County of New London & State aforesd

That he resides in the town & State aforesaid—that he served more than nine months in the war of the revolution upon the continental establishment as a [blank] that he is by reason of his reduced circumstances in need of assistance from his Country for support—that he never has received or been allowed any pension by the laws of the United States or any individual State & hereby relinquishes all claim to any such allowance except by virtue of the law entitled “An act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land & naval service of the United States in the revolutionary war” & to a pension under which he is desirous of substantiating his claim & prays that the same may be done according to the provision of said Act.

Dated at Norwich this 1st day of April AD 1818

[signed] Joseph Church

State of Connecticut

New London ss

Be it remembered that on this first day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred & eighteen before me Calvin Goddard one of the Judges of the Superiour Court personally came Joseph Church of Montville in sd County & made oath to the truth of the following declaration by him subscribed viz That he enlisted into the Army of the United States in the War of the revolution upon the continental establishment in the Month of February AD 1776 for the term of one year that he was enlisted by Leiut Alpheus Chapman & served during the whole of sd term in a company commanded by Capt Nathan Hale afterwards executed by the British that he served in a Regiment commanded by Col Charles Webb being 19th. Connecticut line that he continued in sd service for about six weeks after his time of service expired at the request of the Commander in Chief when he was honourably discharged from sd service but never had a written discharge that by reason of his reduced circumstances in life he is in need of Assistance from his Country for his support

Joseph Church

sworn to & declared the day & year aforesd

before me

Calvin Goddard Judge of Supr Ct.

2. *David Canada, Revolutionary Pension Files, W.25388*

To David Bolles Judge of the County Court or Court of Common Pleas for the County of Windham in the State of Connecticut

I David Canada of the town of Windham in s^d. County a citizen of the United States on oath declare that I enlisted as a private soldier in the month of December A D 1775 into Capt Hale's company in Colonel Charles Webbs regiment, John Elderkin of Windham was a lieutenant in s^d Capt Hale's company and the man that enlisted me said regiment belonged to the Continental army and was on that establishment s^d Capt Hale's christian name (if I recollect) was Nathan he was hung by the enemy the next summer viz in 1776 as a spy—I joined my regiment near Boston early in January 1776 & served therein one

year in manner following I was taken sick in camp in the spring 1776 and was left sick in the hospital near Boston when our regiment marched to New York, as soon as I got able I was moved home to Windham where I remained sick and an invalid under the Doctors care till fall when I got so much better as to join said Regiment, I took my Doctors certificates how sick I had been as an excuse for my being in Windham, and the same were satisfactory to my officers and I joined my company and regiment about November 1776 at Peekskill on the north river and continued to serve in s^d company till the 1st or fore part of January 1777 when I was regularly discharged with the rest of the company our time of enlistment having expired, I have lost my discharge long ago. I was an enlisted soldier in s^d company all the time from 1st Jan^y 1776 to 1st Jan^y 1777 and served as afores^d, that period of time as a private soldier in s^d regiment against the common enemy on the continental establishment I think it was called 2^d Regiment in the Connecticut line. I have a hard farm worth but \$1000.—I have stock on it worth \$200.—and have very little else—I owe more than \$460. Am 64 years of age and so infirm that I can do but very little labour and have a wife & 3 children to support and from my reduced circumstances in life I stand in need of the assistance of my country for support I do therefore request a pension from the United States of 8 Dols per month agreeable to the Act entitled “An Act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States in the Revolutionary War.” Dated at Windham this 30th day of August A D 1819

[signed] David Canada

State of Connecticut Windham ss I certify that on the 30th day of August A D 1819 David Canada of s^d Windham came before me and made oath that the above declaration by him subscribed is wholly true

Attest David Bolles Judge of Windham County Court

3. *Daniel Jennings, Revolutionary Pension Files, S.36628*
 [Affidavit of Asher Wright in support of Jennings's claim]
 I Asher Wright of Coventry in the County of Tolland Do Testify

and say, that I know that Daniel Jennings of Hampton in the County of Windham was a Soldier in **Capt. Nathan Hales** company in **Col^o. Charles Webbs Regiment**, in the **Connecticut Line of the Army of the United States in the Revolutionary War** I have a perfect recollection, that I first saw him at Pomfret sometime in the month of December 1775, where the Soldiers of **Capt. Hales** company, belonging to Windham Joined those from Coventry, and from thence Marched to Cambridge near Boston, where we Joined the Regiment, I belonged to said Hales company, and served with said Jennings, for about one year in the States of Massachusetts New York, New Jersey, and surely believe said Jennings was in s^d. company & Regiment after the Battle of Trenton soon after which the Regiment was discharged, about the 27th. day of December 1776—

Dated at Windham the 24th. day of March 1819—

[*signed*] Asher Wright

State of Connecticut

County of Windham ss. Windham March 24th. 1819 Then Personally came before me Jabez Clarke Esq^r. Justice of the Peace for Windham County—Asher Wright, the signer of the above deposition, and made solemn Oath to the truth of the facts, stated in s^d. deposition—And that Asher Wright the Deponant in this case is a man of Credit and his Testimony to be relied on

Attest Jabez Clarke

4. *Luther Martin, Revolutionary Pension Files, S.42932*

I Luther Martin of Middlebury in the County of Addison and State of Vermont, do, on oath, declare and say, that I served as a private soldier in the army of the United States in the Revolutionary war, against the common enemy for a term of nine months or longer, towit, for one year, during the period of said Revolutionary war, on the continental establishment—that is to say: I enlisted into said service on the first day of January A.D. 1776, under Cap^t. Nathan Hale, then of Coventry in the State of Con-

necticut—and served in the said **Cap^t. Hale's Company**, and in the Regiment commanded by Col^o. Charles Webb, in the Connecticut line. The term of my enlistment was one year which term I faithfully served in the Company and Regiment aforesaid—my term of service expired on the first day of January A.D. 1777.—I continued as a volunteer in the said service, six weeks after the term, for which I enlisted, expired,—and at the end of this last mentioned period I left the said service—

Soon after I enlisted as above mentioned I marched with the continental troops to Boston, where I remained until the British evacuated that place, I then marchd to New York where I remained until that place was evacuated by the American army—and marchd through the Jersies at the retreat of Gen^l. Washington from New York—

The period of enlistment of most of the continental troops, expired on the first day of January A.D. 1777—and had they have left the service at that time, the defence of the country would have been left chiefly to militia—and the enemy being in great force in and about Trenton, I was, from these considerations induced to remain in voluntary service six weeks after the period, for which I enlisted, expired, as I have above stated—

I have ever understood and believe that Cap^t. Nathan Hale, under whom I enlisted, was apprehended and executed by the British in New York as a spy—

And I further declare, that I am in the 66th. year of my age, and quite infirm in health, destitute of property, and no means of support except my own labour—and so reduced in circumstances, as to stand in need of assistance from my Country for support

[signed] Luther Martin

State of Vermont ss

Middlebury March 26th. 1818

Personally appeared Luther Martin, a person well known to me, and made solemn oath that the foregoing statements & declarations by him subscribed are true—

Before me

Joel Doolittle Judge Supreme Court

5. *John Molthrop, Revolutionary Pension Files, S.36081*

State of Maryland, Baltimore County ss:

On this eighth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Eighteen, personally appeared before me the undersigned, John Molthrop resideing in the City of Baltimore, aged Sixty one years and upwards an applicant for a pension under the act of Congress entitled "An act to provide for certain persons engaged in the Land and Naval Service of the United States, in the revolutionary War," and then and there made the following declaration on oath by me administered, "That he enlisted at New Haven in the State of Connecticut on or about the twenty fifth day of November in the year Seventeen hundred and seventy five, was mustered at Cambridge in **Cap: Nathan Hales Company**, attached as he believes, to the *Fourth Regiment* in the Connecticut line, which Regiment was under Command of Colonel Charles Webb,—continued under the Command of said **Captain Hales**, until his departure to Long Island when on his way to New York, where he was discovered to be an American Officer, taken up by the Brittish then in possession of that **City & Port**, and was hung as a Spy;—The Lieutenant Chapman having declined the service, the Command of the Company devolved on *Ensign Hollibut* who commanded said Company, as deponent believes, during the remainder of the term of enlistment & perhapse afterward to the time deponent received his honorable discharge, which happened at Morris Town in the State of New Jersey in the month of February 1777, being two months over the time for which he was enlisted, and which discharge was written and signed by said Colonel Ch^s: Webb, stileing the deponent "a Sergeant" altho never having acted as a non commissioned Officer under a regular appointment—Deponent further saith that he was actively employed either in the Land or Sea Service during the whole of the revolutionary War—that he retained his discharge until about three years ago when overhawling his papers & throwing the useless ones into the fire, he threw the discharge also into the fire, observing to his wife that "*it* might go among the rest, that he had kept it nearly forty years without being of any service to him, and that he now dispaired of its being of any

use"—That there is not within the knowledge of deponent any officer under whom he served, neither any other person attached to said command now residing within the City or County of Baltimore—that he hath never been placed on any pension list, and that from his reduced circumstances he needs the assistance of his Country for support—

[signed]

John Molthrop

Subscribed and sworn to before me

N Brice Chief

Judge Balt C^t C^t

6. *Asher Wright, Revolutionary Pension Files, S.36854*

(1) [Written into a printed form]

District of Connecticut, ss. County of Tolland

On this Seventh day of May 1818, before me the subscriber, Presiding Judge of the County Court within & for the County of Tolland personally appears Asher Wright aged 63 years, resident in Coventry in sd County in the said district, & a Citizen of the United States who being by me first duly sworn, according to law, doth, on his oath, make the following declaration, in order to obtain the provision made by the late act of Congress, entitled "An act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States in the revolutionary war:—" That he the said Asher Wright enlisted in January 1776 in sd Coventry in the state of Connecticut in the company commanded by **Captain Nathan Hale** of s^d **Coventry** of the 2nd. Regim^t. commanded by Col^l. Charles Webb in the Connecticut line of the Continental Army, that he continued to serve in the said corps, or in the service of the United States until the month of Feb^y 1777, when he was discharged from service in Springfield in the state of New Jersey—that he was in the battles of White Plains & of Trenton, and served out the term of his inlistment being one year and that he is in reduced circumstances, and stands in need of the assist-

ance of his country for support; and that he has no other evidence now in his power of his said services.

Sworn to and declared before me, the day and year aforesaid.

Sylvester Gilbert Presiding Judge of C^{ty} Court

I, Sylvester Gilbert Judge, &c. as aforesaid, do certify, that it appears to my satisfaction, that the said Asher Wright did serve in the revolutionary war, as stated in the preceding declaration, against the common enemy and is now in need of assistance for support; and I now transmit the proceedings and testimony taken and had before me, to the Secretary for the Department of War, pursuant to the directions of the aforementioned act of Congress, County of Tolland ss Hebron May 7th. 1818

Sylvester Gilbert Presiding Judge of County Court

[Written at bottom of this sheet, in the same handwriting as appears in the filling out of the printed form:]

N.B. Capt N. Hale is the same Hale that was sent in to New York by Gen^l Washington & was taken as a Spy by the British & hanged

(2) [In the handwriting of David Hale]

I David Hale of C[ove]ntry in the county of Tolland and state of Connecticut testify and say that I am well acquainted with Mr. Asher Wright of this town, that he was brought up in the same neighborhood with myself and is at this time one of my nearest neighbors: that in the winter of 1775-6, my brother Nathan Hale was at Coventry, and having received a Captain's commission was wishing to inlist men for the Continental army, that I heard him converse with said Wright on the subject of inlistment and that said Wright agreed to go with him into the army as one of his company, that he made preparation and went. Whether I saw him place his name on paper or take his departure I do not recollect. But he was absent from the neighborhood, and we from time to time heard from him as

in the army with my brother, first in the vicinity of Boston, afterwards in the vicinity of New York. The term of enlistment I believe was for one year, and that he served in the regular army the whole of this term and a few weeks afterwards. He is not, to my knowledge, the owner of any real estate, and I believe owns but very little personal estate.

Coventry May 6. 1818

[*signed*]

David Hale

Tolland County ss Coventry May 6th 1818

Personally appeared David Hale Esq^r and made solemn Oath to the truth of the foregoing statement

before me Nathan Howard Justice of Peace

HALE'S "LAST WORDS" DERIVED FROM ADDISON'S "CATO"

A PSYCHOLOGICAL PARALLEL

[Originally written in 1913, the article is now published for the first time in the form in which it was revised January, 1919. Joel I, iii.—G. D. S.]

Hale's *Last Words* as recorded by his friend and fellow-soldier, Captain William Hull in his *Memoirs* (p. 38) were: "*I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.*"

These *Last Words* were quoted by Hale, as there can, in my mind, be no possible doubt, from Addison's tragedy of "Cato," where Cato says, when the body of his son Marcus is brought before him:—

"How beautiful is death when earned by virtue. Who would not be that youth? What pity is it that we can die but once to serve our country." (Cato, Act. 4, Scene 4.)

The words of Hale and Cato are not quite the same, nor should we expect it. Hale may not have quoted Cato's words exactly. Even if he did, and that is unlikely, Montresor may not have heard them distinctly, and even so may not have transmitted them accurately to Hull, and again Hull may not after long years, have written them down just as Montresor repeated them to him. What is remarkable, is that, all things considered, the *Last Words* of Hale are so much like the words of Cato in the great scene over the dead body of Marcus, who, like Hale, "*resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty.*"

Addison's "Cato" was, it is not too much to say, by far and away the most popular work of its kind in this country just prior to, and during the Revolutionary War, its theme being the struggle of Freedom against Tyranny, with Cato typifying Washington to the Colonials. It had its *premiere* in London April 1713, and the reverberations of its rapturous reception continued

on this side of the Atlantic down to the period of the Revolutionary War.

Addison's "Cato" was not only the most popular play of the time, but Addison was probably the most popular writer in his field of the time. Copies of *The Spectator*, *The Guardian*, and Addison's *Evidences*, were freely imported into this country and are found listed in public and private libraries, in inventories, and in the advertisements of book dealers. People with any pretensions to polite learning had to know Addison, whose writings were then fashionable. In the Augustan age, literature, as such, was as fashionable as bridge is to-day.

Now, I cannot present any direct proof* to show that Hale was familiar with Addison's "Cato," but the evidence, apart from his *Last Words*, is very strong,—circumstantial evidence, I mean now. Hale was a great reader, he delighted in the classics, he had a boyish admiration for the great heroes of the early world, he was a speaker, and he took part in at least one play as an undergraduate. He seems to have been the chief-promoter and organizer, if not the actual founder, of the Linonia library, which played so large a part in the life of the students of his generation and of the generations following. The fading minutes of Linonia still preserved in the University library, are partly in his own clear and even elegant handwriting. This first list of books in the Linonia library was written by him, and evidence is not wanting to show that he solicited subscriptions from members of the fraternity for the purchase of books selected by himself. Out of his small pocket money, and it must have been very small, he presented to the library the *Travels of Cyrus*, a moral romance dealing with the education of that surpassing prince. His name (written by himself) appears as one of the subscribers to the amount required for the purchase of *The Spectator*, to which Addison was the chief contributor. Addison's *Evidences* was another purchase, but the names of the subscribers are not filled in. Addison's "Cato" does not appear in Hale's list, and so I

* Since the publication (1913) of this article on Hale's "Last Words", I have, so to speak, placed Addison's "Cato" in Hale's hands. See pages 85-87.

cannot, so to speak, place it in his hands, but it was in the College library as the Catalogue of 1753 shows. The conclusion is irresistible against this background of fact, that Hale was familiar with the "Cato," and consciously or subconsciously, quoted from it on the scaffold.

It will be noted that the two sentences are closely alike in content and in number, arrangement and choice of words. Cato says, "*What pity is it that we can die but once to serve our country*"; Hale says, "*I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.*"

Psychologically, it was far more natural for Hale at the supreme moment of his short life, to express his feeling in familiar words than to originate a new expression. In support of this, I can but refer to perhaps the most striking example in all history—to Jesus of Nazareth. In the Gospel of Matthew, Chapter XV, we read in verses 33 and 34: "*And when the sixth hour was come there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabbathani, which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*"

Now, although it is strictly a matter of inference, no one doubts that Jesus was perfectly familiar with the Psalms, and that in this hour of his agony, he was but quoting the opening words of the twenty-second psalm, "*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.*"

Here, as it seems to me, we have a psychological parallel which may fairly be used to support the proposition that Hale, in the supreme hour of his agony, expressed his deepest feeling in language which, though not his own, had become a part of his consciousness, which in fact expressed his central feeling as no language of his own could.

I have no idea that Hale made any attempt to give the passage in question from "Cato" exactly. Anything so academic, under the circumstances, is inconceivable. The force of the sentiment would have been lost upon the few persons to whom the *Last Words* were addressed, if expressed as a quotation. Any quo-

tation from any writer at such a time would have savored of timidity, and Hale's bearing was high and self-contained, as we know from Montresor, who says, as reported by Hull, "he was calm, and bore himself with gentle dignity, the consciousness of rectitude and high intentions." The idea contained in the *Last Words* was an old one with Hale apart from its felicitous expression in "Cato." Thus, in the *Travels of Cyrus* by Allan Ramsay, a copy of which, Hale, as already stated, presented to the Linonia Library, we find at the very beginning of the book this striking paragraph:

"The Persians were hitherto rough, but virtuous. They were not vers'd in those Arts & Sciences which Polish the Minds and the Manners. But they were the great masters of the sublime science of being content with simple Nature, of *despising death for the love of Country*, and of flying all Pleasures which emasculate the Mind, & enervate the Body."

The *Travels of Cyrus* is the very kind of a book to have delighted the soul of Hale as we know him. Hale was not only interested in *Cyrus of Persia*, but also in *Philip of Macedon*. He takes us into his confidence in his Diary, in which he records that he "Read the History of Philip." It is interesting in this connection to note that his boyhood teacher, Dr. Joseph Huntington of Coventry (Yale 1762), in an Election Sermon (1764), devotes a paragraph to Cyrus and the Persians, and the following paragraph to Philip and the Greeks. This warrants the inference, at least, that Hale's interest in two of the great figures of the ancient world, Cyrus the Great and Philip of Macedon, antedated his coming to college and began under Dr. Huntington, who was a man of more than ordinary culture for his time. This coincidence is of more than antiquarian interest, since it shows that Hale's imagination was fired at an early age by the heroes of antiquity.

We get a glimpse of Hale as an eager reader of books and of his delight in them, in a letter to him by his classmate, Roger Alden, who writes, "This I am certain that your reading after that did not profit much—especially if you was in the middle of some diverting scene in either History, Plays, Novels, Romances,

or whatever you please." (See *ante*, pages 33-34.) The very fact that Hale chose *The Travels of Cyrus* to give to the Linonia library is significant and shows his character and his interest. The passage quoted cannot have escaped him nor the sentiment attributed to the Persians of "despising Death for the love of Country." Later on in his career, Hale was actually to quote much the same sentiment.

I find an interesting Hale item in the first number of the *American Historical Magazine and Literary Record*, a publication which ran its brief course of life at New Haven, between January and June 1836. The editor, Ebenezer Baldwin (Yale 1807), says in *An Introduction* prefacing the first number of the Magazine. "The leading object of the publishers will be, to rescue from the present forgetfulness, and ultimate oblivion, into which they are rapidly passing, the memorials of our National history." This first number contained an article on Hale (then all but forgotten) and a note by Dr. Eneas Munson, Jr. (Yale 1780) of much more real historical value than the article. The editor in introducing Munson's note, says, "As connected with the same subject, we annex the following statement of an early acquaintance and friend of Hale's. The statement is drawn by a gentleman who was connected with the medical staff of the Revolutionary Army." The note of Eneas, Jr. is as follows:

"Nathan Hale I was acquainted with, from his frequent visits at my father's house, while an academic student. His own remarks, and the remarks of my father, left at that period an indelible impression on my mind. Hale remarked to my father, that he was offered a commission in the service of his country, and exclaimed, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" These were some of the last expressions I ever heard fall from his lips. The remarks of my father, after Hale left the house, were, 'That man is a diamond of the first water, calculated to excel in any station he assumes. He is a gentleman and a scholar, and last, though not least of his qualifications, a Christian.' Hale's urbanity and general deportment were peculiarly attracting, and for solid acquirements I am sure he would lose nothing on comparison with Andre. Cannot you rouse the dormant energies of an ungrateful republic, in the case of Capt. Hale, to mark the spot where so much virtue and patriotism moulder with his native dust? His name ought to be engraven with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond, that future generations may bow at his shrine, and reverence the cenotaph, as containing the ashes of a paragon, while they deplore his untimely end." (See page 364.)

Here, in "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," we find Hale actually quoting one of the patriotic odes of Horace.—(Carm. III, 2, 13.) The sentiment was not new with Horace; it had often been expressed before Horace took it up and cast it into a form which has survived. Thus we find Hale in a private conversation held the year of his death, not only voicing the sentiment of his *Last Words*, but actually quoting a very famous concrete phrasing of the sentiment. It was, moreover, customary in Hale's time to express unashamed, sentiments which in our day are expressed, if at all, in action. Hale did nothing more than what young men of his day and generation were doing. He partook of the custom of his time, as we all do.

It was natural enough, then, for Hale at the supreme moment to express a sentiment which was a part of his very being. His "Last Words," from *Cato*, came from him that Sunday morning, September 1776, when he "resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty," as naturally as the words from Horace came to his lips when he took leave of his old friend, the elder Dr. Munson, a few months earlier. Hale's use of Cato's fine words over the dead body of his son Marcus, do not lessen our admiration of his conduct or his character. On the contrary, they make him a more natural figure and bring him closer to life—a high-spirited boy fired with high ideals, which belonged no doubt to his temperament, but which were fostered and enriched during his college course. We are thus prepared to find new meaning in the following quotation from the lines written to his memory not long after his death. The elder Munson was, I am now convinced, the writer of them:

"His teachers' precept he obeyed with ease,
The charms of science every hour could please;
Then he with rapture read those polished lines,
Where Grecian wit and Roman genius shines,—
Where the great worthies of the former age
Live in the poet's and historian's page,
Raised to a height which envy dares not blame,
Crown'd with a glorious and immortal fame!
Their bright example fired his gen'rous mind;
Like them, the friend and lover of mankind,
He glowed with zeal for his dear country's cause."

Munson clearly traced Hale's lofty idealism to his books and his Yale training. Times and manners and curricula change, and too fast for many of us, but for such as despair, it is well to recall that after all, the fires have burned pretty steadily on the old altar since Hale's time. At the Linonia Centennial Anniversary in 1853, it was said of Hale that he "found in books the source of his zeal and pure devotion to human freedom," and I recall that on Commencement Day, June 1916, Mr. Taft said to me that one of the outstanding facts about the war was that the idealism of the college boys had led the entire country.

The above considerations have their chief value in reassuring us that we have in fact Hale's "Last Words," since they open to us the doors of his mind and heart. We see that the words attributed to Hale ever since his martyrdom one hundred and forty-three years ago, did, in fact, proceed from him and do not represent anything framed by Montresor and communicated to Hull, as an epitome of what Montresor heard Hale say. Neither Montresor nor Hull was the sort of man to recognize the quotation. Hale may, indeed, have said much more, and it is my belief that he did, but we may be sure, at least, that these "Last Words" descending upon us as a precious legacy from Hale, were actually spoken by him at the gallows.

G. D. S.

Sunday, January 19, 1919.

“I CAN’T HEAR, SIR, THAT YOU ARE ABOUT MOUNTING THE DESK”

[Now published for the first time]

(Richard Sill, a Yale Senior, in a letter dated at New Haven 5 March, 1775,
to Hale at New London)*

The quotation chosen for the title of this near-*opusculum* is plain enough in its meaning to any one familiar with the details of Hale’s story, particularly with those recorded in the Linonia minutes, where he appears constantly on his feet, speaking in one capacity or another. The phrase, “mounting the Desk,” characterizes him succinctly and dramatically, and gives us a literally “moving picture” of the young man.

Richard Sill (1755-1790, Yale 1775) had been in Yale two years with Hale. The friendships formed at Yale “carried on” then as now, and we find Sill, the Yale Senior, in correspondence with Hale, the schoolmaster, after the latter’s graduation from College.

Sill writes:

“You say you have been somewhat deficient in the letter-writing way but I rejoice to hear you are reformed.”

The plain truth is, Hale was so “deficient in the letter-writing way” that his correspondents complained of it, compelling him to apologize frequently for his delay in writing and to resolve to reform, which I think he never did. Hale was a man of action and though he conducted a considerable correspondence, he did not have the gift of letter-writing in anything like the measure of some of his friends,—like Sill, for instance, who, in the letter with which we are here concerned, writes entertainingly of what

* The full text of this letter will be found in the *Yale Alumni Weekly* of April 9, 1926, and of course is included in the present volume (pages 30-32).

is going on in the College Yard, and of the Tories who infest the town. Says Sill:

"The Military Art just begins to dawn in the generous breasts of the Sons of Yale (pardon bombast for 'tis allowable if we may take all those who have written upon this subject, as a rule). College Yard constantly sounds with, *poise your firelock, cock your firelock, etc.* These warlike noises are continually in College, from which we may gather as great evidence, war will be proclaimed soon, as from a Noise which was lately heard in the Air in divers places, there is this circumstance which these College noises want in order to terrify the Vulgar, that is I don't learn that any fire follows them, which some say did the other—Which hath the greatest force to convince a rational mind of the approach of war, I leave you to say—We have two Regular Soldiers to instruct us and I trust our progress is not small considering the shortness of the time. & so much for military. *I can't hear Sir that you are about mounting the Desk*" [Italics mine].

Sill, the writer of this sprightly letter, was a native of Lyme, and, though later in College, was but a few weeks younger than Hale. Cut down in his prime (he died at thirty-five), he left a fine record as a soldier and officer, and had already greatly endeared himself to his associates in public and private life.

With the Yale R. O. T. C., of which we have heard so much in the last decade, and with the new Naval Unit at Yale, we are wont to view the training of the Yale undergraduate in the "Military Art" as the outgrowth of the World War, whereas it appears from Sill's letter that it is an old Yale tradition, running back to the muttering of Mars just before the War of Independence. It is to the glory of Yale that before Lexington—before "the embattled farmers fired the shot heard round the world"—Yale men were being trained by "Regular Soldiers" in the College Yard for the impending, irrepressible conflict.

So far as the writer is aware, the earliest reference to the "Military Art" as an extra-curriculum activity is to be found in this letter of Richard Sill's, written now a century and a half ago, to Yale's scholar-soldier hero, Nathan Hale, justifying the heart-warming refrain, "For God, for Country, and for Hale."

The Birth-Place,

October 6, 1926.

A LETTER DATED NEW HAVEN, JULY 11, 1774, FROM JAMES HILLHOUSE TO HIS YALE CLASSMATE, NATHAN HALE, TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST PLAYS PRODUCED BY YALE UNDERGRADUATES AND MANY DIGRESSIONS

[This Article, dated New Haven, Connecticut, August, 1929, was written for my book on New Haven, which I still hope to publish. The Article has been long in print. It is here, in an abbreviated form, for the first time published.—G. D. S.]

On the day before Easter Sunday (April 8, 1928), the postman left an envelope at my door containing what I had long sought—a copy of a letter written July 11, 1774, by James Hillhouse (1754-1832, Yale Coll. 1773), then reading law in New Haven, to his friend and classmate, Nathan Hale, then teaching school in New London. These young men, both destined to have their names written on the scroll of history, were at this time nineteen years old. The “embattled farmers” were not to fire at Lexington “the shot heard ’round the world” until the next year, but Hillhouse, ending in a high strain of patriotism, declares to Hale that “Liberty is our reigning topic”—this in New Haven in July, 1774! The letter accompanying the copy gave me free permission to use it in this book, in which it appears in print for the first time. What an Easter present to an antiquary compiling a book on New Haven and a life-long student of Hale’s story!

I can picture Hale, the ruddy, athletic young school-teacher, smiling and again frowning as he reads and re-reads the letter at his rude high schoolmaster’s desk in his little schoolhouse (still piously preserved) over there in New London; now he folds it carefully, and having done so, turns it over and, with a meditative air, endorses it in his clear, flowing but thrifty hand. What he wrote upon it then, viz., *James Hillhouse, N. H. July 11th*, is what gives it its chief value to-day, so rare and so sought for is anything bearing so much as a stroke of his quill pen—that pen which he was so adept in fashioning, as his friend, Lieutenant Elisha Bost-

wick (1748-1834), of New Milford, has told us in the wonderful picture he drew of our hero in his reminiscences of his own soldiering in the War of Independence.

The history of the letter, from the time Hale received it at New London one hundred and fifty-odd years ago up to the time it passed into the hands of the present owner, would be fascinating to all collectors of autograph material, if I could here trace it through the hands of its successive owners, that is to say, members of his father's household, collectors, dealers, and so on, down to the present day.

It is enough for the moment to say that this particular letter from Hillhouse to Hale was once in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet (1828-1919), a member of that famous family of Irish patriots which gave Robert Emmet (hanged 1803) to the belated cause of freedom in Ireland. One cannot doubt that Dr. Emmet, ruminating over his treasure after the manner of all true collectors, associated the similar tragical ending by hanging of the two men—was conscious of the dreadful parallel. From whom or when Dr. Emmet secured the letter I do not know, but of course it originally came from the hands of Hale's family in Coventry. Dr. Emmet used it in extra-illustrating a book which was sold at auction in New York some few years ago by the American Art Association. At this sale, the book was bought by the dealer who sold it to the present owner, who has courteously given me permission, as above stated, to use it in a soon to be published book on *New Haven*, our beautiful and historic city, which owes so much to Hillhouse and which must always have been associated by Hale with the happiest years of the brief span of his life.

Hillhouse One of Hale's "Principle Correspondents"

The Hillhouse letter, around which this article is being written, is the only surviving letter, so far as known to the writer, of the correspondence between Hale and Hillhouse. Barring a few strictly family letters, the private papers of Hillhouse have long since disappeared, and with them Hale's letters to him, if per-

chance Hillhouse preserved them, which is unlikely. Few of Hale's correspondents kept his letters to them, not dreaming that fame awaited him. Hale, on the other hand, was bred (a family passion) to be orderly and to that gift or training or whatever, we owe the preservation of so many letters addressed to him. But many of his papers (what proportion of them I cannot say) thus carefully folded and "backed" by him, were destined to be so widely scattered and cherished in private and public collections, that to trace them severally has now become a great, if, indeed, not an impossible task.

As many pieces of the whole body of Hale's papers which fell into the hands of his family after his death as were haply *kept together*, now form the so-called *Hale Papers* in the archives of the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford. That collection numbers forty-three items, of which thirty are letters to Hale but not one by him—in his handwriting. The remaining thirteen pieces are of later date and bear in one way or another on Hale's story. Among those thirty letters to Hale, not one was written by Hillhouse, though it would appear that *several* letters from Hillhouse to Hale were among his papers at the time of his death. The letter in hand from Hillhouse to Hale is doubtless one of them. Other letters from Hillhouse to Hale may also have survived the "wrack of time" and may yet turn up. I hope so, since Hillhouse is one of the outstanding figures in the history of our State and it is a pleasure to record his friendship with Hale. It is true that Hillhouse is not mentioned by Hale in his diary which, however, only covers (with several breaks) the dates between and including September 23, 1775, and August 23, 1776, the last entry having been made three weeks before he voluntarily entered the enemy's lines as a spy at the behest of General Washington.

Nathan and Enoch Hale (1753-1837) and James Hillhouse were Yale classmates, fellow members of Linonia, the ranking college fraternity of the time, and intimate friends. Enoch stopped with Hillhouse when he visited New Haven after their graduation in 1773, and it is likely that when Nathan came back he also was Hillhouse's guest.

My belief that Hale had preserved a number of letters written to him by Hillhouse is founded upon a passage in a letter written 9 January, 1836 (see page 337), by Deacon Jasper Gilbert of Coventry, to Cyrus Parker Bradley (1818-1838, Dartmouth College 1837), a rarely gifted and enthusiastic young undergraduate student at Dartmouth College, who was at the time engaged in collecting material for a life of Hale.

The passage in Gilbert's letter of January 9, 1836, to Bradley, containing the reference to James Hillhouse, is as follows:

It would seem that there might be found some of the letters which he [Hale] wrote after uniting with the Army among his numerous correspondents embracing as they did many of the first men of our State that would be extremely interesting. I give you the names and places of residence of his principle correspondents. Gilbert Saltingstall [Saltonstall], John Hallam, Edward Hallam, Timothy Green, Thomas Fosdick of New London, Ct., Ebenezer Williams of Wethersfield and James Hillhouse of New Haven.

There are *many letters from those gentlemen* [Italics mine] among the few papers of Capt. Hale which have escaped the wreck of time written mostly after he joined the army and they are generally in answer to letters written by him. From the contents of these letters I am led to conclude that his to which those were answers must have been exceedingly interesting. Whether any of them are now in existence or can be found is to me unknown. If they could be found I have no doubt but they would greatly add to the interest of your contemplated biography.

From the foregoing quotation we learn that there were *many letters* [to Hale] from those gentlemen, i.e., Hale's "*principle correspondents*," one of whom, says Gilbert, was *James Hillhouse of New Haven*. Gilbert's language warrants the inference, I think, that *several* letters from Hillhouse to Hale were among the letters preserved by Hale and found among his effects after his death, and that these were before Gilbert at least when he wrote his letters of November 7, 1835, and January 9, 1836, to Bradley. Hillhouse's letter to Hale in hand, i.e., of July 11, 1774, is probably one of them, as I have already suggested.

Some years after Bradley began collecting data for a "Life of Hale," Isaac W. Stuart (1809-1861, Yale Coll. 1828), of Hartford, published (1856) his engaging but not always dependable "Life of Captain Nathan Hale, The Martyr Spy of the American Revolution," in which he states of Hale:

"He formed many college friendships, and they lasted till his death—with James Hillhouse, Benjamin Tallmadge, Roger Alden, John P[alsgrave] Wyllys, Thomas Mead, Elihu Marvin and others his classmates, with whom he kept up an intimate correspondence as long as he lived" (pp. 20-21).

It will be noted that James Hillhouse heads Stuart's list of Hale's correspondents, confirming Deacon Gilbert's statement that Hillhouse was one of Hale's "principle correspondents." Unfortunately, Stuart gives no authority for the statement quoted above—an over-statement, it seems to me, but Stuart was rhetorical before he was critical. Just when Stuart began to collect material for his "Life of Hale" I cannot say. It is known that in 1848 he failed in an effort to secure the data collected by Bradley.

*Hillhouse's Letter of July 11, 1774, to Hale, then Teaching
School in New London*

After this digression I turn once more to Hillhouse's letter to Hale. The letter is just such a letter as a young man of to-day, but a year out of college, would write to a classmate with whom he had been intimate during four years at Yale. It necessarily reflects the spirit of the time in which Hale and Hillhouse lived, but otherwise there is nothing remarkable about it. Nevertheless, it is of particular interest to such of us as cherish the local tradition, since it concerns Hale and Hillhouse before the wings of fame had so much as brushed either of them.

JAMES HILLHOUSE TO NATHAN HALE.

Dear Sir

New Haven July the 11th 1774

How to account for your Lon [Long] silence I know not, It cant be you did not know the place of my abode; or that your Letters would not be acceptable. It is Impossible you should have so soon forgot, that there was such a person in the world as old Friend Jacob—The only reason then, is becaus [*sic*] you Thought me unworthy your notice, which I can hardly believe, but must, unless you soon clear up the point; which, I hope, you will be able to do to to [*to duplicated*] satisfaction—But least you should be tempted to retort what I have sayed upon myself, I will save you the trouble by telling you I should have wrote many months ago, had I known where to have found you—One while

I heard you was keeping school at Windsor, & had prepared a letter to send you; at another you was at Providence; & very lately at New London—and thus you post about the world, & nobody is able to find you, forming to yourself new Friends and acquaintance, who in length of time may Root out old ones—

The Friendship which subsisted between us when at Colledge, I should think sufficient [*sic*] to warrant a Correspondance—I am sure it was sincere on my part—what can be more pleasing, since our Collegiate Life is at an end, than to embrace the only Remaining method of enjoying each others Thoughts; for tho' we shant be able to comprehend half we want to say in this narrow Compass of a Letter, yet we, or at least I, shall [shall] reap much Pleasure & advantage from a Correspondance with you.

The study of the Law I find to be a very Intricate and difficult study, that Requires much Labour & Patience—I now wish I had improved my time to better advantage when at Colledge.

Liberty is our reigning Topic, which loudly calls upon every one to Exert his Talents & abilities to the utmost in defending of it—now is the time for heroes—now is the time for great men to immortalize their names in the deliverance of their Country, and grace the annals of America with their Glorious Deeds.

You are now living in my Native Country, Instilling into the tender minds of youth, the early seeds of Virtue and Piety, which I hope is very agreeable to you—I should take pleasure in seeing you there—Alden is engaged in the same business with yourself—Wyllis is the man of Pleasure, and applies himself intirely to the acquirement of knowledge, for which you know he has an Insatiable Thirst.

All other Friends are well—I am Sr.

To Nathan Hale

[*Addressed:*]

To

Nathan Hale, A. B.

at

New London

[*Endorsed in Hale's hand:*]

James HillHouse [*sic*]

N. H. July 11th

Your sincere Friend
& affectionate Classmate

JAMES HILLHOUSE

Hillhouse begins, "How to account for your Long silence I know not," thus chiding Hale for not writing him. Hale was but a poor correspondent, though he received and wrote many letters. His brother Enoch, his Yale classmates Hillhouse, Alden, and Marvin, and his comrades in arms, John Hallam and George Hurlburt, all chide him for not replying to their letters. They forgave him but could not forbear complaints which he disarmed by admitting the fault and claiming that he had reformed. The fact is, Hale was not only a poor correspondent but not a first-rate

letter-writer. Perhaps he was too sober-minded, too literal. At any rate, his existing letters want that lightness of touch indispensable to familiar correspondence of the first order. Hillhouse, too, was a serious person but his reference to himself as "old Friend Jacob" suggests a background of redeeming raillery.

Hillhouse continues :

One while I heard you was keeping school at windsor, & had prepared a letter to send you; at another you was at Providence; & very lately at New London—& thus you post about the world, & nobody is able to find you, forming to yourself new Friends and acquaintance, who in length of time may Root out old ones—

Hale never taught school in Windsor nor in Providence. This may be mere bantering on the part of Hillhouse, or it may be that he had quite lost sight of Hale since their graduation from Yale some ten months before this letter was written, when Hale was teaching in New London as the preceptor of the Union School, of which the proprietors were among the principal gentlemen of the place.

At this time Hillhouse, destined to be the most illustrious, save Hale, of the Yale Class of 1773, was living in New Haven and reading law with his uncle, James Abraham Hillhouse (1730-1775, Yale Coll. 1749), of New Haven, then living in the stately mansion which he had built in 1762, long known in greatly altered form as "Grove Hall," demolished in 1925. Hillhouse was born in Montville (a play on the family name) near New London, on October 21, 1754, and was, therefore, some seven months older than Hale. He was a son of Hon. William Hillhouse (1728-1816) and Hannah Griswold (a sister of Governor Matthew Griswold of Lyme), and a grandson of the Rev. James Hillhouse (1687-1740), the founder of the American family of the name. Of an ancient though untitled family long established near Londonderry in Ireland, the Rev. James had come to America soon after taking his degree at the University of Glasgow.

Our James was adopted by his uncle, James Abraham Hillhouse, when seven years old and brought up in his family in New Haven, for which in his later years he was to do so much.

It is a tribute to the upbringing of the two Hale boys, Nathan and Enoch, sons of Deacon Richard Hale (1717-1802), a well-to-do farmer in remote Coventry, that on coming to college they found such a friend in James Hillhouse, bred a gentleman and the inheritor of the best colonial traditions of life and character.

Hillhouse Cast for a Part in the "Beaux Stratagem":

"Tall, Long-Limbed, with High Cheek-Bones":

His Portrait by Vanderlyn

Presumably the warm friendship between Hale and Hillhouse, evidenced by the latter's letter and by Deacon Gilbert's statement that Hillhouse was one of Hale's "principle correspondents," was fostered by their common membership in Linonia. Curiously enough, Hillhouse's name appears but three times in the minutes of the sixty-eight meetings held between their election to membership on November 7, 1770, to and including the great anniversary meeting of April 15, 1773—first, in the minutes of the meeting of November 7, 1770, when, with Hale, he received an election to membership; second, in the minutes of the meeting held on November 27, 1771, in which we read:

Questⁿ Brought in By Hillhouse to Be recorded—What is the reason that in Every Quadratic Æquation the unknown Quantity has two Values or Roots?

Ans Because that When it has either the Sign + or — Prefixed to it (in which Cases it has two Different Values) Being Involved to the second third or any proposed Power it Will Produce the same Quantity in one Case as in the Other.

Hillhouse's name appears for the third and last time in the minutes of the anniversary celebration on April 15, 1772:

The meeting was opened with Beauxs Stratigems, the prologue was Spoken by Aldin [Roger Alden an intimate friend of Hale's and one of his correspondents], then followed the actors whose names are as follows, Lyman, Cooly, Billings, Williams 2^{dus} [Rev. Ebenezer Williams, 1755-1777, Yale Coll. 1773, an intimate friend and correspondent of Hale's], Cobb, Woodhull, Williams 1^{mus}, Hays, Greenough, Hale 1^{mus} [Hale's older brother Enoch], Robinson [Rev. William Robinson, 1754-1825, Yale Coll. 1773, a friend and correspondent of Hale's], West, Kimball, Hillhouse [James Hillhouse, the Patriot, a friend and correspondent of Hale's], Mead [Thomas Mead, a classmate, friend and correspondent of Hale's]. Then as usual officers were chosen. Hale 2^{dus} [Nathan] was chosen Secretary.

It is interesting to find Hillhouse, at this time a stripling of seventeen, cast for a part in Farquhar's "Beaux Stratagem," one of the most popular of the plays of that time and frequently given. Unfortunately, we do not know for what part in the play Hillhouse was cast. We may be sure, however, that whatever his part, he was the most striking figure on that mimic stage. Dr. Bacon describes him as :

"Tall, long-limbed, with high cheek-bones, swarthy, lithe in motion, lightness in his step and strength and freedom in his stride, he seemed a little like some Indian Chief of poetry or romance—the Outalissi of Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming—the Massasoit or King Philip of our early history as fancy pictures them—so much so that with a kind of affectionate respect he was sometimes called, 'the Sachem.'" (Bacon's "Sketch of the Life and Public Services of Hon. James Hillhouse of New Haven," 1860.)

What would "old Friend Jacob" have thought of being compared to Outalissi, Massasoit, and King Philip?

Vanderlyn's portrait of Hillhouse, painted in 1816 when he was in his sixty-second year and now hanging high over the fireplace in the library of the manor-house of "Sachem's Wood" in which he died in 1832, supports Dr. Bacon's description of him, swarthy with high cheek bones.

We are so wonted to think of Hillhouse as a person of such indefatigable activity from youth to age in the public service—as a sort of congenital patriot and sage—that it is hard to visualize him as a boy or as boyish, but he was once both, as any one who can read between the lines of the following truly Baconian additional excerpt from Dr. Bacon's "Sketch," must see :

"He [Hillhouse] was somewhat advanced in college life before he became properly conscious of his powers or of the worth of time, or practically convinced of the importance of that close application to whatever was in hand, by which he was afterwards so distinguished. The late President Dwight [the first President Dwight], who was then in college as a tutor, tho not *his* tutor, had noticed him with interest, and, with the discernment of youthful character which qualified the illustrious president to be the greatest teacher of his age, had seen in him the elements of future greatness; and he by one well-timed, spirited, affectionate admonition and appeal, *roused the man in the bosom of the unthinking stripling and gave the country a patriot and a sage.*" [Italics mine.]

Dwight himself knew what it was to be "saved," for was he not, about 1765, redeemed from vice by the timely admonition of his tutor, Stephen Mix Mitchell (1743-1835, Yale Coll. 1763), afterwards Chief Justice of Connecticut. (Life of Dwight in Sparks' "Library of Am. Biog."; "Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit," Vol. II, pp. 152-6; "Memorials of Yale Men" by the Rev. Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Vol. I, p. 47.) Thus was the old adage, "One good turn deserves another," verified and reinforced. If Mitchell redeemed Dwight from we know not what folly and if Dwight, in turn, "roused the man in the bosom of the unthinking stripling" named Hillhouse, the nation and Connecticut and Yale in particular owe an unsuspected debt of gratitude to Mitchell, whose own redemption, if any were haply necessary, is unrecorded, save perhaps in Heaven above, to the credit of someone unknown to fame. It has been suggested that young Dwight's feet slipped under a card table. If peradventure card-playing was the vice from which as an undergraduate he was redeemed by the "considerate and monitory regards" of Tutor Mitchell, ambition was the vice of his later years when he "grasped at universal knowledge." I have it on the authority of the late Governor Baldwin that Dr. Dwight was so disturbed in his conscience by allowing himself to be gripped by the vice of ambition that he confessed it in a sermon which fairly stunned a community accustomed to regard him—the "Ægis of the Age"—with awe if not with affection.

*Timothy Dwight, James Hillhouse and Nathan Hale as
Playboys of the Western World*

Hale and even Dwight and, of course, many other favored sons of the "Clubb" took part in plays which were great occasions of student rejoicing one hundred and fifty years ago, even as they are now. Thus, at a meeting of "This Honorable Society" held in Mead's room on "January 2nd AD 1771" "Sir Dwight" (our Timothy) was appointed to take part "in acting a Comedy call'd the Conscious Lovers" (by Sir Richard Steele, first produced in

1727) and "Hale 1st (Enoch) and "Hale 2nd (Nathan) and others were appointed "to act a Farce call'd the Toy Shop" (by Dodsley, first produced in 1735). The parts were not assigned and, therefore, we do not know what characters in the plays Timothy Dwight and Nathan Hale were to essay.

For some reason not stated in the Linonia minutes, the anniversary exercises were this year (1771) postponed to June 5th. The minutes of that meeting make no *mention* of the performance of the "Conscious Lovers," but the "Toy Shop" was presented and we may assume that Hale took a part in it. If "Sir Dwight" ever appeared in the "Conscious Lovers," we may be certain that he was highly conscious—he never failed in that part, if we read his story aright, and there's no denying that it is a story of conspicuous achievement. But it is hard to visualize him as a playboy and also hard to evoke a picture of Hillhouse on any other than the civic stage.

Hillhouse, as we have seen, however, donned the buskins for a part in the "Beaux Stratagem," put on the boards at the house of Mr. Brown on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of "this honorable Fellowship Clubb" on April 15, 1772. The house of Mr. Brown has lately been identified for me by Mr. Donald Lines Jacobus as the house designated as Mr. Nesbit's (it was painted red) on the N.E. corner of Church and George Streets. (See Wadsworth's Map of New Haven in 1748.) Enoch Hale, Thomas Mead, Ebenezer Williams and William Robinson, all intimates of Nathan, were in this cast. One would expect Nathan to have had a part in every play, but I fancy his conspicuous talent was forensic, rather than mimic. Whatever the fact, he was busy and having a wonderfully good time. The Linonia minutes are heavy with his name. For example, the minutes of the meeting of March 3, 1773, record that the Brothers were first entertained with a narrative related by Hale 2^{dus}; from the minutes of the next meeting, on March 24th, we learn that "We had beside the usual exercises, a Dialogue Between Hale 2^d & Mead on the Advantages of attending the weekly meetings." At the next meeting, March 31st, "Hale 2^d, Swift & Fenn were chosen to superintend

the Affairs of the Anniversary. The Dialogue between Hale 2^d & Mead was continued." At the next meeting, April 7th, "Hale 2^d was Chosen Chancellor Pro Tempore."

April 13th following was the great day of the year in the annals of the fraternity—the day set apart for the anniversary exercises. In the fortnight succeeding their appointment on March 31, Hale 2^d, Swift and Fenn must have "done themselves proud," since the exercises surpassed any before held. The exercises began at eleven and concluded at five. In the morning "The New Comedy entituled the West-Indian was represented." Observe that this is referred to as the *new* comedy. New it was. Richard Cumberland's comedy, destined to hold the boards for some time, was first produced in 1771 and yet this progressive committee were able to produce it on this side of the Atlantic early in 1773. Quick work that!! In the afternoon "An Epilogue made expressly on the occasion & delivered by Hale 2^d was receiv'd with approbation." A contemporary book of Linonia Manuscript Papers contains the text of a speech with the caption, "Valedictory Oration by Billings, Anniversary April 13, 1772," and a speech with the caption, "Valedictory Oration by Hale 2^d answering to the foregoing." These speeches were delivered (and should have been dated) at the anniversary meeting held on April 15, 1772.

*The "Beaux Stratagem," The "Conscious Lovers," The "Toy Shop" and The "West Indian"—the First Plays Known
by Name Produced by Yale Undergraduates*

The four plays referred to above are the first fraternity plays ever produced at Yale which we know by *name*,—i.e., Farquhar's "Beaux Stratagem" with Hillhouse in the cast; Steele's "Conscious Lovers" (perhaps not given, though projected, with "Sir Dwight" in the cast); Dodsley's "Toy Shop," with Nathan Hale in the cast; Cumberland's "West Indian," with Ebenezer Williams and Mead in the cast. How far we have come since those early days! Now we have a School of Drama and a wonderful

mechanistic as well as artistic theatre to take the place of a room in a tavern.

The four plays named appear also to be the first of which any *record* remains. The minutes for the meeting of February 6th, 1767, record that "actors [were] appointed for the anniversary." This may be the very *first reference* to play-acting at Yale. Whether any play was given following such appointment, we do not know, or, indeed, whether there was any anniversary celebration, since the next minutes to be recorded are nearly two years later when at a meeting of "the Com^{tt} of this Honorable Society" on December 15, 1768, it was voted that "the first wensday Eve in Every month there is to be a Commedy Acted Every Other wensday Eve there is to be Disputs and other Exercises as usle." April 20, 1769, "the anavarsary [was] Celebrated with much Delight" but apparently there was no play since the minutes are silent on the point. The next year (1770) on February 15th "a Play [was] Acted by Williams 2^d Cobb Barker & Billings" but the minutes of the meeting fail to give the name of the play. This year "the Anavarsary was Celebrated with much delight" (the same spelling by the "scribe" as the year before) but again the minutes say nothing about the giving of a play. Hale now appears on the scene with an election to membership on November 7, 1770. The very next week, and on November 14, "The aforesaid Society met at Hale's Room." A few weeks later, on January 2, 1771, Nathan appears as "scribe," and thereafter the minutes are entered in his handwriting up to and including the meeting of November 20th of the same year. In this interval there were fourteen meetings, all recorded by Hale and two in "Hale's room." Hale's first appearance as scribe (on January 2, 1771) is coincident with the appointment of two groups of members to take part respectively in the "Conscious Lovers" and the "Toy Shop." These are the first two plays to be given or projected by Yale undergraduates of which the *names* are known and I incline to the view that they were among the very first plays given, and given because of Hale's energy, business capacity, and unusual gift for leadership.

On the Founding of the Linonia Library

Of the two fraternities of that day, Linonia and Brothers in Unity, Linonia was much the older and had the more prestige. Enoch Hale was elected to membership in Linonia on October 31, 1770, while the elections of Nathan Hale and James Hillhouse took place on November 7th, the very next meeting of the "honourable Fellowship Club," as the fraternity was called in the minutes of this meeting.

At the Centenary Celebration of Linonia in 1853 the claim was repeatedly made that Dwight, Hale, and Hillhouse were the founders of the Linonia Library, but "the Records of the Society" do not support the claim.

The *first* reference to a library in the minutes occurs in the minutes of a meeting of "This renowned Society" on July 16, 1770. They read (in part) :

In order to accommodate the Members of this Society with a Library, a number of usefull Books were collected; Mr [William] Lockwood [1753-1828, Yale Coll. 1774] was chosen Librarian; and for the regulation thereof, it was voted that the Members of the Meeting might have liberty to take out Books on Saturday at two o'clock in the afterNoon, that no one might keep a Book longer than a Week without returning it, that he who came first after the time appointed should have what Book he wanted: and the Meeting was closed with a valedictory Oration delivered by Buckminster [1751-1812, Yale Coll. 1770].

This meeting was held July 16, 1770, and, therefore, some four months *before* Hale and Hillhouse were taken into the Society (November 7, 1770) and nearly a year *after* Dwight's graduation September, 1769. Hale and Hillhouse were certainly not present, therefore, at the meeting, and had so important a member of the secret brotherhood as "Sir Dwight" been present and donated any books or urged the foundation of a library, it is "passing strange" that his name does not appear in the minutes. The phrase, "were collected," used by the youthful scribe, Abel Chittenden, carries with it the sense of *present* time. It may be that the books described as "collected" were actually brought into the meeting pursuant to a previous notice not recorded. The more reasonable view is that the books described as "collected" were pledged and "collected" in that sense only.

The library project languished, to judge from the minutes, from July 16, 1770, until November 20, 1771, when, Hale being scribe, four votes regarding the Library were passed. One of them was "That the thanks of this Society be given to M^r Lockwood and M^r [Isaac] Sherman [1753-1819, Yale Coll. 1770] for their generous Donations of Books to the aforesaid Society & that the same be *recorded*" [*Italics mine*]. The other three votes were as follows:

4^{ly} Whereas it is a law of this Society that no book be taken out of the Library, except on Saturday, which is very inconvenient for many Reasons, it is therefore agree'd that the Members have free Library to take out Books at any time of the week, & that he return it within a week from the time that it was taken out.

5^{ly} That a Person or Persons be appointed to assist the Secretary in recording as he is much behind hand at present.

6 That the Name of every Person who is so generous as to give any thing to the Library, be recorded together with the sum he gives.

The last of these certainly shows the hand of Hale and his ingrained orderly habit. This characteristic vote, Hale, I repeat, being the scribe, convinces me that he inspired all of these four votes concerning the languishing library and that he proceeded forthwith himself to make the "list of Books" in the Library, with the names of the books, the names of the donors or contributors and the "sum he gives," at the end of "the records of the Society."

Now it may be a Hale "complex" (some will say so) or clairvoyance, or the *res gestae*, but I can't resist the notion that Hale alone, or in large part, selected and secured the books so listed and then politely "stung" his fellow-members to pay for them—a procedure a bit high-handed but so effective that it is not unknown in our day. The list, with its delightful "sense of the past," is too long to print in full,* even in an article flowing on "regardless" like this, but I cannot refrain from specifying the books given entirely or contributed to by Dwight, Hale and Hillhouse as shown by "the records of the Society," which is our

* Printed in full on pp. 151-3.

sole source of reliable information respecting the founding of the Linonia Library.

Hale makes a handsome gesture in recording Dwight's sole gift of "Chrysal or the Adventures of A Guinea, Given Entirely by Mr. Timothy Dwight," price one pound four shillings; he records a contribution of six shillings by James Hillhouse toward the purchase of "The Spectator," and a contribution by Hillhouse of one shilling two pence toward the purchase of Crevier's "Roman History"; for himself he records the donation of "The Travels of Cyrus," costing five shillings; a contribution of six shillings toward the purchase of "The Spectator," and a contribution of one shilling six pence toward the purchase of "Lord Cames [Kames] Elements of Criticism."

Hale's choice of "The Travels of Cyrus, Prince of Persia," by the Chevalier Andrew Michael de Ramsay (1686-1743), to give to the library, throws an interesting sidelight on his character and interests. The book, one of those moral romances so fashionable among the literati of the eighteenth century, easily reaches the "moral sublime" on almost every page. On page 2 of Volume I, of my copy (Philadelphia: Printed for James Rivington. By Ormrod and Conrad MDCCXCVI) I read:

They [the Persians] were the great masters of the sublime science of being content with simple Nature, of *despising death for the love of Country*. [Italics mine.]

Nathan could hardly have escaped that sentiment! Was it the seed of his sacrifice?

In Volume II on page 34 there is an edifying discourse on "true politeness" conducted by the Prince and his traveling companion Araspes, King of Alexandria, on a Phoenician vessel on which they had embarked for Tyre, after a respectful but affecting parting with Pythagoras, with whom they had had a prolonged symposium in the Temple of "Jupiter Olympius" at Gnossus in Crete. Hale's selection of this book of "sublime ideas and useful discoveries" shows that, with his practical sense, he had a marked strain of ideality.

How pleased Hale would have been had he known that his Commander-in-Chief, General Washington, had as a youth been under the spell of M. de Ramsay's "Travels of Cyrus" and had enjoyed its precepts, its moral reflections and the classical settings of its lofty dialogues as much as he did. Washington's very copy (7th Ed. London, 1745), with his youthful autograph, to-day enriches the collection of Washingtoniana in the Boston Athenæum.

Hale's list of books concludes with "Paradise Lost" (six shillings); Addison's "Evidences" (five shillings); "Night Thoughts" (six shillings); and "Prior's Poems" (five shillings). Naught but blank spaces against these titles—no donors' or contributors' names. One wonders how, if it fell to him, Nathan got these *particular* books paid for. One wonders, too, *where* he bought the books of his list in the first place and how he financed their purchase, assuming that he did so.

We get a final glimpse of Hale in his zeal for the welfare of the Linonia Library in his Valedictory to the "Sirs," namely, to the members of Linonia of the Class of 1772 at the Anniversary Celebration on April 15, 1772. In this delightfully sophomoric and decidedly partisan valedictory oration Hale did not forget the matter so dear to his heart—the library. Almost at the beginning of his address—and we can imagine with what spirit he gave it—he said, "As our benefactors [i.e., the 1772 Linonia delegation], we have pertaken of their liberality, not only in their *rich & valuable donations to our library* [Italics mine], but, what is still more, their amiable company & conversation."

Hale an Omnivorous Reader of Books

Hillhouse (Hale's "old Friend Jacob") was never, I conclude, a bookish man and at that time (1771) Dwight, as I prefigure him, was hardly eclectic enough in his tastes (despite "Chrysal") to have chosen such a list of books as we find in Hale's handwriting in the Linonia Minutes. On the other hand, it is clear that Hale was an omnivorous reader of "History, Plays, Novels,

Romances or whatever you please." We get just a glimpse of him as an insatiable reader of books in a letter written to him from New Haven by his Yale classmate and Linonia brother, Roger Alden (1754-1836). See pages 33-34.

Thursday Morning after Fast [1775]

I suppose that you rose very early this Morning have been perusing some agreeable as well as profitable Book, & not many Minutes since, felt for your Watch Chain, with your Eyes intent on your Book, until you had brought your Memento about the length of your Book from its Habitation & found it to be just 59 Minutes after 8 OClock, if that was not the most disagreeable Time in all the Day, tell me in your next, it seems to me that you pictured out at once all the Troubles that you was to encounter—This I am certain that your reading after that did not profit much—especially if you was in the Middle of some diverting scene in either History, Plays, Novels, Romances or whatever you please, . . .

(pp. 33-34.)

Hale's "Last Words" remain to show us that among the *plays* he read was Addison's "Cato," which had liberty for its main theme and was one of the most popular and most quoted pieces of English literature on this side of the Atlantic during the War of Independence.

That Hale was an ardent reader is also amply shown by his correspondence and diary. Enoch writing on May 10, 1774, to Nathan from Lyme, after a visit home, says:

I brought no books for you, I had no conveniency but left word to have them sent to you [from their home in Coventry to New London] if opportunity presented, Pope's Iliad & the 5th Vol. of the late war, which I found among the books and placed in my chest. . . . Squire Noyes would be glad to see the History of the late war, so if you will send some of the Volumes if you don't want them, you will oblige him & me. (p. 17.)

The "History of the late war" referred to by Enoch in his letter was the Rev. John Entick's well-known work in five volumes entitled "The General History of the Late War." It contained an account of what was spoken of in the Colonies as the French and Indian War and was therefore of especial interest to Hale and his contemporaries!

Ultimately, some "conveniency" was found for sending

Nathan's "*Iliad*" to him, since the "*Odyssy*" (not wanted and left behind) appears among the books at home in Coventry in the inventory of Nathan's elder brother, Major John Hale (1748-1802). It was listed as "*Popes Odyssy* .34."

Hale's diary entry of December 13, 1775, reads:

"On Main Guard. Recd & wrote some letters. *Read the History of Philip.*"

Hale was fond of reading *history* as we learn from Alden's letter above quoted and from his ownership of Entick's five-volume "*History of the late war*" already mentioned. The *History of Philip* was undoubtedly a history of Philip of Macedon. Whether the volume was Hale's or only borrowed cannot be stated. He must have been eager for "something to read" when he borrowed from Col. Varnum a copy of "*Young's Mem's*" as recorded in his diary entry of November 6, 1775, wherein we find the following delightful confession, "*Cast an eye upon Young's Mem's belong^g to Col. Varnum, a very good book.*" What could better illustrate the operation of a New England conscience than this entry!! He admits that "*Youngs Mem's*" is a "very good book" but will not stultify himself to the extent of saying that he did more than "cast an eye" upon it. Hale's diary abounds in such revealing entries. John Hale's inventory above referred to also lists *Caesar's Commentaries*—a well-worn volume we may judge since it goes in at 25 cents. Perhaps Nathan's, or it may have belonged to one or the other of his two college-bred brothers, Enoch or David. The important fact is that in that house in remote Coventry the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and *Caesar* were among the books when Nathan, Enoch and David Hale were school and college boys, for whom they provided a significant cultural background a century and a half ago.

Another book which we can *safely* place in Hale's hands is in the possession of a descendant of Hale's sister Elizabeth (1752-1813). This is a small pamphlet of sixteen pages, entitled:

Rules and Articles for the Better Government of the Troops Raised, or to be raised and kept in pay by and at the joint EXPENCE of the Thirteen United *English* Colonies of North America Philadelphia: Printed by William and Thomas Bradford—1775.

On the front cover appears in what I judge to be Hale's handwriting:

*May ye 27th Day 1776
Camp at New York
Capt. Nathan Hails
Book.*

Directly below the above inscription and also in what may be, and doubtless is, Hale's handwriting in a smaller script and apparently with a different quill and blacker ink, is the line:

Camp at New York

On the back of the cover in a bolder flourishy script appears the line:

Nathan Hails.

This little book was found among the papers of the present owner's grandfather, Nathan Hale Rose (1776-1838) who lived in Coventry on the homestead of his great uncle, Major John Hale. The book therefore comes from the proper custody and the endorsements upon it appear to me to be in Hale's own handwriting. Moreover, it is just the kind of a book Hale would have had and used as an officer in the Continental Army. What is puzzling beyond all explanation is the spelling of the surname "Hails"—a humorous fantasy, seemingly unlike our serious Captain, but there it is clear enough, explain it who will. Hales, however, is an English variant of the family name, and it may be that Nathan was playing upon it.

We can also place in Hale's hand still another book, a book which he used as a school-teacher. Marvin who wants to borrow it for a few days writes from "Norwich, April 8, 1774," to Hale who is teaching in New London, "you mentioned to me a grammar which you have by you—if I mistake not the *British Instructor* [Italics mine] but whether I have got the Name right or not if you can spare it a few days as well as not, & will send it up [from New London] by Cap^t. Waterman today—I shall be obliged to you—I believe I need not tell you I will be careful of it" (p. 15.)

The "Saturday Review of Literature" of March 12, 1927, notes the sale at auction by Charles F. Heartman at Metuchen, N. J., on February 22, 1927, of several items including "Weston's Stenography Compleated, or the Art of Shorthand Brought to Perfection, 12 mo., original calf, London 1727. Nathan Hale's copy with his signature and record of Purchase in his own handwriting." The book sold for \$1,550. I have not seen the book but it is the sort of book a practical, clerically minded person and diarist like Hale would have owned.

A correspondent writing me in 1915 calls my attention to a letter of Mr. L. claiming to have a copy of Virgil containing Hale's autograph. This bit I have never been able to verify but leave the nut for some other antiquarian to crack.

I am impelled to say in this connection that several books containing the autograph of Nathan Hale (1742-1813, Yale Coll. 1769), a native of Longmeadow, Mass., have misled collectors and led to serious confusion and paved the way, no doubt, to deception, since the autographs of the two Hales are superficially not unlike. Johnston in the first edition of his "Nathan Hale 1776" wrongly ascribed copies of David Fordyce's "*Theodorus—a dialogue on the Art of Preaching*" and Dr. Peter Van Mastricht's "*Treatise on Regeneration*" to Hale's ownership. Convinced of his error these two titles were withdrawn from his second edition, in which he admitted his mistake (p. 171). Two other books (it would be invidious to describe and place them) fall in the same class and certainly belonged to Nathan of Longmeadow, who studied divinity. Hence the character of these four books, all of which are theological. Collectors will do well to bear this in mind when offered books alleged to contain the signature of the Patriot, one of the rarest that any collector of Americana can hope to secure.

Since it is clear that the long poem "To the Memory of Capt. Nathan Hale" already referred to in this article and reprinted (for the first time in full) in this book, was written soon after Hale's death by someone who knew him well, I do not hesitate to quote from it in concluding this phase of my sub-

ject, as showing Hale as an omnivorous reader, particularly of classical books—

“His teachers’ precepts he obeyed with ease,
The charms of science every hour could please;
Then he with *rapture* [Italics mine] read those polished lines,
Where Grecian wit and Roman genius shines,—
Where the great worthies of the former age
Live in the poet’s and historian’s page, . . .”

Hale’s Watch Referred to by Alden as his “Memento”—What became of it? A warning to Collectors of Haleana!

Alden’s use in the letter quoted of the term “*Memento*” to describe Hale’s watch suggests that it was a gift to him of some special significance—now as lost as the watch itself. Was this the watch Hale had “fixed” in January, 1776, by Thomas Harland of Norwich as recorded in his Accounts? He seems to have had some particular sentiment about his watch, which he kept by him when he entered the enemy’s lines, according to Deacon Gilbert’s letter of May 7th, 1836, to Bradley. That may have been the very “*Memento*” referred to by Alden. The “little anecdote” about Hale and his watch recorded by Gilbert must have originated with Stephen Hempstead (1754-1831) who accompanied Hale as far as Huntington, L. I., where Hale after changing his dress entered the enemy’s lines. (See Hempstead’s “Capture and Execution of Capt. Hale, in 1776,” in this volume.) Collectors of Haleana may well be wary when offered Hale’s(?) watch which doubtless fell into the hands of his executioner, the brutal Irish Provost Marshal William Cunningham.

Evidence Showing that Hale’s Famous “Last Words” Were a Part of an Earnest Speech at the Gallows

According to the Centenary Catalogue of Graduated Members of Linonia (pub. 1853), the objects of the Society were:

To furnish the students of Yale College with incitements to literary exertion aside from the regular course of academic study, to provide the means of improvement in Rhetoric and Oratory, to give frequent opportunities for the exercise of these arts . . .

We may doubt if the young men of Hale's time perceived their splendid *raison d'être* so clearly as all that or realized how beholden they were to "incitements to literary exertion." That such incitements to Rhetoric and Oratory were present, the minutes bear ample witness. Hale seems to have been on his feet talking and orating at almost every meeting. I even suspect that he was absent from many of the meetings the minutes of which assign him no part. I find it difficult to envisage Hale save on his feet with something to say!!

From his activity as a speechmaker at so many of these Linonia meetings, I am satisfied that his famous last words crowned an earnest and even impassioned speech. The general impression is, I think, and it was once my own impression, that alone and unfriended on the gibbet, he said with simple dignity, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

In a way I would fain cherish that old picture, did not the evidence at hand compel me to surrender it. It must be borne in mind that the Linonia meetings provided him with opportunities for speech-making and it stands to reason that he would not have been so constantly on his feet as the minutes show him to have been unless he thoroughly enjoyed the practice—and doubtless the applause. The very fact that he was chosen by his classmates in Linonia to give the valedictory oration for the Class of 1773 in answer to the valedictory oration by Billings of the Class of 1772 at the anniversary exercises of Linonia in 1772, is persuasive evidence that he was the best speaker among the 1773 men in the Linonia membership. The text of Hale's oration (see pp. 147-150 herein) on that occasion is in nowise remarkable. It partakes of the laudatory character of all such sophomoric effusions, but it is hearty and manly and has the fluency of one who has had much enjoyable experience of the sort. The speech could have been much compressed without the loss of anything but oratory. It is frankly sentimental; there is nothing at all "high-brow" about it. Whatever may be said of it, it is the only text we have of any of Hale's speeches and shows that he was quite at home on his feet. It prepares us for the record

that at the anniversary exercises (they lasted all day) the following year, "*An Epilogue made expressly on the occasion & delivered by Hale 2^d was receiv'd with approbation* [Italics mine]." Hale was a member of a committee of three "chosen to superintend the Affairs of the Anniversary," which were the most elaborate in Linonia's history, and he must have had his hands full, but still found time to prepare an epilogue "*expressly on the occasion.*" It is pleasing to read that his effort "*was receiv'd with approbation.*" This was the year of his graduation from Yale—1773.

In the breezy letter written to Hale from New Haven by Richard Sill (1755-1790, Yale Coll. 1775), he obviously cracks Hale on his speech-making proclivities by saying, "I can't hear Sir that you are about mounting the desk,"—a capital movie-picture of Hale, I fancy, by one who knew him well enough in college to twit him good-humoredly a bit on what appears to me to have been a favorite rôle. Hale spoke well and the young like to do what they fancy they do conspicuously well. Sill certainly would not have twitted Hale in this fashion about "mounting the desk" unless he was well aware of Hale's penchant for doing it.

When teaching in New London, on the arrival of an express (i.e., messenger) with the thrilling news of Lexington (April 19, 1775), a hurried town-meeting was called to meet the emergency. This meeting provided the young school teacher with his opportunity and he rose to the occasion:

Capt [Richard] Law states that he was very young at that time, but partaking of the general excitement, on the arrival of the express [i.e., messenger] accompanied his father (the judge) [Judge Richard Law, 1736-1806, Yale Coll. 1751] to the meeting, when struck by the *noble demeanour of Hale, and the emphasis with which he addressed the assembly* [Italics mine], he enquired of his Father, what it meant. [See letter dated Jan. 7, 1837, of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall to Cyrus P. Bradley in this volume in the section called "Letters Containing Primary Information."]

This gives us just a glimpse of the fair-haired Hale of "noble demeanour" speaking to that hastily-gathered group of New London citizens, stirred by the news of Lexington, and recalls the

poem written, as I feel sure, by Dr. Munson who resented the neglect of Hale's memory "in the house of his friends":

Erect and tall, his well-proportion'd frame,
Vig'rous and active, as electric flame;
His manly limbs had symmetry and grace,
And innate goodness marked his beauteous face;
His fancy lively, and his genius great,
His solid judgment *shone in grave debate* [Italics mine].

All this prepares us for the account of Hale's capture and death in the *Essex Journal* (Massachusetts) of February 13, 1777, which states that:

At the gallows, he [Hale] made a *sensible and spirited speech* [Italics mine]; among *other things* [Italics mine], told them they were shedding the blood of the innocent, and that if he had ten thousand lives, he would lay them all down, if called to it, in defence of his injured, bleeding Country.

The sensational character of this account, and nothing could be more sensational than the matter treated of, has caused its statement that at the gallows he (Hale) made "*a sensible and spirited speech*" [Italics mine] to be overlooked, or at least never connected with his impressive Lexington Alarm speech at New London and the record of his constant undergraduate speech-making in the meetings of the Linonia fraternity.

Enoch Hale's diary entry of October 26, 1776, states:

When at the Gallows he [Hale] spoke & told that he was a Capt in the Cont^l [Continental] Army by name Nathan Hale.

This wording certainly connotes much more in the way of a speech than his now immortal Last Words. Enoch, be it remembered, had exceptional opportunities for securing the details of his brother Nathan's execution when he went to camp in October, 1776, to gather what information he could concerning his brother's fate.

The elegiac poem "wrote soon after Hale's death," by Dr. Eneas Munson, but not published until 1836 (see "A Rare Hale Item" herein), attributes a long speech to him and just such a speech as his character would lead us to expect of him. The poem,

be it noted, moreover bears abundant internal evidence that the writer knew Hale intimately and it is reasonable to suppose that when the poem was written, the writer was in possession of first-hand information never committed to writing and lost in the long period during which Hale's memory was neglected. Despite some mistakes of fact, I think the poem must be accorded high evidential value. Capt. William Hull (1753-1825, Yale Coll. 1772) transmitted to posterity Hale's last words as communicated to him by Montresor, whose brief statement (to be found in *Revolutionary Services & Civil Life of General Hull*, p. 38) certainly does not exclude the thought of a speech leading up to and crowned by Hale's Last Words derived, as I am satisfied, from Addison's "Cato." (See "Hale's 'Last Words' Derived from Addison's 'Cato,'" in this volume.)

It seems clear to me, then, that given Hale's training as a speech-maker in Linonia, and the record of his impassioned speech in New London on the arrival of the messenger bringing the news of Lexington, the statement in the *Essex Journal* article that at the gallows he made "*a sensible and spirited speech*," the notation by his brother Enoch in his diary that he *spoke* at the gallows, and the other pieces of evidence referred to, we are warranted in the belief that Hale, with courage and noble demeanor, defended his country in a high strain of patriotism before speaking his famous last words, now a national legacy.

"Liberty is Our Reigning Topic" (Hillhouse)

And now, at the end of these many and even "far flung" digressions, we come back with pleasure to Hillhouse's letter to Hale, which closes with that fine burst of patriotism:

Liberty is our reigning Topic, which loudly calls upon every one to Exert his Talents & abilities to the utmost in defending of it—now is the time for heroes—now is the time for great men to immortalize their names in the deliverance of their Country, and grace the annals of America with their Glorious Deeds.

Sophomoric you say, but I have no idea other than that Hale was thrilled by his classmate's patriotic sentiments and admired

his language as well as his courage, for Hillhouse was in the vanguard in 1774, and also when he took a gallant part in the defense of New Haven in 1779, at the time of Tryon's invasion. He lived to do more for New Haven than any one man ever did, so it is often said, and yet he has no adequate memorial at Yale, which he served so generously and so wisely for half a century and none in New Haven, to which he gave the devotion of a lifetime.

"Then we were very well entertained with a Supper"

In closing these several digressions, my mind reverts to that gay celebration of Linonia's anniversary celebration on April 15, 1772, when, after a prologue spoken by Roger Alden (we are fortunate in having a fine portrait of him by St. Memin), the "Beaux Stratagem" was given with Hillhouse in the cast, as well as Ebenezer Williams, Enoch Hale, William Robinson, and Thomas Mead, all close friends and correspondents of Hale. This was followed by a valedictory oration by Billings, of the graduating class, and an answering valedictory by Nathan, of the next year's class. Nathan was chosen secretary of the fraternity at this meeting. The "Exercises were all very agreeably performed," we are assured by David Tullar (1748-1839, Yale Coll. 1774), the scribe, and he does not fail to add, in concluding the minutes, "Then we were very well entertained with a Supper." Of that entertainment I once wrote: "The candles of that little supper were extinguished an hundred and fifty-odd years ago and yet a faint light streams through the door left half open for us by the youthful scribe, and we get just a glimpse of the gay young performers and among them Hale and Hillhouse. Both were young men of high ideals and enthusiasm. Hale was soon to make the supreme sacrifice of his life for his country, while Hillhouse was to consecrate a life of unparalleled activity and devotion to the public good!"

New Haven, Connecticut,
August, 1929.

LIEUTENANT ELISHA BOSTWICK'S DESCRIPTION OF HALE'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE*

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS DISCOVERY IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE PENSION BUREAU IN WASHINGTON.

An admirer of Nathan Hale all my life and a student of his story for many years, it was my great good fortune to bring to light and to the attention of the public a detailed description of his personal appearance and characteristics written by one who knew him well, a comrade-in-arms. I here refer to the wonderfully vivid account of Hale which concludes the personal reminiscences of Lieutenant Elisha Bostwick, of New Milford, written on his commission as a Second Lieutenant in Colonel Charles Webb's regiment, and ultimately filed by him with his application for a pension as a soldier of the Revolutionary War, nearly one hundred years ago.

Curiously enough, the document, which must now be regarded as one of the most important in Hale's history, lay forgotten and unnoticed for almost a century. On account of its importance, I hope I may be pardoned for briefly rehearsing the circumstances attendant upon my bringing it to light.

It was in late November, 1914. I had dined with my friend, Hon. Henry S. Graves, sometime National Forester, at his home in Cleveland Park, near Washington. He drove me back to the Cosmos Club, where I found my brother, the late Henry A. Seymour, Jr., sitting before a grate fire with the late Captain Hoes (Roswell Randall Hoes, 1850-1921, Chaplain Corps, U. S. Navy), an enthusiastic antiquarian and collector. My brother was neither; his passion was sailing and sailboats. He soon relinquished his seat before the fire and went home, and I sat and talked with Hoes until midnight,—chiefly of his particular interests, not mine. I recall that at that time he was collecting material about John Vanderlyn, the portrait-painter, and I was able to add to his list a canvas unknown to him,—the portrait, done in 1816, of James Hillhouse, the Patriot (1754-1832, Yale Coll. 1773), of New Haven, a college classmate and correspondent of Nathan Hale.

* See pages 319-325.

It was midnight when we rose. My companion went into the Club writing-room to make some notes about the Hillhouse canvas and soon came out into the hall where I was waiting to say good-night. We were standing by a long sofa when I turned and said to him, "Hoes, you got your leg over first and I haven't been able to ride my [hobby] horse at all." "What's on your mind?" he replied. "Nathan Hale," I said, "and if, in your researches, you should chance to come upon even the smallest item bearing on Hale and his story, you must promise to let me know." Thereupon he dropped to the sofa, exclaiming, "The best thing I have up my sleeve is a personal description of Nathan Hale by a Revolutionary officer who knew him. I found it only the other day in the pension file of the officer, while searching for something else." Said he, "I believe it is the only authentic detailed description of Hale's personal appearance in existence. The worst of it is I did not take the name of the pensioner nor the number of the file, and as I have just fallen out with Miss Blank, the custodian of the records, I do not see how I can direct you to the file." The conflict between the Captain and the custodian did not surprise me!! Such things are of frequent occurrence. The antiquarian often becomes a veritable pest to the custodian.

The next morning I made haste to secure from the Commissioner of Patents a personal note to the Commissioner of Pensions, who promptly ordered Miss Blank to bring me the file I wished to see, and to allow me to have photographs made under the established rules. Miss Blank had no option now but to produce the desired file, and I soon had in my hands what may be regarded as the most important "find" of recent years bearing on Hale's history. The author, indeed, is satisfied that the Bostwick narrative, with its description of Hale, and the "Shadow Portrait" of Hale uncovered on the chamber door at the Birth-Place, are the most important and appealing items bearing upon the life story of the youthful patriot that have been brought to light for the space of a hundred years and more.

Just when or why Bostwick wrote his narrative upon his precious "continental commission" (signed by John Hancock) must remain a matter of conjecture. The narrative is undated

but as he refers in it to being in his seventy-eighth year in 1826, we may infer that he wrote it in that year or soon after. My own conclusion is that he wrote it at that time simply to satisfy his own natural feeling about leaving to his children some record of his services to his Country, and that later he filed it with his pension application in support of the same, rather than undertake the labor of preparing a new statement. The document seems to have been written piecemeal, and my judgment is that if it had been written in the first instance for filing in Washington, it would have had a much less personal and intimate character. Whatever the true explanation, we may be grateful that he filed it with his pension application, since that course has resulted in its preservation and has given us our most graphic picture of Hale.

All this does not explain why Bostwick should have concluded his story with a touching tribute to Hale, who does not enter the field of his narrative. By 1826 half a century had elapsed since Hale had "resign'd his life a sacrifice to his Country's liberty," and he was all but forgotten. Thus Bostwick says, "Why is it that the delicious (used in the sense of delightful, probably) Capt Hale should be left & lost in an unknown grave & forgotten!" To the author it seems clear that Bostwick had become so much attached to Hale, and had been so much impressed by his personality, that when he sat down to commit his reminiscences to his "continental commission" Hale reappeared before the "inward eye," one of the brightest figures on the tablets of his memory, and that he was then moved to pay the tribute to him with which his narrative closes.

The author has included Bostwick's entire story, not only because it is valuable as a record of our Revolutionary history, but also because it will enable the reader himself to judge the evidential value of the description of Hale. As Bostwick appears before us in his narrative, and as we read his long and honorable record in the community in which he lived, he becomes the ranking witness in our little gallery of friends of Hale. No one of them speaks with such direct feeling—with such quality of living truth!

HALE'S SHADOW PORTRAIT

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS DISCOVERY UNDER THE PAINT OF AN OLD PINE DOOR

[Now for the first time published]

Sometime in 1912 or 1913, when approaching the consummation of my long-cherished project of having a statue of Hale placed in front of Connecticut Hall at Yale, where he roomed as an undergraduate, I was shocked to learn that his birthplace in South Coventry had been abandoned, lay vacant, and was for sale. With no thought that this historic place would ever come into my own possession, I determined to redeem it and prevent it from falling into alien hands, the fate to which it then seemed to be destined. My thought was that if the matter were brought to the attention of the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the Revolution, they would certainly acquire the place, put it in order, and maintain it as a national shrine to Connecticut's youthful hero of the Revolutionary War. At a large meeting of the Society I urged the matter upon them. The usual committee was appointed, and after long delay recommended that a tablet be attached to the house—nothing more.

Meanwhile, conflicting stories about the date of the building of the house had appeared—one that it was built when Hale was a little boy, another that it was not built till after he was hanged. In the hope of settling this question, I applied myself to every clue, and it was then that my mind reverted to the letter dictated by Hale's niece, Rebeckah Hale Abbot, that I had once seen in the archives of the Connecticut Historical Society. I remembered that the letter told about the house and, in particular, that it described a shadow-portrait of Hale himself incised on the inside of the door opening into the northwest bedchamber of the house. The door in question had long been painted over, as I knew, and the letter had been ignored by students of Hale's story.

I took the matter up with Professor Johnston, who was then at work on a new edition of his "Nathan Hale 1776." He too had seen and read the letter, but he was satisfied that there was noth-

ing vital to be learned from it, and that the portrait of Hale referred to in it had certainly been obliterated and destroyed by the painting of the door. Undaunted by the venerable professor's verdict on the letter, I took advantage of a holiday and on Thanksgiving Day, 1913, I visited South Coventry, taking with me Mr. Henry Butler Guilan, a young architect who had won my heart by his interest in the profiles of old moldings. Together we made many measurements of the house, and I particularly examined the woodwork, especially the inside of the door of the northwest chamber, but I could not find the slightest trace of any drawing underneath the paint. It seemed to me that if a profile-drawing had been scratched in the soft pine of the door, there would be some faint trace of it, even through the paint, but I could see nothing and was discouraged.

The next March, however, I called upon the late Mr. H. A. Hammond Smith in his studio in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. His position as the first expert in this country on the cleaning and care of old paintings led me to believe that I could not be better advised than by him. When I told him my story, he assured me that in his opinion paint-remover would not injure a "pencil"-blackened line, and he suggested that I should undertake the work myself. That I was reluctant to do, and he tentatively agreed to accompany me to Coventry to try the experiment, but that plan fell through.

I then impressed into my service Mr. Huc Mazelet Luquiens, a young New Haven portrait painter. On the evening of April 9th ("Fast Day") we started for South Coventry by way of Willimantic, equipped with a paint-removing outfit, his camera, and other luggage suitable for such an expedition. Our lunch basket, I may add, contained a brace of roast chickens and bread and wine. The condition of the roads, always poor, made the use of an automobile at that season out of the question, and on arriving by trolley at South Coventry, we perforce embarked in a narrow high buggy, and after a high-pressure journey of between three and four miles, landed safely at the Hale Mansion.

Isolated, dilapidated, unpainted, and vacant, it presented a forlorn picture, heightened on the inside by streamers of paper falling

from dampened walls. We soon had a fine fire in the bedroom in question, and I began with great care to remove the paint from a small area on the central upper stile of the door, proceeding with the utmost caution lest I disfigure the shadow-portrait that I felt must be there. Under two coats of white paint I came to what appeared to be the original coat of pale green paint, and after softening this I used a copper coin to scrape down to the surface of the wood. There revealed, incised in the soft pine, was a clear blackened line with a slight upward curve.

My instant declaration that I had found the only known portrait of Nathan Hale was received with derision by my companions, the other of whom, I may here add, was the attractive young woman, daughter of the village innkeeper, by whom we had been driven over to the place. It is enough to say of her that she well sustained the romantic name of Alix. But it takes more than derision to dampen the enthusiasm of an antiquary when the train has been fired. I countered the derision of my companions by promptly declaring that I meant to take the door, now transfigured in my mind's eye, to New Haven that very day. I claimed that as the door was very light and narrow, its lower end could be inserted into the hood of the old buggy, and that, somehow, two of us could then get in under it and so drive back to the village. Alix promptly declared that her horse would not "stand" for any such untoward performance and offered to find a man to drive out from the village with a wagon, to get the door, crate it, and forward it to me at New Haven without delay. But I was not to be thwarted, and gaily lifting the door from its hinges, I carried it down the staircase and out into the yard, where the horse, either sensing the importance of the occasion or chilled and hungry and anxious to start homeward, allowed us to insert the bottom of the door into the buggy's hood, from which it projected forward over the seat and dash.

Alix and I now got in and, crouching forward under the door, which we virtually carried on our backs, we started on the long drive to the village. Luquiens, good sport that he was, trailed along behind in the mud of the road, carrying overcoats, the lunch basket, his camera, and whatever: I can see him now as he trailed

along behind the buggy with its incongruous load. Just before reaching the village, some badinage was exchanged by Alix and some girl friends, but with this single interruption, we arrived at length and at last before the long-unpainted, shabby colonnade of the Bidwell House. Further adventures followed, more exciting, and forsooth less picturesque, but after them all the door was landed safely in my darkened house in New Haven late in the evening, and I was pleased to think that after an absence of one hundred forty-odd years Nathan Hale had returned to his college town.

The next day, as I felt unwilling to undertake the responsibility of further uncovering what I felt sure was the only existing portrait of my hero, I wrote to Mr. Hammond Smith asking for an appointment. His reply came on Monday; Tuesday afternoon three men came to my house, wrapped the door in a white cloth, and bore it away; that night it went forward to New York under heavy insurance. Thursday morning early I went down to the City and reported at Mr. Hammond Smith's studio, which was the old studio of Mr. John La Farge, where I had more than once listened to the unforgettable talk of that great artist. My companion on the train from New Haven was a warm friend, the late Professor George Burton Adams, who evinced the liveliest interest in the whole story.

Mr. Hammond Smith had everything in readiness and began with scientific accuracy to experiment with his paint-remover on one corner of the door. Carefully timing the removal of each successive coat there, he finally, after some computation, freely applied his paint-remover to the portion of the door where the portrait was supposed to be, and we then went out to a luncheon that to me seemed tasteless and interminable. Returning to the studio a little after two o'clock, Mr. Hammond Smith examined the effect of the paint-remover on the paint, and then handing me a very flexible pallet knife, he said, "Now you can uncover your portrait." The three coats of paint, now reduced to velvet softness, came away with ease, and there revealed was the full outline of the portrait, corresponding exactly to the description in the long-neglected letter of Hale's niece Rebeckah.

My excitement may be better imagined than described. Mr. Hammond Smith, critically examining the outline, said in effect that he could not pronounce it a profile-portrait of Nathan Hale, but that he could from his long experience say with confidence that it was the faithful profile of some person who stood there at the time it was made. Certain qualities of the line convinced him of that. I ran to the telephone and first announced my discovery to Mr. Edmund Wetmore, sometime President-General of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, who was particularly interested because I had shown him many years before Bela Pratt's sketch-model of the proposed statue to Hale on the Yale Campus. I next called up Mr. Frederic W. Allen, Yale 1900, at his Wall Street office, because he, more than anyone else, had taken up the burden of raising the money needed to pay for having Mr. Pratt's design cast in bronze. I now learned from Mr. Allen, what was quite providential, that Mr. Pratt had on that very day come down from Boston to New York to go with Mr. Allen to the Roman Bronze Works in Brooklyn, where the statue had just been cast by the lost-wax process and was ready for delivery. Mr. Allen said that his car was at the door to take them to the foundry, whereupon they both got at once into the car and came directly to Mr. Hammond Smith's studio.

Mr. Pratt's excitement was scarcely less than mine. He had based his figure of Hale on such descriptions of Hale as I had been able to gather years before, in 1898, and it was a matter of the highest interest to him to see how the head of his figure should correspond to the shadow-portrait before him on the door. We stood in silence there for a brief interval, and then he turned to me and said, "Well, it is clear that your friend, Nathan Hale, had a good deal of curiosity about him." I should say here that from the beginning of the "unveiling of the portrait," so to speak, I had noted with gratification that the head, which faced from left to right, was larger than life size, and this was reassuring, as shadow-portraits must always have that characteristic. "Why do you say that the portrait shows curiosity?" I asked Pratt. He turned to me and said, "Don't you see that the nose is too small for the size of the head?" I flushed and said, "Bela, that is what

troubles me. I am a broken-hearted man. The nose is certainly too small for the nose of a hero." He laughed and said, "If you were an artist you would understand the reason for that. It is clear to me that as the drawing of the shadow progressed, Hale became so curious that he turned his head more and more toward the door, which brought his temple bone into prominence and reduced the size of his nose. Any artist could see that."

Allen and Pratt soon left to go to the Bronze Foundry, and Mr. Smith finished the cleaning of the space uncovered by the paint-remover. Arrangements were made for having the door photographed in the studio, and I returned to New Haven, whither the door followed me soon after, to be placed in the vault of the Second National Bank, where it remains to this day.

I was now, as I believed, in the position of having in my possession the only existing portrait of Nathan Hale, on an old pine door removed from a remote abandoned farmhouse that I did not own. Ultimately, I myself bought the house and farm buildings and three hundred acres of land, partly in order to get possession of the door and its precious portrait. I have often deliberated upon having all of the paint removed from both sides of the door in the hope of finding some writing or other informative material, but it has always seemed to me more interesting and valuable as a document with the paint removed from only the one small area. If the removal of the rest of the paint revealed nothing, the door, I think, would somehow have lost interest.

It is now time to refer to the long forgotten and neglected letter which led to this discovery. It was dictated March 15, 1856, by Hale's own niece Rebeckah, when she was seventy-six years old. Rebeckah Hale was a daughter of Nathan's brother Joseph, who had taken a gallant part in the Revolutionary War and had been wrecked in health by confinement in one of the British prison ships off the Jersey coast. One of the three sons of Deacon Richard Hale who responded to the Lexington Alarm, he had been a member of Knowlton's Rangers and had also served in Rhode Island during the War. It appears that in 1784, a sick man, he had been taken into his father's house, with his wife and children, including Rebeckah, and assigned this northwest chamber. There he died. After two or three years his widow remarried,

but his daughter Rebeckah, a girl of three or four at the time of his death, remained in the house, a member of her Grandfather Hale's household until in 1799 she married Deacon Ezra Abbot and removed to Wilton, New Hampshire, with her husband. Her long letter, containing much information for students of Hale's history, is given in full (pages 351-354) in this book. I must refer readers to it. Its phrasing shows that the old lady dictated it to her son.

. . . . The portrait of Capt. Nathan Hale on the chamber door, was merely a profile on the inner side of the only door opening into the north chamber,—near the middle of the upper pair of panels, extending partly on each panel, about the height of a man standing. It was simply a head showing the front features of the face in profile, drawn about the size of life as though by means of a shadow on the door from a distant light, with one continuous strong line from neck over & to neck again,—black enough for ink yet not ragged as ink lines on wood often are,—possibly made with a very black pencil.

The door, she thinks, had never been painted. The house was built many years before; but parts, still unfinished when she went to live there, were finished at different times afterwards. Allusions were still frequent to "the old house" then torn down, which had stood two or three rods to the southeast.

The profile was always regarded in the family as taken for her Uncle Nathan. She does not recollect to have ever heard the fact either doubted or positively stated; or to have known when or by whom it was taken, or whether considered a good likeness, or otherwise, or to have heard any criticisms or even much conversation respecting it. She says, "probably less was thought of such things in those days than at present — besides, his image was so strongly impressed on their hearts they had no need of the profile as a remembrance, and, though sometimes alluded to, it was too nearly connected with his unhappy fate to permit them to say much about it." The profile remained without change so long as she resided there & for many years after, probably as long as any of the Hale family occupied the place. In her visits to Coventry she always went to the old homestead, (until after the spring of 1820 the last time she ever remained over night at the house), generally if not always occupying that chamber; and she never noticed any change; if she had it would have made an impression not to be forgotten. But on the completion of the Hale monument (1846) she with her son Harris & sister Nelson visited Coventry, and called at the old homestead and, mentioning the profile on the door with a request to see it were kindly shown up,—when to her surprise she found it invisible; the chamber, including of course the door, had been painted.

Rebeckah Hale's description of the profile-portrait of her Uncle Nathan, the memory of which was indelibly impressed upon her mind during her childhood and young girlhood, was to receive astonishing corroboration as to Hale's appearance in another document which the writer had the great good fortune to discover only a few months after the uncovering of the profile. I refer to the personal description of Hale (and the only personal description of him of which I am aware) in the narrative of Lieutenant Elisha Bostwick, found in his pension file in the archives of the Pension Office in Washington. The story of this find is fully rehearsed in pages 412-414. The description of Hale's personal appearance forms the concluding part of Bostwick's account of his Revolutionary experiences, written by him on the face and back of his Commission.

In concluding a remarkably vivid account of his soldiering, the veteran soldier wrote :

I will now make some observations upon the amiable & unfortunate Capt. Nathan Hale whose fate is so well known; for I was with him in the same Regt. both at Boston & New York & until the day of his tragical death: & although of inferior grade in office was always in the habits of friendship & intimacy with him: & my remembrance of his person, manners & character is so perfect that I feel inclined to make some remarks upon them: for I can now in imagination see his person & hear his voice—his person I should say was a little above the common stature in height, his shoulders of a moderate breadth, his limbs strait & very plump; regular features—very fair skin—blue eyes—flaxen or very light hair which was always kept short—his eyebrows a shade darker than his hair & his voice rather sharp or piercing—his bodily agility was remarkable I have seen him follow a football & kick it over the tops of the trees in the Bowery at New York, (an exercise which he was fond of)—his mental powers seemed to be above the common sort—his mind of a sedate and sober cast, & he was undoubtedly Pious; for it was remark'd that when any of the soldiers of his company were sick he always visited them & usually Prayed for & with them in their sickness.—

A little anecdote I will relate; one day he accidentally came across some of his men in a bye place Playing Cards—he spoke—what are you doing—this won't do,—give me your cards, they did so, & he chopd them to pieces, & it was done in such a manner that the men were rather pleased than otherwise—his activity on all occasions was wonderful—he would make a pen the quickest & the best of any man—

Innumerable instances of occurrences which took place in the Army I could relate, but who would care for them: Perhaps it may be thought by some that I have already been at the expense of Prolixity: nobody in these days feels as I do, left here alone, & they cannot if they would, but to me it is a melancholy pleasure to go back to those Scenes of fear & anguish & after the laps of 50 years (1826 was in my 78th year) to rumenate upon them which I think I can do with as bright a recollection as though they were present—One more reflection I will make—why is it that the delicious Capt Hale should be left & lost in an unknown grave & forgotten—

The foregoing Statements were mde from Memory & recollection & from documents & Memorandoms which I kept.

Elisha Bostwick

N.B. Soon after my return from the Army I received a Lieutenants Commission in the Militia afterwards a Captains Commission & served in various terms of duty in Alarms to the close of the War: during the War was in six actions, to wit: that at White Plains — at Trenton — Princeton — Quibbletown — Ridgefield & Compo — in the later part of the War a Captain

Elisha Bostwick —
born in Newmilford —
Decr. 17th — (O.S.) 1748

The reader can well make his own comparison between Rebecca Hale's description of the profile-portrait of her adored Uncle Nathan and the description of Hale himself so affectionately penned by Bostwick, his friend and comrade-at-arms, but two points seem to demand particular mention here. In the first place, Bostwick describes Hale as having "flaxen or very light hair which was always kept *short*," and the profile portrait shows that he wore his hair "pompadour," so to speak, and *not* in a queue. Mr. Pratt on the other hand has represented him as having his hair dressed in a queue. Here I may note that marginal entries in Hale's Diary, elsewhere reproduced in this book, show that he paid great attention to his hair, having it frequently dressed. In the second place, the profile-portrait shows the suggestion of a double chin, a feature disappointing to the writer but of evidential value now, for Bostwick says of Hale "his limbs strait & very *plump*," and that explains the slight, regrettable fold under the chin, shown in the profile. The invariable tradition of Hale's remarkable athletic prowess, however, is fully confirmed by Bost-

wick when he says, "I have seen him follow a football & kick it over the tops of the trees in the Bowery at New York, (an exercise which he was fond of)."

One difficulty remains to be explained. The opinion of experts and the local traditions were in conflict as to the date of the Hale mansion. The question has now been definitely determined by entries in the diary of Hale's brother Enoch, who records that it was built in 1776, and that the family moved into it in November of the same year, which was after Nathan was hanged.

There is a bare possibility that Nathan made another, an unrecorded visit home that year and that the profile on the door was made *in situ* on that occasion. He might have found time for a quick visit on his way from Cambridge to New York, by way of Norwich, after the evacuation of Boston, but that was in March, and the new house can still hardly have been far enough along to have received any of its trim. What is far more likely—indeed everything supports the conclusion—is that a part of the woodwork, including some of the doors, was removed from the old house and installed in the new house, and that the particular door received the portrait when in its original location in Hale's actual birth-house. That house was undoubtedly built about 1746, when Deacon Hale made his original purchase of a wild tract of land from the heirs of Governor Joseph Talcott, one of the Original Proprietors of Coventry. The carpentry in the present house, while relatively simple, is of very superior workmanship, but the door in question was apparently not originally made to fit the jamb but had to be cut down to fit it. It is hard to believe that the hinges would have been placed as they are on the door, if the door had been a new one initially made for the jamb.

The writer is convinced beyond any doubt that the shadow-profile is a portrait of Nathan Hale and that it was placed on the door before the erection of the present house in 1776. The inner part of the ell of the present house is, as elsewhere explained, undoubtedly part of the actual birth-house, and Rebeckah Hale's statement that she knew the profile on the door as a portrait of her Uncle Nathan has never been challenged. Her interest in it on her subsequent visits to Coventry, and especially her statement

of the disappointment she felt in 1846 to find that it had been painted over, show that her story was not just the groundless imagining of an old woman.

Though often urged to do so, the writer has heretofore refrained from writing an account of the shadow portrait and from reproducing the pictures of it, in the hope that more information about it might come to light. He now yields to importunities to rehearse the story for this "Documentary Life of Hale," and to reproduce one of the pictures of the door—a document indeed of the first importance.

Just when it was that Hale stood near this door, while someone held a lighted candle to cast a shadow and a third person scratched the outline in its soft pine panels, must in all probability forever remain a matter of speculation. Only some long-forgotten letter or diary entry that might fortuitously turn up could settle the question, but the urge to speculate on it is not to be denied, and I, perforce, yield to it. After much pondering of the surrounding circumstances I am led to the conclusion that the portrait was made during the young soldier's last furlough—or at least the only furlough that he is known to have spent at home.

In the first place, it seems to me perfectly clear that nothing so untoward as the defacement of a handsome paneled door in the family home would ever have been thought of except on an occasion that was quite out of the ordinary. The temper of Nathan's own letters and diary plainly shows that he was too serious a person to have lent himself, under any ordinary conditions, to a proceeding so radical. I find nothing in his entire story that bespeaks the egoist, much less the pusher. A visit home simply during a college vacation, or even from teaching school at Moodus or New London, would hardly have been occasion enough to warrant the preservation of his likeness in this manner. A favorite in the family circle he doubtless was even in those early days, but he would scarcely then have been singled out for such portraiture.

On the occasion of his visit home during the furlough referred to, however, Nathan had become the outstanding member of the family, even a captain in the Continental Army and destined soon to return to the front. On the first of the previous July (1775)

the Connecticut Assembly had appointed him a first lieutenant in the new "Seventh Regiment"; on September 1st he had been promoted to be a captain-lieutenant, ranking as a captain but without a captain's full pay; and on January 1, 1776, he was gazetted a full captain in the Continental Army, in the command of Colonel Charles Webb. Quite apart from his personal qualities—rarely lovable as they were—the family circle now had very special reasons to be proud of the young man. Am I assuming too much to conjecture that it was sometime during the furlough that came at just this time that Hale *stood*, so to speak, for his portrait?

It seems to the writer that there is much connected with that furlough, as revealed in the numerous entries that Hale made in the course of it in his modest diary, that bears upon the problem of this profile-portrait.

Under date of Saturday, December 23d, 1775, Hale says in the diary, "*Set out from Cambridge [i.e., from camp] on my way home.*" The very next day (it was the Sabbath) he records that he "*travell'd in the whole today 41 miles. The weather stormy, and the snow for the most part ancle deep.*" A stiff day's walk even for so hardy and athletic a young man as Hale! No wonder that the next day (it was Christmas Day) he and his companion (he does not name him) "*got horses*" which they prudently dismissed at nightfall. Tuesday, December 26th, the record is "*Arr'd home a little after sunset. One heel string lame.*" I cannot forbear noting here that the diary shows that before starting out on that long hike from Cambridge to Coventry, the young fellow made a trifling expenditure for "Dress^g Hat" and for "dress^g hair." I fancy both hat and hair needed further *dressing* after he got home three days later.

The next day, December 27th, the laconic record is, "*Heel lame,*" but that lame heel does not prevent him from dutifully calling on some near relatives and on Mr. Huntington, the witty and urbane village minister, who had prepared him for Yale. The next day, however, Thursday the 28th, his sole entry is, "*Unwell—tarried at home.*" The day after that, December 29th, he is off calling on friends again. Now, alas, there is a gap in the daily entries. The next page is a blank. No further diary entry proper

appears until January 24, 1776, when, his busy furlough over, he writes, "*Set out from my father's for the Camp on horseback, at 7 1/2 Ocl.*"

Fortunately, however, this gap in the diary is well covered by "non-diaristic" entries, so to speak. One of Hale's duties during this furlough was that of recruiting to fill up the quota of his regiment, and although he seems to have been too busy to "keep up writing" in his diary as such, he ran true to form and did not fail to keep an account of all of his personal as well as of his military expenditures. From these entries of expenses, debits and credits, on the reverse pages of the diary, we are able to trace his movements from place to place and to tell what he was doing almost every day of the entire furlough, which we may well imagine was one of the busiest and gayest periods of his short life. During it, in the pardonable glow and glory of his captaincy, he visited Windham, Norwich, and New London, did business in each place pertaining to his job, saw also many old friends and acquaintances, made many personal expenditures, such as having his hair dressed again and again and his watch mended twice. He ate and drank like any soldier on leave; got recruits for his company, among them his boyhood friend and neighbor, Asher Wright; and so on.

What more natural than that the portrait on the chamber door should have been made sometime during this furlough, when Hale was so happy and so busy, and when, peradventure, his family were so demonstrably proud of him? Indeed, it is hard to imagine a more appropriate occasion or a better opportunity than during those first few days of enforced idleness, when he was handicapped by that "lame heel string" and was feeling so "unwell" that he "tarried at home" a whole day.

But whatever may be thought of these speculations, and whether the portrait was made by some of the young folks of the household or by friends who came in to welcome Hale home, it must be supposed that it was done surreptitiously. It is unthinkable that Deacon Hale would have countenanced the scratching-up of a door in his house under any pretext. It was said of him when he was borne to the grave "No man ever worked harder for both

worlds than Richard Hale." He had a very passion for orderliness, a passion that his son Nathan seems to have inherited.

It is, to be sure, not without significance that when Nathan arrived home on this furlough important changes there were imminent. The family homestead was to be torn down and preparations were being made for the building of a new and larger house, the present mansion. Under such conditions the scratching of a profile on one of the doors of the house would have seemed less heinous, but I am nevertheless satisfied that Deacon Hale would never have countenanced the performance and that it must have been done surreptitiously.

Sentiment suggests that the door may have been salvaged only for the purpose of preserving the profile of Nathan that was scratched on it, but I have no share in such a notion. Rebeckah's long-neglected letter sufficiently shows how much the likeness was cherished in her girlhood, but my judgment is that the door was simply one of several perfectly good paneled pine doors that were saved from the first house, then not more than thirty years old, and used in the new house.

It is worthy of note in connection with this subject that the making of shadow-profiles seems to have been one of the social diversions of the period. Manasseh Cutler, of the Yale class of 1765, tells us that on the famous "dark day" of 1780, a little company of which he was a member diverted themselves at mid-day in his house at Ipswich by making shadow-profiles by candle-light.*

My story is told. Any reader of it can supply his own picture of the scene enacted now more than a century and a half ago in that farmstead "east of the River." Whatever the story hidden behind that blackened line in the soft pine of the door, there it remains to-day to speak for itself. The shadow cast by a single candle on a small paneled pine door has preserved for us the only existing portrait of Nathan Hale, who, a few months later, "resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty at New York Sept. 22d, 1776." If, as is strongly suggested by the very incom-

* "Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.," 2 vols., Cincinnati, 1888.

pleteness of the portrait itself, it was surreptitious in its execution, it is even so all the more convincing and all the more rewarding to the Antiquary whose rare privilege it was to unveil it.

The author cannot refrain from adding, as a pendant to his account of *Hale's Shadow Portrait*, Thomas Hardy's affecting poem "The Whitewashed Wall," so closely related in subject to the story of the *Shadow Portrait of Hale*.*

THE WHITEWASHED WALL

By Thomas Hardy

Why does she turn in that shy soft way
Whenever she stirs the fire,
And kiss to the chimney-corner wall,
As if entranced to admire
Its whitewashed bareness more than the sight
Of a rose in a garden green?
I have known her long, but this raptured rite
I never before have seen.

—Well, her soldier-son cast his shadow there,
And a friend took a pencil and drew him
Upon that flame-lit wall. And the lines
Had a lifelike semblance to him.
And there long stayed his familiar look;
But one day, ere she knew,
The whitener came to cleanse the nook,
And covered the face from view.

'Yes,' he said, 'my brush goes on with a rush;
And the draught is buried under;
When you have to whiten old cots and brighten,
What else can you do, I wonder?'
But she knows he's there. And when she yearns
For him, lone in the moaning night,
She sees him as close at hand, and turns,
And kisses him under the white.

* The author acknowledges the kind permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company to reprint this poem, which was included in Thomas Hardy's "Late Lyrics and Earlier."

THEY KNEW HALE

All his life the author has been a lover and student of old houses and their associations. It may be, peradventure, that some reader, likewise interested in old houses and their associations, will want to know about the houses that heard the footsteps of Hale and listened to his voice. Such a reader, if there be one, may like to be told what houses that knew Hale are still standing, for they are indeed documents in the case and have a message for anyone who can receive it.

First of all is that fragment of the house in which Hale was born—now forming the ell of the Hale Mansion, which itself was built in 1776, while he was at the front, and is still proudly standing in Coventry, in Tolland County.

The Strong Homestead, in which his mother was born, and which he often visited to see his “good grandmother Strong,” as he himself spoke of her, is nearby, almost across the way from the mansion.

The Huntington Parsonage in Coventry must be mentioned too, for it was there that Hale was prepared for Yale by the village minister, the Reverend Joseph Huntington, himself a Yale man. The visitor there will be shown the great fireplace before which Nathan sat as he got out his lessons.

The time-worn Connecticut Hall in New Haven, in which Hale roomed for four years as a Yale student, is, as far as the writer knows, the only college building of Hale’s time that survives.

We now move to the little red school-house in Haddam, on the Connecticut River, where Hale first taught school. This little building has been removed from its original location at Haddam Landing to a site where it commands a superb view of the river but seems strangely aloof and alone, as if left to its precious memories.

In New London the historic Seventeenth Century Hempstead House, which knew Hale intimately, so to speak, was the home of his close friend and comrade-at-arms, Sergeant Stephen Hempstead. Here, according to the family tradition handed

down to the late Miss Anna Hempstead Branch, the poetess, who told the story to the writer not long before her death, the two young men lay on their backs in the meadow nearby and exchanged confidences.

Then there is in New London the stately gray-stone Shaw Mansion, where Hale was a frequent visitor, and where his name is cherished with the names of such national figures as Washington and Lafayette.

New London also cherishes, with almost sacred care, the school-house in which Hale held forth as school-master, and which he left to take up his duties as a Lieutenant in the Continental Army.

These are the only remaining buildings that knew Hale of which the author feels sure. Of them all the little red school-house in Haddam seems to-day the most eloquent.

HALE'S COMMISSION AS CAPTAIN

[Hale's Commission as Captain is, happily, in the possession of the College, and is herein reproduced, though not in facsimile. The history of it is to be found in the following paper.—G. D. S.]

IN CONGRÉSS.

The DELEGATES of the United Colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina*, to [NATHAN HALE Esq^r:~]

WE reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity, DO by these presents constitute and appoint you to be [CAPTAIN IN THE NINETEENTH REGIMENT OF FOOT COMMANDED BY COLONEL CHARLES WEBB] in the army of the United Colonies, raised for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of [CAPTAIN ~] by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, as

[CAPTAIN~] And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the time being of the army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

[Attest CHA THOMSON Sec^y]

By Order of the Congress,

[January the first 1776~]

[JOHN HANCOCK President]

(All printing enclosed in brackets [] was written in ink, in long hand.)

THE STORY OF HALE'S COMMISSION AS CAPTAIN IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

This priceless Hale document was given to Yale at Commencement time, 1918, by Mrs. William A. Read, of New York, as a memorial to her son, Curtis Seaman Read, a Yale Student killed in the Aviation Service in the Great War. It was my privilege to be present when former President Taft accepted the gift of the Commission on behalf of the University. At the same time, Mrs. Read presented to the University Hale's letter of May 2, 1774, to his classmate Mead. The Commission and the letter came to Mrs. Read from her late husband, who bought both of them from the late George H. Richmond, a New York dealer in autograph material, who bought them from the late Major Godfrey A. S. Weiners, then of College Point, L. I. Major Weiners bought them from George D. Smith, the well known New York dealer, who in turn bought them at an auction sale held April 29/30, 1902, in Philadelphia, by Stan V. Henkels. At this auction the Commission brought \$1725 and the letter \$1325. Mr. Henkels wrote me under date of August 13, 1918 that he bought the Commission and letter at a date not given, from a Mr. Henderson, who obtained both documents from Dr. William B. Sprague for use in a projected extra-illustrated copy of Bancroft's "History of the United States."

We learn from Sergeant Hempstead's narrative that when Hale assumed his disguise, preparatory to entering the enemy's lines, he entrusted the Commission to Hempstead, who must have taken it back to camp in New York and given it to Asher Wright, who had instructions from Hale himself to look after his belongings. Beyond doubt, it was among the papers referred to by Enoch in his diary entry of June 28, 1777, when he says, "busy myself a little looking over some paper &c of Brother N^{ns}—." Thereafter we see or hear nothing more of the Commission until it appears in the hands of the greatly acquisitive Dr. Sprague.

The writer is constrained to believe that Dr. Sprague obtained

it direct from some member of Hale's family, probably the nephew from whom he got the MS. poem, now owned by the Chicago Historical Society and listed herein as "The Tryst of Haddam Landing." The Commission, signed by John Hancock, is dated January 1, 1776. We have no means of knowing when or where it was placed in Hale's hands. (It is significant in this connection to note that in his preface Stuart acknowledges the receipt of "valuable information" from, among others, the Rev. Dr. Sprague, of Albany.)

When we reflect how Hale felt about this document, signed by John Hancock, and evidencing his appointment to a Captaincy in the Continental Army, we cannot but feel glad that, at long last, it has come into the possession of Hale's Alma Mater.

The Commission is illustrated in Johnston's "Nathan Hale" (First Edition), which also illustrates the last page of Hale's letter to Mead, in which Hale "spread himself," so to speak, in signing his name, for he was proud of his penmanship.

WHERE AND BY WHOM WAS HALE CAPTURED; AN INQUIRY

BY JAMES GRAFTON ROGERS

Master of Timothy Dwight College in Yale University

The details of Nathan Hale's last days in the service of his country are only partly known. His venture as a spy from Connecticut across the Sound to Long Island and into Manhattan, the place and reason for his capture, and indeed the events which led immediately to his execution on September 22, 1776, must be pieced from scattered and conflicting fragments.

About the first of September, 1776, or a little earlier, he was detached from the Connecticut volunteers known as the Nineteenth, or more often as "Colonel Webb's," Regiment, in which he had been a captain for a year. He now headed a company in the regiment of scouts known as Knowlton's Rangers. These men, it seems, were spread along the western reaches of Long Island Sound, Hell Gate, and the Harlem River in the early part of September. The main force of Continentals now held New York City.

On August 27 General Howe, after landing his British forces from their camps on Staten Island, had defeated the Americans in the Battle of Long Island. Washington retreated to Manhattan on the night of the 29th with great skill. The last entry in Hale's diary, dated August 23, shows him on Long Island with his soldiers before this disaster.

On September 15 General Howe ferried his troops across to Manhattan Island, seized New York, then a town on its southern tip, drove the Americans to refuge on the northern extremity of the island along the Harlem River and near the present site of Columbia University, and occupied the southern half of Manhattan. The most northerly British troops were as far up as Ninety-first Street on the Hudson River, with some pickets beyond. General Howe's headquarters were at the Beekman Mansion, overlooking the East River at about Fifty-first Street and First Avenue. Between him and the advance lines there were var-

ious brigades. Of controlling interest in the drama of Nathan Hale was a "park" or campground of the Royal Artillery situated near and probably across the road from the Dove Tavern, a little more than five miles from the town. This was at the present location of Sixty-sixth Street and Third Avenue.

Such was the disposition of the hostile forces from about September 15 to the end of that month. On September 16, the day after the King's troops had landed from Brooklyn and scattered the Colonials in flight up the island, Knowlton's Rangers checked the enemy's advance in a brilliant skirmish, called later the Battle of Harlem Heights, but Hale was absent, already gone on his mission. Knowlton was killed.

Sometime after August 23, when Hale's last entry in his diary shows him on Long Island awaiting the British forces who were being landed at the Narrows from Staten Island, and clearly after August 29, when Washington gave up the footing he had left on Long Island and retreated to Manhattan, Hale began his adventure as a spy. Before the 29th there was no need for such work. The Americans still faced the British about Brooklyn. It was forty years later that Hale's sergeant, Stephen Hempstead, wrote his account of Nathan's start, but he is our only eyewitness to this part of the story. He says it was "after the retreat of our army from Long Island" that Hale was "sent for to Headquarters" and solicited to go. Hale and he, Hempstead writes, "left our Camp on Harlem Heights." This must have been the Rangers' camp, not headquarters, for Washington's headquarters were not near Harlem until September 15 and Hempstead's text shows Hale was "sent for," no doubt from the town.

Hale left Harlem on his mission with the sergeant before the British landed on Manhattan on September 15, for Hempstead says this landing occurred after Hale had reached Long Island. An armed sloop, the "Schuyler," under Captain Pond, took him from Norwalk. No official record of the trip is known. Enoch Hale, Nathan's brother, who got the story a month later, says it was "about the second week of September." All in all, it may have been any day in the first two weeks of September.

Hale was slipped out of the inlet at Norwalk and set ashore

fifteen miles across the Sound at Huntington in the sandy woods, no doubt. Enoch was told that Nathan had embarked at Stamford, for he so wrote twice in his diary. Surely the sergeant who was with Nathan is a better authority and would remember such a point even forty years later, when he wrote it out. There is no official record in American files of his setting out at all.

We must now leap forward a week or two to be sure of our firm footing. On September 22, 1776, the Orderly Book kept at British Headquarters on New York Island (Manhattan) records that a spy "was this day executed at 11 oclock in front of the Artilery Park." This was Nathan Hale. Colonel Webb, in his return of killed and missing made in November, reports his Captain as killed on that date. The diary of the British Captain Mackenzie and that of Captain Bamford both call this spy "Nathan Hales," one saying that he was a captain, the other a lieutenant, of the Rebels. That evening the British Captain Montresor told the Colonials about it while negotiating under a flag of truce near Harlem, and later recounted it a second time, giving the spy's name and some detail, including Hull's famous version of Nathan's last words. This entry in the Orderly Book, read aloud we presume to the Royal troops, clearly refers to Hale. The single sentence mentioning the apprehension, confession, and execution of an unnamed spy one Sunday morning is the only note of Hale in British records.

All accounts agree the spy was hung. There is no dispute about the hour, 11 A. M. on Sunday. The Orderly Book and Mackenzie's diary use the same words to describe the place, "in front of" the Park of Artillery. The soldier probably copied the order distributed to his brigade. Mackenzie was camped "in the environs of New York" this day, probably three miles south of the Park. Yet he gives a full and precise account of Hale and his death. His diary is throughout exact in its descriptions.

Historians accept Stokes' conclusion that the Dove Tavern was on the present northwest corner of Sixty-sixth Street and Third Avenue. The house then stood a few hundred feet west of the "Eastern Post Road," which was one of the two main highways up the island. The Royal Artillery remained at this site several

years, but how it was grouped "near" the house and where the "front" lay is not certain. There are varying versions of what Hale said and did in his last hours. Hull's account of what Montresor told him and Mackenzie's journal are most full. There is agreement that the young spy admitted his mission and told his military rank. His composure is mentioned in the several important accounts. He said something about dying for his country, not improbably in words like those usually attributed to him. Some of the later forms of the story mention the notorious Cunningham as executioner. This is possible, even probable.

All this is recounted to aid an intelligent inquiry about the chief mystery which still remains. Where and how did Hale's capture occur? Henry P. Johnston, in his searching study, the book, *Nathan Hale, 1776* (revised in 1914) seems to conclude Hale was caught somewhere on Long Island, but he discounts the tradition which fixes upon Huntington. Since Johnston's work was done, two important contemporary documents have come to light, the diaries already mentioned as kept by the two British officers, Mackenzie and Bamford.

A granite column was erected at Huntington many years ago, commemorating the capture there on the basis of the tradition and accounts written down by Thompson, Onderdonk, and Stuart in their several volumes. These writers report the version, or part of it, which pictures Hale as betrayed at or near Huntington by a relative at an inn called "The Cedars," or after mistakenly hailing an enemy boat while seeking a way back across the Sound. In 1938 a committee headed by Dr. Edward J. Humiston reviewed the controversy stirred by recent evidence and reported at length to the Town of Huntington. Their text was printed partially in the local newspaper and is filed in the New York Historical Society. This committee discussed the important and freshly discovered statement by Bamford that Rogers' Rangers had captured Hale. It had in mind Mackenzie's account and went deeply into the logs of the British ship-of-war, the "Halifax," and other vessels, assuming as Johnston had done in his book, that there might well be a connection between this

ship and Hale's capture. The ship's book does not mention Nathan Hale and reveals no visit to Huntington. The boat is reported no further east than Hempstead Bay from the 19th to 22nd of September. The committee strains to show that the "Halifax" might have visited Huntington in intervals between the movements written in its log. The log shows that the famous Robert Rogers and a group of his Queen's Rangers were on and off the "Halifax" from September 16 to 21 and later. It records the baffling fact also that one "John Strong Hale, a spy" was aboard the ship all through September. The committee is dealing with new clues of stirring importance but, as one must observe, it does not succeed for all its labors in strengthening the view that Huntington was the place of Hale's capture. Quite the contrary.

Morton Pennypacker in his latest book, *General Washington's Spies* (1939) concludes that Hale was captured by Lieutenant Quarme and a detachment of the crew of the brig "Halifax" on the shore near Ward's Island, about One Hundred and Eleventh Street, while nearing the American outposts on northern Manhattan Island. This book is partly a reprint of the author's *The Two Spies* (1930). Later, in an article, "*Nathan Hale Mystery Seen Near Conclusion*" (Brooklyn Eagle, March 18, 1940), Mr. Pennypacker dissects the evidence more painstakingly and places the capture at Hunt's Point. This point is near the mouth of the Bronx River at the western extremity of Long Island Sound. The escaping spy, he thinks, while stealing north from Manhattan out of the British lines, along what is now the shore of the Bronx, signalled the British war vessel "Niger" in some blundering way, hoping to get back to Long Island. Nathan is considered to be the "Rebel Officer a deserter" who, the ship's log says, came aboard Friday night, September 20, at 7 P.M. The "Niger," on this theory, handed the captive over to the "Halifax" the next morning and the "Halifax" delivered him to Major Rogers after the mysterious John Strong Hale, a prisoner on board, identified him. This account manages to involve the "Halifax," Quarme, Rogers, and the John Strong Hale. It strains our confidence by making Nathan try to return to Long Island whence surely he

was escaping, by attributing to him a curious confusion and by making the other Hale a relative. No John Strong is known in Nathan's family history. The "Niger" has never played a part in the drama before this suggestion and its log does not mention Hale or a spy, but only a Rebel deserter.

We are now ready for a conclusion. Let us discard the babel of oral tradition and rumor. It is contradictory at best. We shall base a judgment on the written words of men who saw, listened, or acted on the scene in September 1776.

On this evidence, Nathan Hale was captured on the far western reaches of Long Island, probably at or near Flushing Bay, about September 21 by members of the Queen's Rangers while trying to reach the Colonial forces with information and maps. He had completed his observation as a spy. He was brought to the British Headquarters at the Beekman Mansion that night. He admitted his task and told his rank when his papers were exposed. He was hung without trial late Sunday morning, the 22nd. This at least is the conclusion to be drawn from the evidence now available, if proper emphasis is given to those records closest in time and place amid the welter of confusion and contradiction which has come down to us. Somebody else named Hale also probably played a part in his capture but who this was and what this other Hale did is obscure.

It seems unlikely that Nathan was seized at Huntington. His sergeant, it is true, waited at Norwalk for the captain, expecting him "to return back again to cross the sound." Huntington was fifty miles from Manhattan Island, or two days by any ordinary travel with a prisoner by land and more than a day by sea, according to the rate of cruise which the logs of the sailships at hand reveal. The Orderly Book reads that he was "apprehended last night," i.e. the 21st. If so, it could hardly have been so far away as Huntington.

Captain William Bamford wrote on the day of the execution that "Hales . . . was taken by Major Rogers." We know from the log of the "Halifax" that Rogers and all the Rangers of whom we have any record were west of Hempstead Bay and less

than half way to Huntington from the 19th on. There was a detachment of Rangers quartered at Flushing. Here seems to have been Major Rogers' center of activity. The mention of this notorious officer by Bamford tends strongly to indicate an event west of Sands Point and probably even in the Flushing area. Sands Point was twenty miles at most from the British Headquarters and Flushing less than ten. It was possible to bring in to the Beekman house before Sunday a prisoner taken on Saturday in these localities.

The sergeant, Hempstead, of all persons ought to know and remember most about the officer he accompanied into the jaws of death, even when writing long years afterwards. It is true he was not a witness to the capture, but he was keenly concerned. He says Hale had done his work and "was passing the British piquet guard between the lines of the two armies, within a mile and a half of his own quarters when he was stopped at a tavern, at a place called the Cedars." This passage does not suggest the site of Huntington, which was ten miles across the Sound from any American bivouacs and nearly two days' journey from any real picket lines or encampments of the British. There is no trace of any tavern called "Cedars" at or near Huntington, although the name was a not uncommon one about New England. This account of the sergeant does suggest a capture on Manhattan Island near the Harlem River, where the pickets of the armies faced each other and Hale's own "quarters" were "within a mile and a half" at Harlem Heights. Some such locality was in the sergeant's eye; certainly not central Long Island. Stuart and Onderdonk mention this "Cedars" and accept generally the Huntington or an Oyster Bay locality, but they do not find a "Cedars" thereabouts. The most to be said of Sergeant Hempstead is that he does not support Huntington by any reading. The other writers mentioned were resting upon oral sources half a century after the event and, unlike the sergeant, dealing with things in which they took no part.

Of the four critical records now available which are firsthand and close in time and place, namely the Orderly Book, Bamford, the Sergeant, and Mackenzie, we have left undiscussed only the

last-named, Mackenzie's diary. Except for the Orderly Book, this journal is much the most persuasive account of Hale's tragedy. The captain is an educated man. He was at times a deputy adjutant general and a major of brigade in New York. His diary is extended, careful in detail, and convincing in all its matter. Nathan Hale caught Mackenzie's personal interest as he did that of a comparable man of quality, Captain Montresor, whom Hull quotes at the flag of truce. Mackenzie gives us more facts about Nathan than anybody else on Manhattan Island except Montresor. Montresor is quoted to us by others. We have Mackenzie's own handwriting, apparently scribbled within the day. Hale, he says, "was apprehended as a Spy, last night upon Long Island."

This statement is entirely consistent with the phrase in the Orderly Book, "apprehended last night." Indeed it amplifies and so confirms the official word. It is more than consistent with our other journalist, Bamford, who writes that "Hales . . . a spy was taken by Major Rogers and this morning hanged." Rogers and his recruits, as we know from the "Halifax" log and many other sources, had been busy near and about Flushing for several days. Only Sergeant Hempstead's remembrance, among the intimate texts, is in any degree out of pattern. He seems to visualize the disaster at a tavern called "The Cedars" on the northern point of Manhattan Island between the armies. There is no such geographic point revealed in all the exhaustive research which has been devoted to the famous island. He must mean some other stretch of the contact between the armies, which late in September ran roughly along the salt water from Rye on the east to Harlem Heights on the west.

There are many later or hearsay versions and local traditions, inconsistent of course with this conclusion, that our young prisoner came to grief near the western end of Long Island. A soldier's letter from Harlem on September 26, printed in current papers, reads that "One Hale, in New York, on suspicion of being a spy, was taken up and . . . hung up." This contributes little but does imply that the boy was captured in the town. Enoch Hale's diary in September and October leaves the rumors

he heard vague as respects the place of his brother's seizure, but his last and fullest verbiage tells us that Webb, after the talk with Montresor under the flag of truce, "informs that, (Nathan) being suspected by his movements that he wanted to get out of New York was taken up and examined," etc. Hull told Hannah Adams about 1797 that "In his attempt to return he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe," etc. This same Hull in his *Memoirs*, printed in 1848, says Montresor told them "Hale had been arrested within the British lines, condemned as a spy and executed that morning." Lafayette's *Memoirs* state that Hale "had been taken on Long Island."

Early in 1777 several New England newspapers published an account which accused Samuel Hale, a Tory relative, of denouncing Nathan. "He therefore attempted to escape by King's Bridge and so far succeeded as to get to the outer guard, where he was suspected, apprehended, carried back and tried," etc. This charge is not accepted by the scholars like Johnston. An unknown lieutenant, writing from camp on September 24, 1776, says Montresor told Putnam that "yesterday they caught the Captain of a Company of Rangers and hung him immediately for a spy." Niles' *Principles*, issued in 1822, says that, "Just as he was on the eve of returning, he was so unfortunate as to be detected" and "barbarously executed the next morning." Barber's *Connecticut Historical Collections*, published in 1838, reports of Hale that "at the moment of leaving the Island (L. I.), he was recognized by a relative, who was a refugee and betrayed."

The Coventry Town Records contain an entry by Nathan's brother that he "was taken in the City of New York." The London *Courant* in 1780 published a version of Hale's tragedy, including the sentence, "Having so far effected his purpose, he was endeavoring to pass over from the camp below Haerlem to the American posts, on the height of that place, when he was suspected—stopped—examined before a general officer," etc. Thompson and Stuart, in their respective biographies, place him, as already stated, at Huntington where he was seized when he mistook a boat from the British vessel, "Halifax," or "Cerberus," for a friendly messenger and was dispatched a prisoner to New

York by water. These ships were not at Huntington at the time and the story is quite improbable in any form in the light of geography and the better sources. Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents*, 1849, printed pages of conflicting fragments, most of which have been already mentioned. He quotes three old citizens in Queen's County to the effect that the "Halifax" caught Hale. This is where Thompson and Stuart got their version.

The intrusion of Major Rogers upon the scene by Captain Bamford's mention of him as Hale's captor opens a new channel of possible and even probable events. Robert Rogers, the hero of many novels including Kenneth Roberts' *Northwest Passage*, was an Indian fighter of renown during the French and Indian Wars and a notorious soldier of fortune, author, and toast in London before the Revolution. He returned to America, was imprisoned on suspicion by the Colonial leaders, as he was and had been for years a British soldier on part or full pay, was released and joined General Howe's troops. He was employed by General Howe as a lieutenant-colonel to raise a corps of scouts for the Royal service to be known as the Queen's Rangers, named in memory, as were Knowlton's American Rangers, of the frontier heroes whom Robert had led to fame twenty years before.

All through the fall of 1776 Robert scoured Long Island for recruits, cruised the north shore in British vessels of war, and kept the towns on the Westchester and Connecticut shore in panic. Force's *American Archives* is sprinkled with orders, letters, appeals for protection, abuse, and other mentions of Robert and his crew.

Part of the Colonel's troops were quartered at Flushing throughout September, as many records reveal. The "Halifax" makes note of Rogers' Rangers on board and off for many days prior to Hale's execution. The Colonel and a detachment were aboard from the 16th to 19th. On Wednesday, the 19th, the vessel's log reads, "The party of Rangers landed at Sandey Pt at 10." (This means at Sands Point, just west of Hempstead Bay at 10 P. M.) On a later day, which is confused in the reckoning of the log but apparently pictures events of Saturday afternoon, the 21st, although described as Monday the 22, the

brig appears to lie off City Island. Then it reads, "Col Rogers and His party of Rangers came from Flushing." They seem to remain aboard until after Hale is buried.

A month later, on October 21, Colonel Rogers, who had landed at Mamaroneck with his pioneer troops, was attacked and badly battered by the Continentals, to their great glee. A few weeks later he disappears from our theatre of action. He died in London long afterwards.

It may well be that Colonel Rogers or his Rangers had to do with Hale's capture. Bamford's language may mean either the commander himself or his troops. These irregulars were swarming in the likely area between Hempstead Bay and Hell Gate. They were acting as scouts, pickets, and raiders. The brig, "Halifax," is connected with Hale's capture by oral tradition at least, as Onderdonk proves. There was a mysterious Hale on board, a spy. The Rangers and the crew of the ship were brothers in arms. It would only add to the drama if Nathan Hale in his youth and almost innocent sacrifice was really captured by the hardened professional Robert Rogers. This now seems more than probable.

It seems then, properly concluded, on our evidence known to-day, that Nathan Hale was captured September 21, 1776, that his captor was Major Robert Rogers or his Rangers, and that the place was along the shores or waters between the Triborough and Whitestone Bridges, probably near the new airport on Flushing Bay.

WHO WAS JOHN STRONG HALE?

The Log of the HALIFAX, the British Man-of-War that figures in the story of the capture of Hale, contains under the heading "A List of Prisoners Victualled at Two thirds Allowance for all paid" this single entry:

"1st Sept^r 1776 Huntington John Strong Hale a spy D 30th Sept^r 1776
Flushing
Headquarters"

The presence of the name John Strong Hale in the Log Book of the *Halifax* has been made much of by writers about the capture of Nathan Hale but it has led to nothing more than speculation. No connection between the two men, either of blood or of any other kind, has been established.—G. D. S.

[At my request, Professor Rogers has supplemented his paper by the full text of Captain Bamford's diary entry of September 22, 1776, and by a note on Captain William Bamford.—G. D. S.]

FROM THE DIARY OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM BAMFORD, SEPTEMBER 22, 1776

[*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 28 (1933), page 10]

"22 Su. bright hot M^s.

Nathan Hales, a Cap^t in y^e Rebel Army & a spy was taken by Maj^r Rogers & this m^s hang'd he had several Papers w^t acc^{ts} of our Force &ca he confess'd many deserters come in. he was a spy."

NOTE: Bamford was an Irishman, it appears, and a professional soldier, serving in the forces of General Howe, which had landed on Manhattan Island September 15. He was a captain of the 40th Regiment of Foot commanded by Sir Robert Hamilton, colonel. The manuscript diary from which the extract is taken runs from January 8 to December 31, 1776, covering his services in the British forces at Boston, Halifax, Staten Island, Long Island, and Manhattan Island. The original was in the collections of John W. Garrett and was published in full in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in three installments, Volume 27, pages 240-259, pages 296-314; Volume 28, pages 9-26, with an introductory note.

The diary is careless about such matters as spelling, punctuation, and capitals. It indicates its author was a keen veteran soldier of ordinary education. Most of the entries concern the weather, camp conditions, and the writer's duties, briefly stated, but there are many passages concerning things which he learned by hearsay or camp gossip. The diary and General Howe's Orderly Book (in the New York Historical Society collections) show that he was "Appointed Town Major to the Garrison N. York" on September 30, which appointment indicates the confidence which would be felt in a rough and tried soldier. He was given charge of the military police in a town which had been swept by fire a week before and only recently occupied by the British after extended residence by Washington and his Continental troops. It is possible that Bamford saw Hale but debatable. His diary shows that he landed at Kip's Bay (now about 34th Street and East River) on the 15th with the invading British forces. On the 16th he refers to the skirmish called later the Battle of Harlem as if he were not present. On the 16th the diary reads, "No tents encamped near on ye Common." The Common is the locality now marked by City Hall Park, which was five miles by road south of the Dove Tavern, where Hale was executed, and about three miles south of Bamford's landing place. On the 17th he reports, "No tents, built wigwams." On the 18th, "Got our

tents," and then, "Moved encampm't. about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the Front very rough Ground, much labor to clear it." On the 19th he records, "Advanc'd Piquet," as if this were his duty for the day. On the 20th he notes that a soldier on advanced picket deliberately shot himself in the hand which may indicate that Bamford was well up the island, as there was no occasion for pickets, it would seem, below 90th Street, but on September 21 he reports the burning of New York in great detail and on the 24th he says, "walk'd to N York," and then describes the condition of the town. His regiment seems likely to have been part of the 4th Brigade, which (according to a British map reproduced with additions in Johnston's *Nathan Hale*, p. 162, and other sources), was camped between 82nd and 90th Streets or a mile and more north of the Dove Tavern.

Thus we see Bamford in the period just before and after Hale's capture and execution, if the diary does not make important omissions, encamped on Monday, the 16th, in the Town of New York, and moved only half a mile north on the 18th, but we find indications that Bamford was serving on advanced picket on the 20th and describing a trip to New York on the 24th as if it were some distance. In short, the diary suggests that Bamford might have seen Hale, who was probably in Howe's headquarters at the Beekman mansion on the East River at about 51st Street on the night of September 21, and was executed the next morning at the Dove Tavern, about 66th Street.

The diary is notable in that it contains the only mention so far known of "Majr Rogers" as Hale's captor. There were several Rogers in the British forces but Bamford almost certainly meant Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Rogers of the Queen's Rangers, known to fame as the "Major" from his exploits in the French and Indian Wars. The tradition recorded by Onderdonk that the British vessel of war, the "Halifax," had to do with Hale's capture supports the suggestion that it was Rogers or his men who seized Hale.

J. G. R.

“A CHILD I SOT MUCH BY BUT HE IS GONE”

It is fitting that this documentary record of Hale should conclude with a letter written by his father soon after Nathan was captured as a spy and hanged—a letter which Major Hale, the uncle to whom it was addressed, hid away in a secret drawer in his desk, where it lay for over a century, to be brought to light, with its anguished message, only at the end of that time.* The old desk, after vicissitudes unrecorded, was sold at auction as an antique, and the purchaser found the letter on investigating the desk. The author can well remember the thrill the discovery of the letter caused. Its contents refute the assertion that Samuel Hale, the Tory, had been at the Hale homestead in Coventry, as made by the article in the Newburyport paper (see page 303), but they show plainly enough that Nathan's father was under the belief that Nathan had been betrayed. The letter by no means absolves Samuel Hale, the Tory, as stated by Nathan's cousin, William Hale, but the letter speaks for itself, with its restrained cry, “A Child I sot much by but he is gone.”—*G. D. S.*

RICHARD HALE TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL, PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE

(Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.)

Dear Brother

I Rec^d your favor of the 17th of February Last and rejoce to hear that you and your Famley ware well your obversation as to the Dificulty of the times is very just so gloomey a day wee niver saw before but I trust our Cause is Just and for our Consolation in the times of greatest destress we have this to sopert us that their is a God that Jugeth in the earth if wee Can but take the Comfort of it as to our being far advanced in life if it do but

* The *Hartford Courant*, Saturday, August 26, 1911, page 4, column 1, contained an account, perhaps not accurate in all particulars, of the discovery of this letter, to the effect that it was found by Hon. Frank L. Howe of Barrington, N. H., in a desk bought three years previously in Portsmouth together with other furniture which had been in storage over forty years.

serve to wean us from this presint troublesom world and stur us up to preapre for a world of peace and Rest it is well the Calls in Providance are loud to prepare to meet our God and O that he would prepare us you desired me to inform you about my son Nathan you have doutless seen the Newbery Port paper that gives the acount of the Conduct of our kinsman Sam^l Hale toard him in York as to our kinsman being here in his way to York it is a mistake but as to his Conduct tord my son at York M^r Cleveland of Capepan [Cape Ann] first reported it near us I sopose when on his way from the Army where he had been Chapling home as what was Probley true betra'd he doutless wass by somebody he was executed about the 22nd of Sepetember Last by the Aconts we have had. A Child I sot much by but he is gone I think the second* trial I ever met with my 3rd son Joseph is in the Army over in the Jarsyes and wass well the last we heard from him my other son that was in the service belonged to the Melishey and is now at home my son Enoch is gone to take the small pox by enoculation Brother Robinson and famley are well we are all threw the Divine goodness well My wife joins in Love to you and M^{rs} Hale and your Children

Your Loving Brother

RICHARD HALE

Coventry March 28th 1777

* This word is clearly written "second" and only by a great stretch of imagination could it be read "severest," as it was rendered in the copy printed in the *Hartford Courant*. Perhaps Deacon Hale meant to write "sorest trial." Or he may have viewed Nathan's death as his second great affliction, the first being the death of his first wife.

THE EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN NATHAN HALE

Having finished the presentation of the available documents bearing on the life of Hale, I permit myself to combine documentary material with familiar tradition and with some of my own conclusions about the capture and execution of Hale and the circumstances attending it. I will in this way attempt to visualize the events of that day of September, 1776, so memorable in the history of the City of New York.

The circumstances of Hale's capture are not known, nor is the precise place of it—in the nature of things, such details in the life of a spy are not recorded, are left unrevealed. According to Captain Bamford, Hale was captured by the notorious* Major Robert Rogers of the Queen's Rangers on the night of September 21st. Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie of the British army states in his diary entry of September 22nd that Hale was "apprehended as a Spy, last night upon Long Island" (see p. 292); our own Connecticut historian, John Warner Barber, asserts that Hale was taken "at the moment of his leaving the island (L. I.)"; and Lafayette in his "Memoirs" states that Hale was "taken on Long Island." Lafayette, it will be remembered, received the story of Hale's execution at first hand on the very day of it from the lips of Montresor, a witness of it. Moreover, Lafayette, always close to Washington, was no doubt told by Washington himself, all the details that were known to him. Professor Rogers, whose recent exhaustive study of all available evidence is embodied in the preceding chapter, written by him expressly for this book, concludes for reasons there fully explained that Hale was captured near the western end of Long Island. Professor Rogers is convinced that Hale's capture took place in the vicinity of Flushing.

It may be noted here that at the time of his capture Hale had just passed his twenty-first birthday, June 6th, while Major Rogers was twice Hale's age, a hardened professional soldier of varied experience and even then widely known for his leadership and daring adventures.

* "Infamous" was the word employed to characterize Major Rogers by Governor Trumbull in a letter dated at New Haven, October, 1776.

Hale was taken the same night he was captured to British General Headquarters and was brought before Sir William Howe, to whom he made a full confession, admitting the nature of his undertaking and, when his papers were exposed, telling his rank. Sir William, without even the semblance of a trial, condemned him to be hanged as a spy the next morning (see p. 291).

I may pause here for a moment to say that Howe had just established his headquarters in the fine Beekman mansion, situated on an eminence overlooking the East River, at about what is now the intersection of First Avenue and Fifty-first Street. We may imagine Sir William there in the parlor that evening with some of his favorites, enjoying the luxury of this pretentious house, perchance lounging before the elaborate mantelpiece enriched with the Beekman arms, still to be seen in the rooms of the New York Historical Society, and knowing Sir William's idle and luxurious habits, we may hold it more than likely that he did not bestir himself when the rebel captain was brought before him. It is tradition that says Hale stood in this room facing this mantelpiece when brought before Howe, and the tradition is reasonable enough, but we make no pretense of claiming that it is an historic fact. What official British "Orders for the Day" make certain is that Hale made a "full confession," while Captain Bamford's diary (see p. 445) states that "he had several papers with accounts of our Force." We know too beyond doubt that Hale had his Yale diploma with him, but what part it played in his identification or condemnation is hidden from us.

The next day was Sunday, and, according to the entry in Captain Bamford's diary, the morning was "bright" and "hot." When Hale was brought to the Artillery Park for execution, he must have seen a drifting pall of smoke rising from the great fire then raging in the burning city away at the lower end of the island, and he must have wondered at the portent. This fire destroyed hundreds of houses and several churches, and Hale has been accused of setting it, but it is clear that he had nothing to do with it. He was on Long Island, not in New York, when the fire started, and when he saw on that bright, hot Sunday morning that the city of New York was in flames, he can only have been amazed. He may, indeed, have

recalled playing football and kicking the ball "over the tops of the trees in the Bowery at New York (an exercise which he was fond of)," says Elisha Bostwick, author of the best description of Hale we possess (see pp. 324-5). The Artillery Park, the scene of the execution, was no great distance from the Beekman mansion—probably within a mile of it. Professor Henry Phelps Johnston, in his "Nathan Hale, 1776," says that the spot was on the line of Third Avenue, between Sixty-sixth and Sixty-eighth Streets.

Now it so happened that Captain John Montresor, a well known British officer, then enjoying the rank of Chief Engineer of America and serving Howe as an aide, had a marquee on the Artillery Park, not far from the appointed spot. My own fancy is that Montresor, having heard of the capture of a rebel spy with papers and, some say, drawings on his person, at once felt a sort of interest in the spy, because he himself, as his journal testifies, was in the habit of making similar drawings. What must have been his surprise, when he left his tent to get a look at the spy, to find a tall, erect, fair-haired, young man, composed and bearing himself with easy dignity, instead of such a person as commonly undertook spy service for money or other reward. Hale was a man of breeding and education and had the carriage that goes with those qualities, and Montresor, born and bred a gentleman, was at once attracted to him. Cunningham, the Provost Marshal, who had the matter in charge, was not ready to hang Hale, and Montresor, out of curiosity or compassion, courageously intervened and provided the only redeeming feature of the day. To Montresor and to Hale's friend, Captain Hull, to whom Montresor told the story a day or so later, we owe what we know of Hale's execution.

Fortunately Hull recorded his conversation with Montresor, and I quote from the record (see p. 310).

"I learned the melancholy particulars from this officer (Montresor) who was present at his execution, and seemed touched by the circumstances attending it.

" 'On the morning of his execution,' continued the officer, 'my station was near the fatal spot, and I requested the Provost Marshal to permit the prisoner to sit in my marquee, while he was making the necessary preparations. Captain Hale entered; he was calm, and bore

himself with gentle dignity, in the consciousness of rectitude and high intentions. He asked for writing materials, which I furnished him; he wrote two letters, one to his mother and one to a brother officer.' He was shortly after summoned to the gallows. But a few persons were around him, yet his characteristic dying words were remembered. He said, 'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.' "

It has often been asserted that the letters Hale wrote in Montresor's tent were almost immediately afterwards torn up by Cunningham in Hale's presence, but the fact is that Cunningham kept Hale's Yale diploma and the letters at least long enough to show them a few days later (see p. 298) to Hale's great friend and Yale classmate, Jack Wyllys, who had been taken prisoner by the British near Kips Bay or along the line of East Thirty-fourth Street during the retreat of the Continental forces from New York on September 15th. No doubt Cunningham destroyed them afterwards, for they have never turned up.

Of the manner of Hale's execution we know nothing by direct evidence. He was probably hanged, as André was, by having a cart drawn from under him, after a noose, suspended from above, had been fixed around his neck. Lafayette in his "Memoirs" pictures Hale as hanged from a cart, and was doubtless so told (see p. 536). The writer has no doubt that Hale was "calm, and bore himself with gentle dignity," as Montresor says, and that he made a "spirited speech," as asserted by the article in the *Essex Journal* (see p. 303). He was accustomed to speaking; that he should have made a speech at this supreme moment accords with his character. It was like him too, to take his now so famous "Last Words" from Addison's tragedy "Cato," so popular at the time. The words have now acquired a significance that Hale cannot have dreamed of at the moment (see pp. 376-382).

Hale's execution took place at eleven o'clock in front of the Artillery Park—as stated in the official British Headquarters Order of September 22, 1776, as follows:

"A spy f^m the Enemy (by his own full Confession) Apprehended Last night, was this day Executed at 11 oClock in front of the Artillery Park." (see pp. 290-291.)

This Order was, no doubt, read to the guard, following the usual custom and it still carries its military clangor. The execution of a rebel spy was probably of less interest to the soldiers and the few citizens who heard the Order read, than the great fire, which had been raging since the night before. But by nightfall, the story that the rebel spy that had been executed in the morning was none other than a Captain in the Continental Army and a man of education and breeding by the name of "Hales," was much talked of at many a bivouac on the Island. It must have been from talk about campfires that evening that Mackenzie (see p. 292) and Bamford (see p. 446) picked up the reports about Hale and his behavior for their diary entries of the day.

As night fell the smoke still rose from the blackened ruins of the great fire, while by some roadside in the upper reaches of the Island a number of miles away the pale cadaver of fair-haired Hale was still hanging, left swinging as a warning to spies. Such was the picture brought home to Coventry by rumor (see p. 295) and confirmed by Doctor Waldo's letter and reported to Enoch Hale by the unnamed lieutenant with whom he talked when he went to camp to gather the full particulars about his brother Nathan (see pp. 296-7). We get the last view of Hale hanging there by the roadside from the letter written home by a British officer and published in the *Kentish Gazette* that is quoted in the chapter entitled "A Grisly Custom of War" (see pp. 301-2). When that British officer came upon the cadaver of poor Hale, it had been hanging there by the roadside for three days.

This last picture of the young man who so gallantly "resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty" provides the only answer that can be given to the oft-repeated question: Where was Hale buried? No one knows where he was buried, but he still lives in his last words: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." He has now become a national symbol of patriotism and ranks after the flag.

APPENDIX

PREFACE TO APPENDIX

It was my original intention not to illustrate this "Documentary Life of Hale" except with the unique shadow portrait of Hale himself. On reflection, however, I have come to the conclusion that a better understanding of Hale may be had if I add to the documentary material an Appendix, to include pictures of his family and of his college and army friends, together with some account of his Birth-Place, of the parsonage where he was prepared for Yale, of Yale College as it was in his time, of his schoolhouses at Haddam Landing and in New London, of his army trunk, and so on. I have included also some related essays of my own, hoping that they too may be found helpful and not without interest.

Of the story of Hale's alleged engagement to his widowed step-sister, Mrs. Alice (Adams) Ripley, I have written at a length that may need a special word of explanation. I am confident that there is no foundation for the story, but it has been given so much currency that I feel constrained to spare no effort to reveal the truth about it. It was Cervantes who said, "The writing of history is a kind of sacred writing, because truth is essential to it." It is in that spirit that I have given so much space to this story. Of Mrs. Ripley's entries in Hale's Receipt Book, now in a sense part of one of the Hale documents, I have transcribed enough to show the color of her thinking.

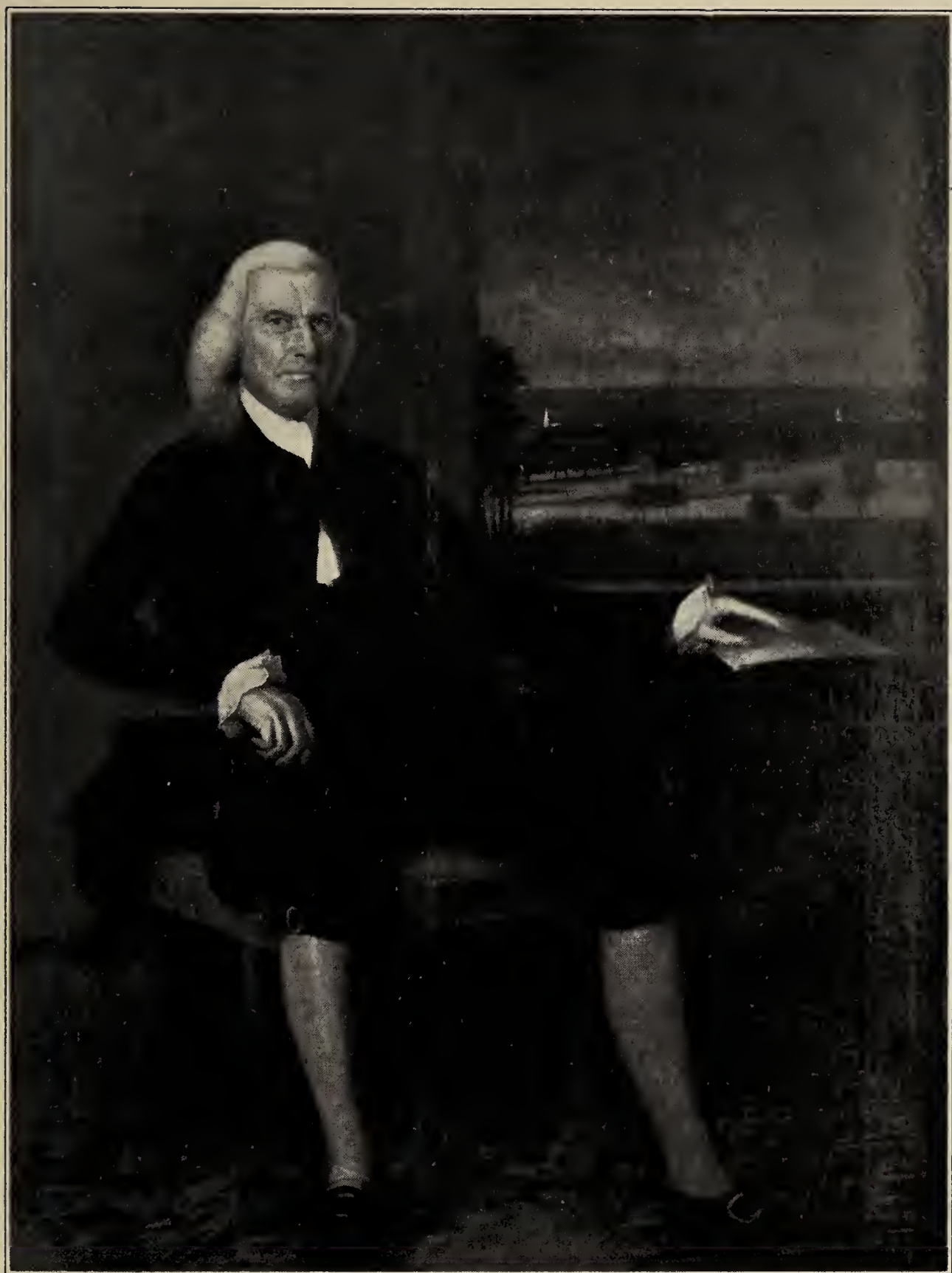
In both the linear portraits and the word portraits of the men and women of Hale's family circle we see hard-working, God-fearing people, with a large sense of public service. In this family the idea of the common good came first, and it is in just such a family that we might expect to find a hero like Hale. It was not a family of culture or of artistic interest, as those expressions are commonly used, but it was a family in which public service was a duty—the voice of God, it might be said. No less than six of its sons were engaged in the War for Independence.

We see too, the grave beauty of the family's dignified old house, with its spacious rooms, its fine and carefully wrought, though

simple, pine panelling and sheathing, and its singular fitness for day to day family living—a house, indeed, so perfect in design and arrangement that in all the years since it was built it has never been changed. Do I go too far in saying that in a house so perfectly ordered, so reposeful, there is a grave beauty that is art itself? Hale came naturally by his orderliness. The Hales had a passion for order.

In the Rev. Joseph Huntington, Enoch and Nathan were fortunate in having a preceptor who was both a good classical scholar and a man of urbanity and wit. By him they must have had opened for them many a door that looked out onto a different and livelier world than their own.

Of the first impression made upon the boys by Yale College, we can imagine that Connecticut Hall and the Chapel, both brick buildings, must have seemed very imposing to boys from the back country, to say nothing of the wigs and gowns worn by the president and tutors. The journey from Coventry to New Haven was of course made on horseback, and it must have taken two days. When the boys arrived too, they were faced with the problem of securing stabling for the horses until someone could be found to ride them home. Of their experiences during Freshman year we get no glimpse, but back home, we are told, Deacon Hale was concerned lest his sons fall into vice. Young Timothy Dwight, of the College Class of 1769, had fallen into vice in his Freshman year but had been happily redeemed by the timely admonitions of his tutor, Stephen Mix Mitchell. What kind of vice Dwight fell into is not certain, but the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes is authority for saying that it was card playing. No wonder that good Deacon Hale was apprehensive lest his boys should hazard their immortal souls in such a pastime!



COLONEL SAMUEL TALCOTT

(1711-1797)

Yale College 1733

From the Portrait painted about 1790 by Ralph Earl.

(Courtesy of Miss Mabel Wyllys Wainwright and Mr. Philip S. Wainwright)

In 1745 Richard Hale, a native of Newbury, Massachusetts, bought a tract of two hundred and forty acres from heirs of

Colonel Talcott's father, Governor Joseph Talcott (1669-1741), one of the original proprietors of the town of Coventry, in Tolland County, in the hills east of the river. The region was in that part of the kingdom of Uncas of the Mohegans that he gave to his son, Attawanhood, who in turn disposed of it by will to a group of his English friends.

On this tract Richard Hale built a dwelling, and on the 17th of May, 1746, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Joseph Strong, one of the leading men of the town. Twelve children, nine sons and three daughters, were born to the pair. She died April 21, 1767, and on June 13, 1769, he married in Coventry the widow Abigail (Cobb) Adams of Canterbury, who is said to have been his housekeeper. She was the widow of Captain Samuel Adams, by whom she had had seven children, including Sarah and Alice, who became members of the Hale household.

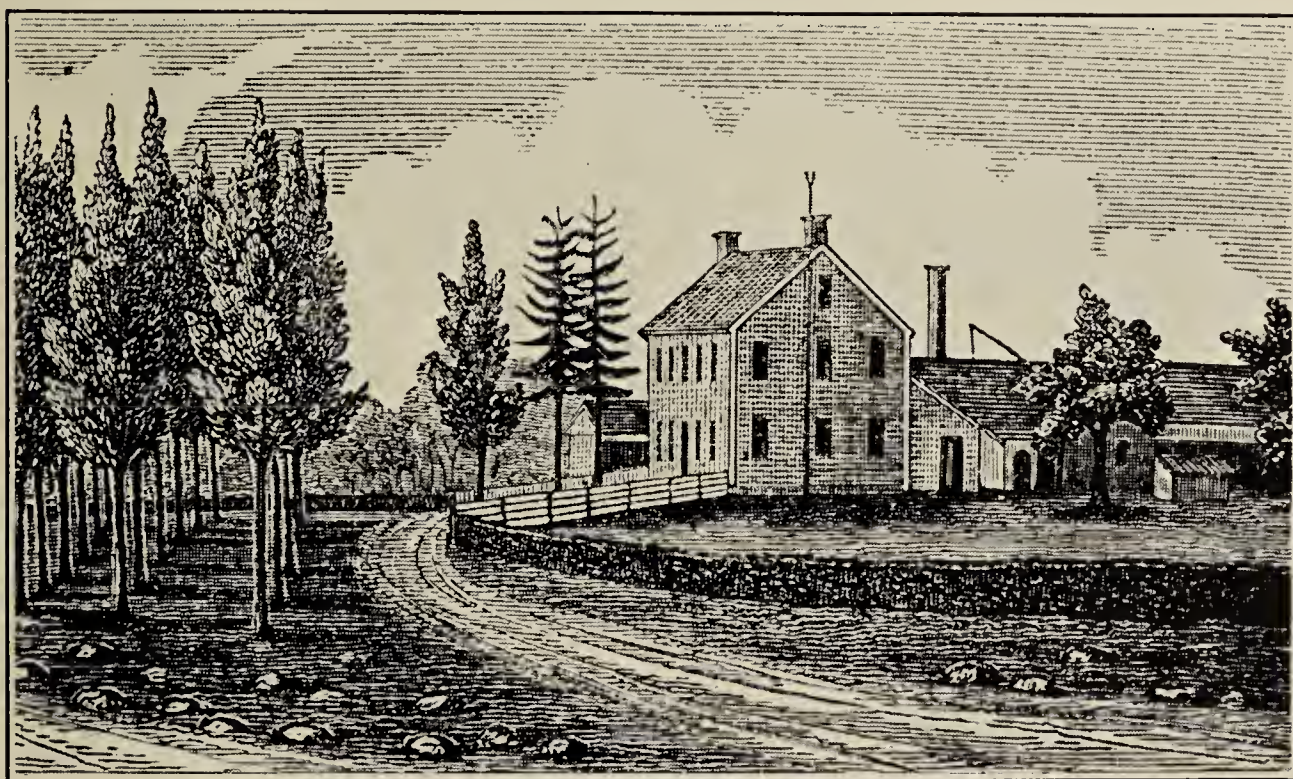
In 1776, according to the diary of Enoch Hale, Richard Hale built the present Hale mansion, then as now one of the finest houses in the town. By November the house was ready for occupancy, and the first house, the one in which Nathan was born, was then torn down save for a portion of it that was incorporated into the new house. For over a century the new house, the present one, has been styled the Birth-Place of Nathan Hale, and about thirty feet of its ell once formed a part of Nathan's actual birthhouse, but it is unlikely that Nathan himself ever saw the main body of the present house.

Richard Hale was a deacon of the First Church of Christ in Coventry, several times a member of the General Assembly of the state, a Justice of the Peace, a local committeeman with the duty of raising supplies of food and clothing for the soldiers during the Revolution, a founder of the village library, a Moderator of meetings of the Church Society, etcetera. He was a man of great energy and untiring industry, qualities that were, indeed, essential to the task of carving a farm out of the tract of wild land he had bought from the Talcott family. No man in the community was more respected, and at his death it was said that no man ever worked so hard for both worlds as did Richard Hale.

Nathan's mother, Elizabeth Strong (1727/8-1767), a native of Coventry and a woman of uncommon strength of character,

belonged to a family derived from that famous Puritan, Elder John Strong (1605-1699), a family conspicuous for generations in all its branches for brains, solidity of character, and devotion to public affairs. She was "a lady of high moral worth, with strong Puritan faith and devoted to the religious culture of her children."

For a more detailed account of Hale's ancestry I must refer the reader to my "Hale & Wyllys," published in 1933.



The Hale Mansion, built in 1776 by Richard Hale, with "Holy Grove" set out in 1812 by David Hale, his grandson. Drawn and engraved by John Warner Barber for his "Connecticut Historical Collections," published in 1838.



JOHN WARNER BARBER

(1798-1885)

Engraver and historian, in the picturesque long cloak and tall hat which he habitually wore. His account of Hale, written for his "Connecticut Historical Collections," is not only a very early account but perhaps also the first account to appear in print placing Hale's capture on Long Island.

RICHARD AND ELIZABETH (STRONG) HALE

Had Six Sons Who Took Part in the Revolution

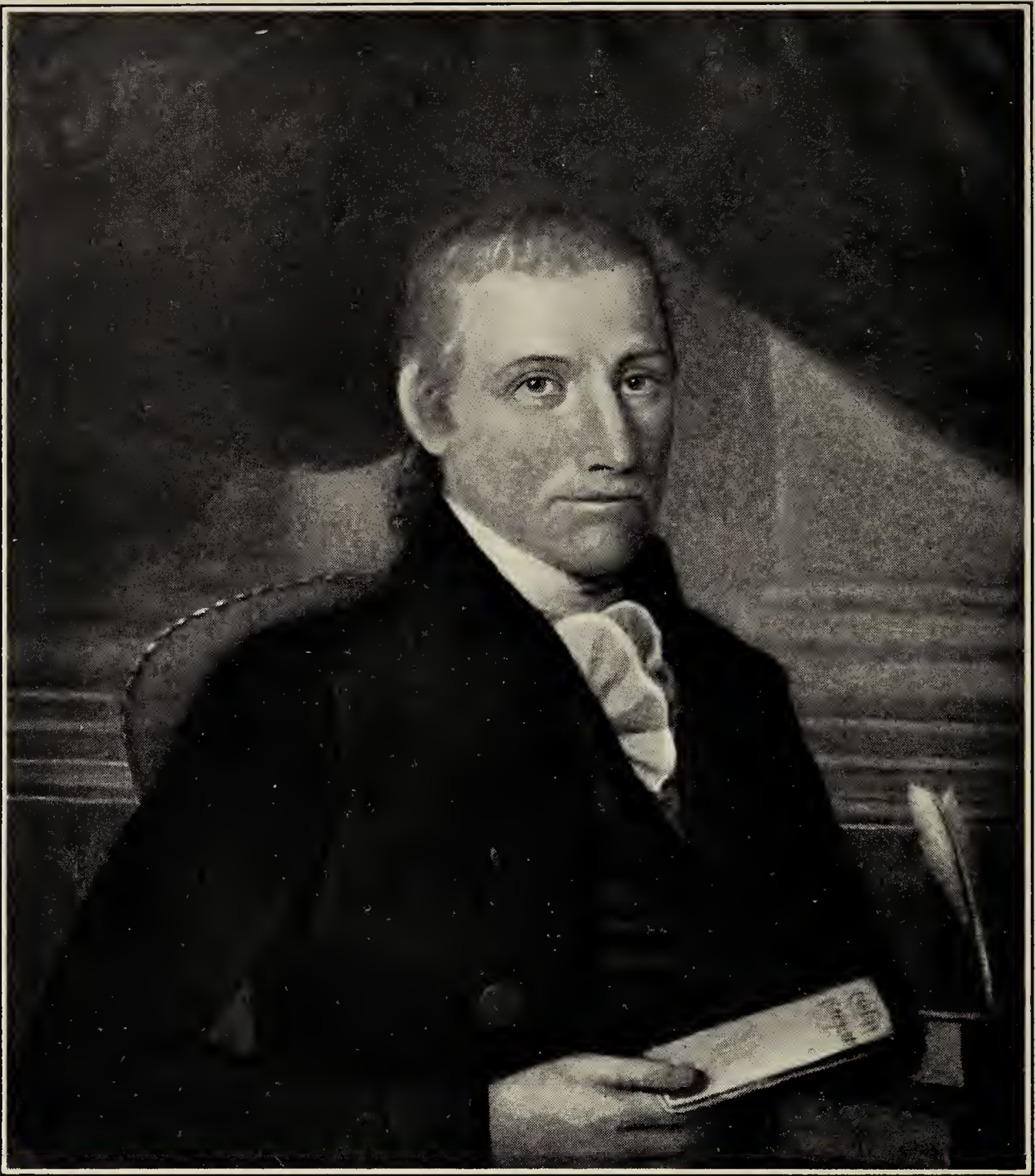
Nathan's brothers Samuel and Joseph, as well as his brother John, merit the accolade for having marched to Boston at the "Lexington Alarm."

1. Samuel, born May 25, 1747; a farmer at Coventry; marched to Boston at the "Lexington Alarm," 1775, in Captain Thomas Knowlton's Company, Putnam's Regiment; afterwards in "Knowlton's Rangers;" was captured at Fort Washington, Nov. 16, 1776. He died at Coventry April 17, 1842, leaving no issue.
3. Joseph, born Mar. 12, 1750; m. Rebeckah Harris of New London, Oct. 21, 1778. He marched to Boston at the "Lexington Alarm," 1775, in the same Company with his brother John; was a Lieutenant in the Knowlton Rangers and captured at Fort Washington, Nov. 16, 1776; was exchanged, and in 1777 was a Lieutenant in Colonel Ely's Regiment; also in service in Rhode Island, 1781. He settled in Coventry; d. April 30, 1784 of consumption, induced by the fatigues of the war. Four children.

Nathan's brothers Richard and Billy also saw considerable service.

5. Richard, born Feb. 20, 1757; m. Mary Wright. He did service in Captain Benjamin Clark's Company, Colonel Obadiah Johnson's Regiment, in 1778, in Rhode Island. He d. in Feb. 1793 in the West Indies, whither he had gone for his health. She d. 1820. Three daughters.
6. Billy, born April 20, 1759; m. Jan. 19, 1784, Hannah Barker. He was in Captain Daniel Dewey's Company, and in service in Rhode Island at the same time with his brother Richard. Died of consumption, Sept. 7, 1785. One son.

This is indeed a remarkable record of six brothers engaged in the War of Independence. They sprang from a patriotic household and confirm Deacon Hale's reputation for patriotism.



MAJOR JOHN HALE
(1748-1802)

From the Portrait owned by "The Hale Donation," Artist Unknown.

John Hale's name is forever starred by the fact that he marched to Boston at the Lexington Alarm. He was elected Ensign of the Militia Company at Coventry, April 1777; Lieutenant, May 1782; and Captain, May 1784; and one authority says that in "the military department he had the rank of Major." Between 1791 and 1802 he was elected Deputy to sixteen sessions of the Connecticut General Assembly, and for many years he held the office of Justice of the Peace. He was a farmer of ample posses-

sions, and like his father before him he was one of the prominent men of the town. He married December 19, 1771, Sarah Adams, daughter of his father's second wife. He died December 22, 1802. She died November 6, 1803, and by her will, "persuaded by the piety and charity of her late husband, John Hale, Esq., aforesaid, and of his sincere and ardent desire to promote and extend the knowledge of the Gospel," she left the sum of one thousand pounds as a trust fund, the income of which was to be expended in the purchase of books for the use of the local minister and for assisting hopeful young men to prepare for the ministry. The fund is still in existence as "The Hale Donation" and now amounts to something over fifteen thousand dollars.

REVEREND ENOCH HALE

(1753-1837)

Yale College 1773

Favorite brother and Yale classmate of Nathan Hale; Father of Hon. Nathan Hale (1784-1863, Williams College 1804), Publisher and Publicist; and Grandfather of Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale (1822-1909, Harvard College 1839), Historian, Prolific Writer, Author of "The Man without a Country," Chaplain, 1903, of the Senate of the United States.

Enoch and Nathan were prepared together for college by the Rev. Joseph Huntington. They matriculated together at Yale in September, 1769, and they roomed together there in Connecticut Hall. Enoch, the older brother, was elected to Linonia November 7, 1771, just thirteen days ahead of Nathan. Extracts from Enoch's diary printed elsewhere in this volume reveal how the rumor of Nathan's untimely fate first reached his family at Coventry, and how Enoch soon after went to camp to learn what he could of the facts of his brother's death.

Enoch's diary and two letters that have survived show that in 1779 and 1780 Enoch was suing for the hand of his widowed stepsister, Alice (Adams) Ripley, to whom it has been said without warrant that Nathan had been betrothed. The present owner of the two letters, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, has kindly given me permission to print both of them, and as they are in a way a part of Nathan's story, I have decided to avail myself of the permission. They will be found herein in a separate section. It only remains to say that although the lady rejected Enoch's suit, she cherished his letters as long as she lived, but there is nowhere the faintest suggestion of original evidence that Nathan ever wrote to her or that she was ever the object of his affections. (See pages 571-588.)

Dexter in his "Yale Biographies" (Series III, 481-483) gives a comprehensive account of Enoch Hale. There is no portrait of him.

ENOCK HALE'S DIARY FIXES THE DATE OF THE HALE HOUSE

Comparatively few of our cherished old houses can be exactly dated by actual documentary proof of their building, but, happily, Enoch Hale's diary, though meagre, gives enough to fix the date of the Hale house. The following extracts tell the story.

The extracts from the diary here printed were placed long since in the author's hands by the First Church of Christ in Westhampton, Massachusetts, in which the diaries of Enoch Hale were deposited by Edward Everett Hale.

1776

April

17 Work little on the fraim for the new house.

May

9 Begin our cellar just north of the old house

23 Folks busy stoning t[he] cellar.

June

3 cool—fix to return home Rid part of the way with M^r J Strong aft. noon ride as far as Capt Robertson's to invite raisers—

4 Invite hand[s] to the raising ride about 15 miles & return with Rev^d Huntington & madam & bring sister Rose afternoon help raise finish by 4^h 40^m*

22 This week Masons build most of the back Chimney. The Joiners Clapboard fore side east & most of the north end of the larger house.

26 Ride to Glastonbury for Nails get only /10^d s

28 Go to Windham but get no Nails

August

1 Ride to Hartford Rev^d Strong talks of going as Chaplin & get some wine for sacrament but no nails nor White-Led.

November

6 Dine at Doct^r Lyman's friend Lyman gone to Killingsly home ride 18^{ms} Conference meeting here toward even—
In the new house Oct^r 31

11 Pulling down the old house have Eyebrow hurt

1778

Dec^r 7th Brothers John & Jos get stones for hearths

* Twenty minutes to 5 o'clock.

Nathan was at the front with the Army while the new house was building, but it is more than likely that much of the heavy timber, and the large stones for the cellar walls and chimney piers, had been assembled at the site when Nathan was home the first of the year on his last furlough. At least we may be sure that the building of the new house was then fully discussed.

The raising of a new house was an event of prime interest and called for much help from friends and neighbors, who were requited with plenty of food and drink—hard cider or rum or both. It is interesting to note that Enoch rode to Glastonbury, Windham, and Hartford for nails, but got only a few. They were of course made by hand by local blacksmiths, and it was slow work.

Who the master-builder of the house was Enoch does not say, but the house was seemingly the first two-chimney, central-hallway house built in the town. Mr. Isham, our foremost authority on early domestic architecture, was surprised to find a house of this date and design so far from the seaboard.

There seems to have been a tradition of fine housing in the Hale family.

REVEREND DAVID HALE

(1761-1822)

Yale College 1785

Another brother, David, was born in Coventry, December 15, 1761, and was graduated from Yale College in 1785. He studied divinity with the Reverend Jeremiah Day (Yale 1756) and paid for his board by instructing the children of the family. The one of them who afterwards became President of the College always remembered his preceptor with gratitude. David Hale was pastor of the Congregational Church in Newent Society, now Lisbon, Connecticut, from June 2, 1790, to April 27, 1803, when he retired to his paternal farm in Coventry, where he lived as a farmer and teacher. His farm was a model one for the time. His school he conducted in the present house, in the room now known as the School Room, on whose wall the blackboard is still to be seen. In October, 1806, he was chosen a deacon in the First Church in Coventry, which office he held until his death; he represented the town in the General Assembly at eight sessions between 1806 and 1811; and he was an Associate Justice of Tolland County from 1808 to 1816. He died in Coventry, February 10, 1822, in his sixty-first year.



HALE'S SISTER JOANNA
(1764-1838)

Wife of Dr. Nathan Howard

From the Silhouette Presented to the Birth-Place

By Laura Maria Ripley

We get a pretty good idea of Hale's high-nosed sister Joanna from her silhouette. Youngest of a family of twelve, she was herself twelve years old when Nathan met his tragic fate, an event that left an indelible mark on her mind and heart. At twenty she

married (1784) Doctor Nathan Howard, a native of near-by Hampton, a young man of marked ability and high character. At the Birth-Place may still be seen her modish high-heeled gray satin wedding slippers kindly presented to me by Miss Laura Maria Ripley, "The Old Countess," as I often called her, inheritor of the Hale-Howard tradition and of many belongings of that family. It was she too who gave me Joanna's so-called carriage trunk, containing Joanna's needlework outfit and such, feminine accessories of a lady's workbox. Out of a feeling that the contents of the trunk were an affair of Joanna's, not mine, I have always kept it locked.



DR. NATHAN HOWARD

(-1838)

Husband of Joanna Hale

From the Silhouette Presented to the Birth-Place

By Laura Maria Ripley

Nathan Howard was a native of the adjoining town of Hampton, where his grandfather, Captain John Howard, was a prominent citizen and large landowner. It is not known where Dr.

Howard got his education, but he was well started in the practice of his profession at the time of his marriage to Joanna Hale, January 22, 1784. Yale gave him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1825. He was a man of character and ability and rose to be one of the leading men of the entire region. He lived in a substantial house, which is still standing, on the south side of South Street, about a mile from the Birth-Place.

Lying open in the northwest chamber of the Hale Mansion is the family Bible of Dr. Howard, given to the author by "The Old Countess." This particular family Bible also contains the family record of Richard and Elizabeth Hale, and therefore the name of Nathan, which justifies the place the Bible has in the house, close to Nathan's Army Trunk. (See page 556.)



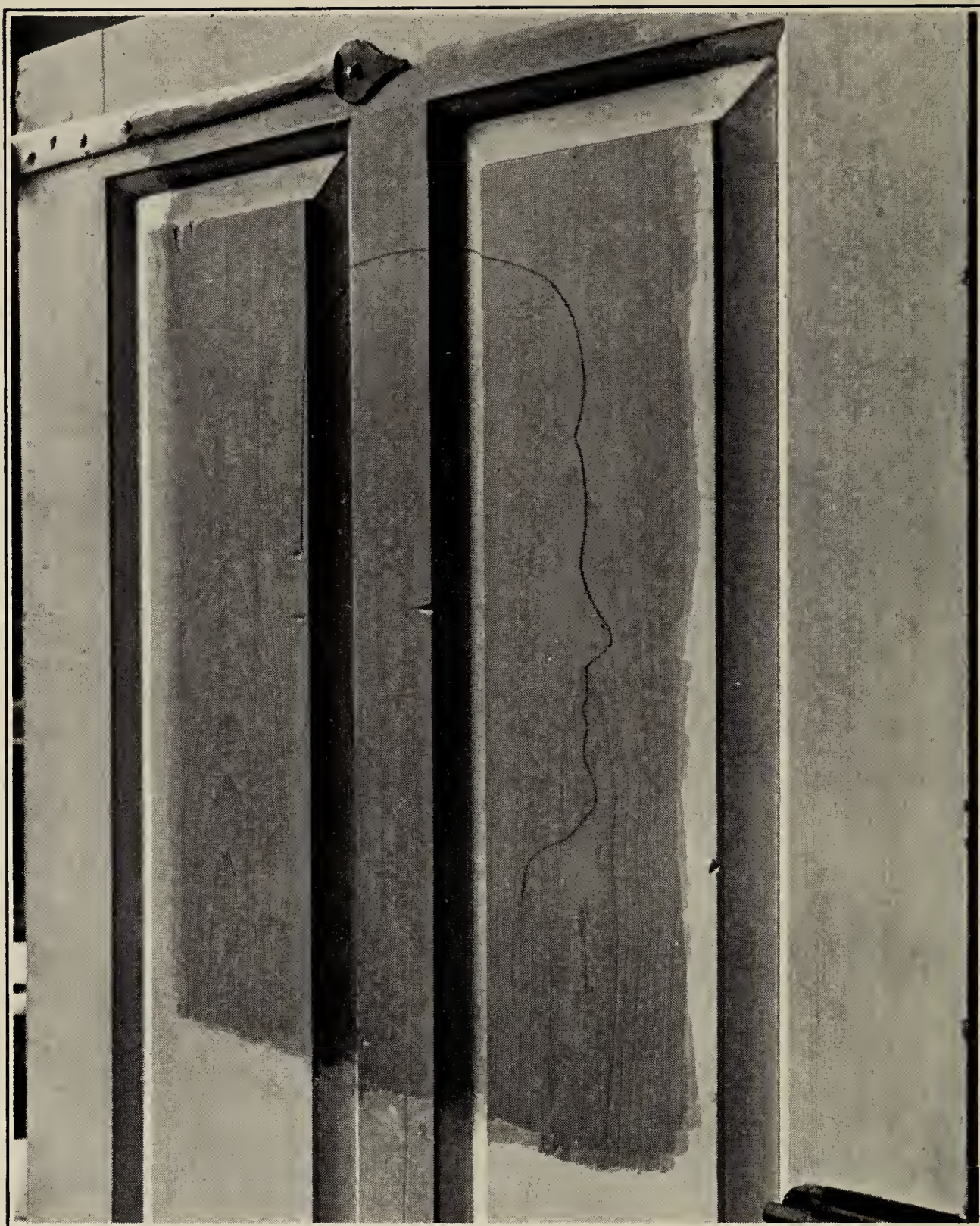
REBECKAH (HALE) ABBOTT

(1781-1860)

Rebeckah (Hale) Abbott, whose letter of March 5, 1856, printed herein, led to the discovery of the unique shadow portrait of her Uncle Nathan, incised in the soft pine of a chamber door in the Hale Mansion, was born January 9, 1781, daughter of

Nathan's brother Lieutenant Joseph, one of the brothers who marched to Boston at the "Lexington Alarm." Joseph was born March 12, 1750, and married October 21, 1778, Rebeckah Harris of New London. He is reported to have been at one time confined in one of the prison ships off the coast of New Jersey, where he may have contracted an illness that led to the consumption of which he died April 30, 1784. After the war he returned to Coventry, where he was assigned the north-west chamber in his father's house, and it was on the inside of the door opening into this chamber that the profile of Nathan had been incised. Rebeckah Hale must therefore always have known of the portrait. She lived in her grandfather's household until her marriage on October 6, 1799, to Deacon Ezra Abbott, of Wilton, New Hampshire.

In 1846, then an old woman, she journeyed to Coventry to attend the dedication of her Uncle Nathan's monument, and she made a point of being taken to her grandfather's house, but she was greatly disappointed to find that the profile picture had disappeared under paint. Ten years later, at about the time of the publication of Stuart's "Life of Hale," the question was put to her whether no portrait of her Uncle Nathan existed, and she then dictated to her son Abiel the letter (see page 351) that led to the discovery by the present writer of the profile on the door (see pages 415 and 476; also frontispiece). As a matter of interest, not of history, I may add that when I became owner of the house in 1914, local tradition was that it was haunted by four ghosts, one of which was the ghost of Joseph Hale, who was said to clank his chains in the cellar. I need not add that I have never seen any of the ghosts or their manifestations.



SHADOW PORTRAIT OF HALE

Upper Portion of the Old Pine Door from the Hale Homestead
in Coventry Showing the "Shadow Portrait" of Hale

This photograph of the "Shadow Portrait" was made on the very day on which it was uncovered by Mr. Hammond Smith in his New York studio, April 10, 1914. Ever since that time the precious door has been in the vault of the Second National Bank, New Haven. The writer has no doubt, whatever, that Nathan

Hale stood for this portrait, while some friend incised the outline of his shadow on the door. It will be noted that the portrait is high on the door, showing that the subject was standing when it was drawn.

Bostwick says that Hale had "flaxen or very light hair which was always kept short." In the profile the hair is obviously light and combed high off his forehead, or, as we say, was worn "pompadour." The features are regular, as Bostwick says they were, but the nose is reduced in size, as Mr. Pratt the sculptor explained, by the fact that Hale was anxious to see what was going on and turned a bit towards the door and away from the light. It will be observed, also, that there is a suspicion of a double chin, which recalls Bostwick's statement that Hale's "limbs (were) strait & very plump." The slight double chin is even more apparent in the actual drawing on the door itself. The author was quick to notice that the profile was above life size, as would be inevitable in a shadow portrait. He felt too that the absence of a queue, as well as other resemblances, tended to confirm Bostwick's description.

We may consider this shadow portrait as one of the most precious of all of the surviving documents of Hale. The author's article entitled "The Shadow Portrait of Hale" is printed herein by itself. (See pages 415-429, also pages 351-354.)



ELIZABETH HALE (ROSE) GILBERT

(1804-1886)

Grandniece of Captain Hale

Mrs. Gilbert's picture secures a place in our gallery as the portrait of an ideal New England woman of the old stock and as the wife of Deacon Jasper Gilbert, who, as a member of the Hale family circle, became Hale's first Biographer. She was born 28th June, 1804, a granddaughter of Elizabeth Hale, Nathan's oldest sister, who had married Dr. Rose of Coventry, a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. Her father was Capt. Joseph Rose, son of Dr. Samuel Rose, aforesaid. The writer is confident that Hale would have been proud of his grandniece had he known her, for she left behind her a fragrant tradition of good works.

ASHER WRIGHT

(1754-1844)

Asher Wright was Nathan Hale's boyhood companion and his camp attendant. "The Testimony of Asher Wright," so-called, among the Hale Papers in The Connecticut Historical Society, is unaddressed, undated, and unsigned, but its text shows that the information it contains was secured from Wright in 1836, when he was in his 82nd year. It is written in a fine, clear hand on a single sheet of paper folded to form four pages, and begins as follows: "Minutes of conversations between Mr. Asher Wright, of Coventry, Connt., and Mr. R. N. Wright, of Hanover, N. H., taken by the latter and communicated by him to me."

To whom the personal pronoun *me* refers is nowhere indicated. In my opinion it is to Cyrus P. Bradley, the student in Dartmouth College, at Hanover, who in 1836 was corresponding with Deacon Jasper Gilbert, of Coventry, and others, collecting material for a life of Hale that he did not live to write. I hazard the guess that Bradley learned about Asher Wright from Gilbert and that this led to a visit to Coventry to see Asher by R. N. Wright, probably a relative, who in turn reported to Bradley. It therefore would not surprise me to find that "The Testimony of Asher Wright" was written by the hand of Bradley. Several letters to Bradley from Jasper Gilbert and others are among the Papers, presumably used by Stuart while he was preparing to write his Life of Hale, published in 1856, and if the "me" of Asher Wright's testimony was in reality Bradley, that would account for its being among Stuart's papers.

Stuart refers in his Life of Hale to the "Testimony" and makes two quotations from it, but he gives no clue to its history. Professor Johnston, in his two books on Hale, refers to Asher Wright in an incidental way only and does not mention Wright's Testimony or quote from it. "The Testimony of Asher Wright" will be found with the documentary material. (See pages 315-318.)

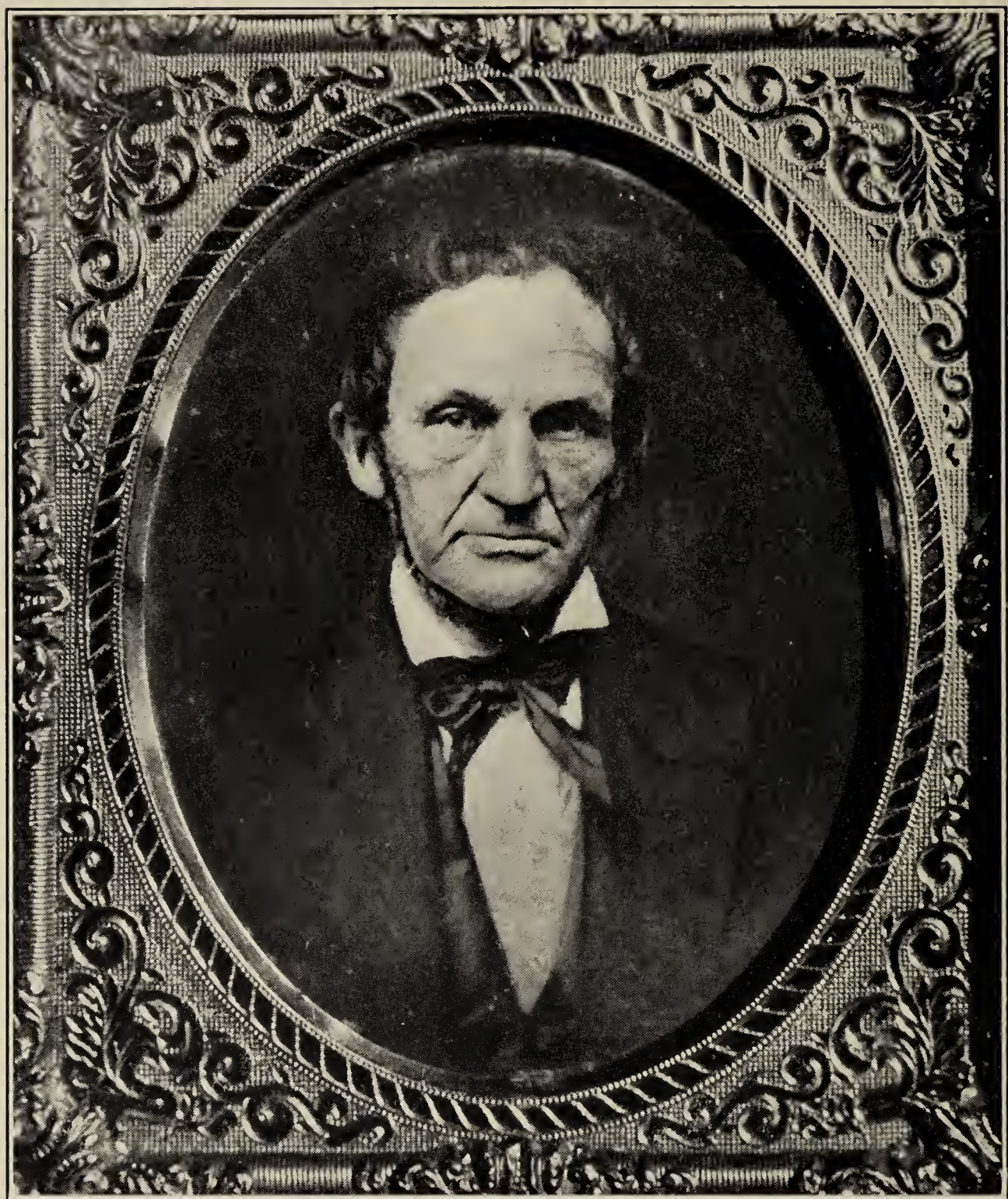


ASHER WRIGHT MEMORIAL

Erected A.D. 1937

The inscription on the stone tells in a few words the story of Asher Wright, Hale's boyhood friend and neighbor, who went to the front with him when he secured his captaincy. Wright is sometimes referred to as Hale's waiter and sometimes as Hale's attendant. Just what his duties were is not clear. He served as

a Private in Hale's company, but he is not listed as a servant and is never so called, and probably to-day he would be described as an Orderly. His devotion to Hale's memory is one of the most touching chapters in Hale's story. He never recovered from the shock of Hale's death. His "Testimony" about Hale, secured from him when an old man of eighty-two, forms a separate chapter in this book. He died in 1844 and now lies in Coventry, only a few yards back of the burial place of the Hales, in sight of the "great pond" where as boys he and Nathan so often swam and fished together. As far as I am aware, "Poor Asher" was the very last man to make his exit from the stage of the Hale drama—so dimly lighted for us of to-day. It pleases me to be able to pay this belated tribute to Hale's faithful lifelong friend. I hope that the stone erected by the writer by the roadside in front of the site of his homestead, where for sixty-eight beclouded years he mourned his friend, will keep alive the memory of an epic friendship.



DEACON JASPER GILBERT

(1785-1856)

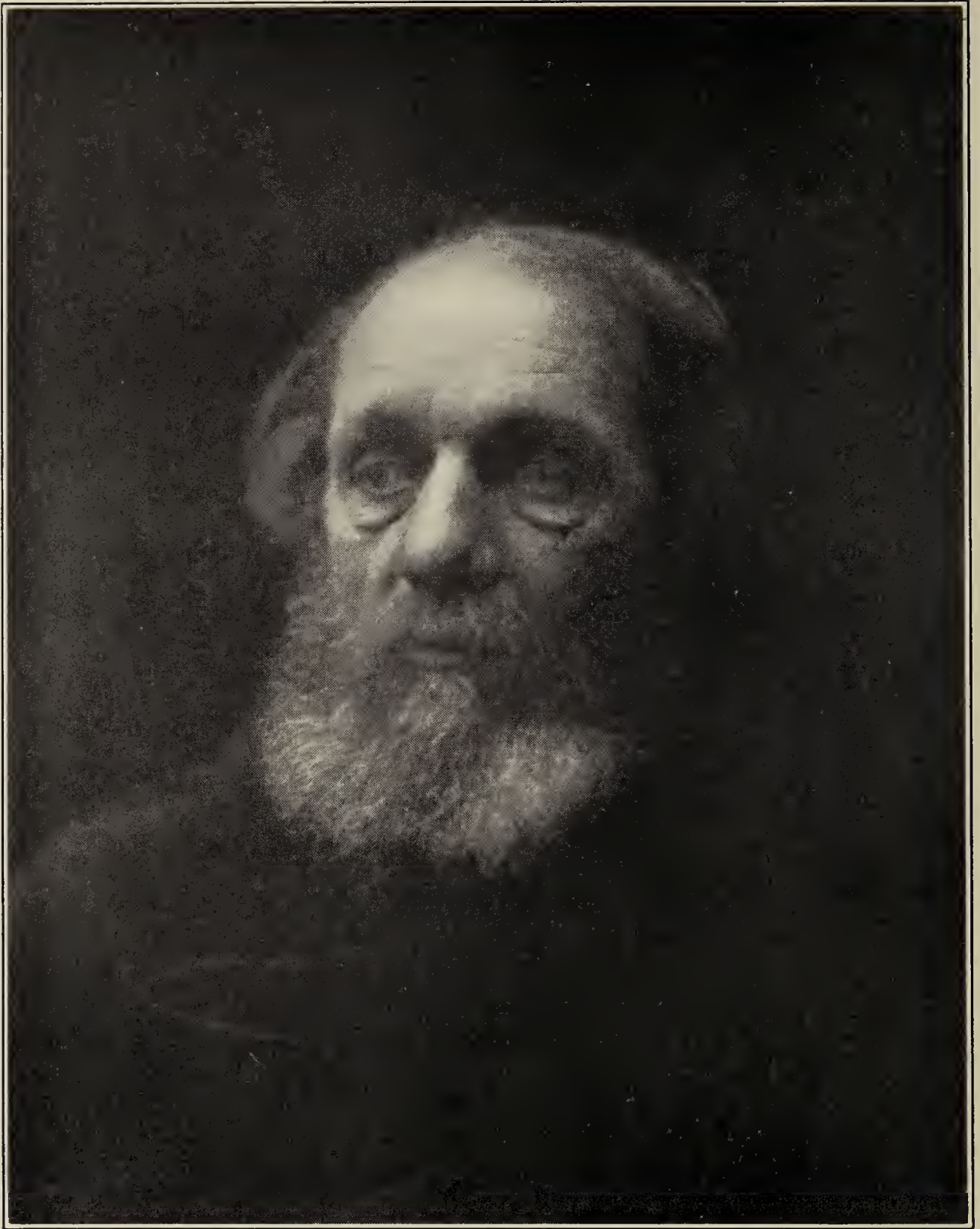
Hale's First Biographer

The writer feels that his gallery would not be complete without the portrait of Deacon Jasper Gilbert, Hale's first biographer. It was he who collected material for Cyrus P. Bradley, the young Dartmouth student who essayed as early as the 1830's to write a life of Hale but who died, alas, before he could bring his work to a conclusion. Jasper Gilbert was not a native of Coventry.

He went to Coventry from Brooklyn, Connecticut, to engage in the manufacture of glass, for which the region was famous for a century or more, and from 1826 to 1837 he was Postmaster of Coventry. It seems apparent to me that young Bradley, having in mind a life of Nathan Hale and having no connection with the Hale family, did the very natural thing of addressing a letter of inquiry to the Postmaster of Coventry, and was lucky enough to find that the Postmaster himself was a member of the Hale family circle, the husband of Elizabeth Hale Rose, daughter of Captain Joseph Rose, granddaughter of Nathan's sister Elizabeth, who married Dr. Samuel Rose, a Surgeon in the Army of the Revolution.

It is evident from the letters Gilbert wrote to Bradley that he was answering a series of questions about Hale and his career and that he had collected the material for his answers from members of the Hale family and from others in Coventry who might be supposed to possess the information desired. Among Bradley's questions was the natural one whether Hale had had a sweetheart or been engaged to be married. To answer such a question of the heart, so to speak, Gilbert must have consulted not only his own wife, Hale's grandniece, but also Joanna Hale Howard, Hale's own sister, who was still living at the time. Gilbert's reply to the question seems to the writer to dispose of it beyond all cavil. It was that he had been unable to discover that Hale had any "calculation on matrimony." (See page 341.)

The story that Hale was engaged to marry his widowed step-sister, Alice (Adams) Ripley, I have reserved for a separate article (see pages 571-576).



REVEREND DR. EDWARD EVERETT HALE
(1822-1909)

Harvard College 1839

From a Photograph by Cox given to the Author by Dr. Hale.

Few seem to know that Edward Everett Hale (one of the best known figures of his generation in American life) was a grand-nephew of Nathan Hale, the Patriot, grandson of Reverend

Enoch Hale, Nathan's next older brother and Yale classmate. On September 7, 1881, at Groton, Connecticut, Dr. Hale delivered an address on Nathan Hale that was afterwards published, and at the end of it he included extracts from the diary of his grandfather, Enoch Hale. The latter had, for fifty-seven years, occupied the pulpit of the small remote Westhampton Parish Church, while the grandson, Dr. Hale himself, for an almost equal period, had the world for his parish.

Dr. Hale was a Unitarian Preacher, lecturer, reformer, philanthropist, humanitarian, essayist, historian, and prolific writer. He is said to have socialized the Protestant Church. Towards the end of his life he became Chaplain of the United States Senate and was known as the "Grand old man of Boston." He became famous throughout the world as the author of the story, now a classic, "The Man Without a Country."

CYRUS PARKER BRADLEY

(1818-1838)

Dartmouth College 1837

The credit of first to project a life of Hale must be given to Cyrus Parker Bradley, then an undergraduate student of Dartmouth College. He was born October 20, 1818, at Canterbury, New Hampshire, and he died in Concord, New Hampshire, July 6, 1838. He published the "Life of the Honorable Isaac Hill of Concord."

What drew his attention to Hale is not known, for Hale was largely forgotten when he began to collect material for his proposed life. He did no original work, relying only on correspondence, but we owe to him Mrs. Poole's touching tribute, the material collected by Deacon Jasper Gilbert, and the so-called "Testimony of Asher Wright." Bradley is said to have possessed extraordinary talents. It is to be regretted that he did not live to finish the work he so gallantly began, and it adds a pathetic touch to reflect that the first to plan a Life of Hale was a youth who actually died at an even younger age than did his hero.

“HOLY GROVE”

“A Brotherhood of Venerable Trees”

The meeting of the roadways in front of the Hale Mansion and a little to the westward forms a triangular plot of ground, perhaps an acre or so in extent. In the year 1812 this plot was planted with rock maple trees by David Hale, Junior, son of the Reverend David Hale, younger brother of Nathan Hale. Although many of the trees were thrown down by the great hurricane of 1938, many still remain, and arranged as they are in formal rows, they form one of the chief ornaments of the place. They are clearly shown in the woodcut (page 461) made by John Warner Barber for the article on Coventry in his “Connecticut Historical Collections,” 1838. Mrs. William H. Yeomans (née Mary Babcock), of Columbia, who was born and brought up in the old Babcock homestead on South Street, not far from the Hale place, once told me she had heard her uncle say that he had helped David Hale plant the trees.

In the summer of 1915, when the place was undergoing repairs, the dead wood was cut out of the trees, but it was not found necessary to remove any of them. Professor Henry Solon Graves, Director of the Yale School of Forestry, examined the trees with great interest when he visited the place in 1916, and thought it remarkable that a grove of sugar maples, planted over a century ago, should have survived in such good condition. For many years the grove has been known locally as “Holy Grove,” from the circumstance, tradition says, that open-air neighborhood prayer meetings were held in it for a time.

LAURA MARIA RIPLEY

“The Old Countess”

1840-1921

What a heading for a chapter in this book! But I make no doubt that if the reader had been privileged, as I was, to know Laura Maria Ripley of Coventry and Hartford, he would, peradventure, have hit upon the same title for her. It so happily describes the lady, with her birthright and breeding, her distinguished air and carriage, and her knowledge of the world. Moreover, I owe “The Old Countess” such a debt of gratitude for her encouragement and unfailing kindness that I should be remiss as a gentleman, if I did not make a record of it here, inadequate as any such tribute must be for so great a service. She had, to be sure, at the time I made her acquaintance, already sold Ripley House on Ripley Hill and was living in Hartford, but she was a native of Coventry and spent a short time there each season, and she knew its social history as did no one else. From my first meeting with her she showed a lively interest in my proposal to redeem the Birth-Place as a memorial to Hale. She promised me every assistance in her power, and thereafter, as long as she lived, she was untiring in her help. It was indeed a red-letter day when, with “The Old Countess” and her companion, Miss Emily M. Strickland, I went over to Ripley House, where in the lofty garret was still stored some of the furniture from the already dismantled Howard House on South Street, where Hale’s sister, Joanna, had lived happily for many years with her husband, Dr. Nathan Howard, and where she died. The house is still standing, but so changed!

First of all, in the wide entrance hall of Ripley House stood the tall-case clock that had for many years measured the hours for Hale’s sister and her family. In addition to its historical interest, I soon found that the clock was made by Daniel Burnap, a native of the old town of Coventry, and, perhaps, the master

clock-maker in the Annals of American Clock-making. It now stands in the Judgment Hall of the Birth-Place, where I have often listened to its measured beat, as I sat alone in the evening before the fire and reflected that I was listening to the same voice that had spoken to Hale's sister, Joanna, in the "lost years."

Then came the thrill of going up garret, where we soon found Hale's Army Trunk, which "The Old Countess" said I was to have for the Birth-Place. She had inherited it from her first cousin, Chauncey Howard, grandson of Joanna (Hale) Howard, who had always kept it in the spare chamber of the ample Howard house on South Street. I was pleased to know, of course, that another would-be custodian had begged for it in vain. Then "The Old Countess" gave me Joanna's satin wedding slippers, whose high heels must have worn a carnal look to her puritanical father, Deacon Richard Hale. At the same time too she gave me Joanna's small carriage trunk, containing some caps and an embroidered needle-case and similar feminine belongings. This little trunk I have kept inviolate and have long since lost the key. Then we found two plain but staunch small bedsteads that had been brought over from the Howard House, and, moving on to the other end of the garret, we found Joanna's blanket-trunk. It had a high, rounded lid and was covered with hand-blocked paper of fanciful design, now defaced and its colors faded. The inside of the trunk and its cover was lined with what appeared to be old newspapers. We found also, in a long mahogany box, a fine London telescope that had belonged to Chauncey Howard. "The Old Countess" also gave me an imposing dictionary of the Arts and Sciences with the name of John Hale in one of the volumes. Stuart's ascription of the ownership of this book to Nathan Hale is, in my opinion, an error, as the book seemingly belonged to his older brother.

These several relics too "The Old Countess" gave to me, and many articles not here mentioned, including the silhouettes of Joanna Hale and of her husband Dr. Nathan Howard. They were all duly installed in the Birth-Place, which subsequently received also some pieces of Lowestoft china that had belonged to Joanna Hale, and in many volumes the journals of Chauncey Howard, and some correspondence of his going back to his col-

lege days at Amherst, from which he graduated in 1835. I have never had time to read all of the letters, but I have an impression of them as being just such letters as college boys would write to-day. I remember that among them are a few letters from Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887), Amherst 1834.

After the death of "The Old Countess," Miss Strickland gave me the Hale-Howard flat table silver, including spoons of Joanna's. Miss Strickland gave me also books and other Hale material, and surely must be named as a benefactress of The Birth-Place.

Enough and perhaps too much of this, but I can't refrain from telling a story about Joanna's blanket-trunk. There came to the Birth-Place one day an old New Haven friend, Professor William Henry Bishop, the writer, who, after his days of teaching French at Yale were over, retired to Brooklyn, Connecticut, whence he drove over to call on me. I was, as it happened, not at home, but he was allowed to go where he wished, and being something of an antiquarian himself, he drifted "up garret," where by some instinct he was led to Joanna's blanket-trunk. Its lining, he discovered, far from being merely old newspapers, was in fact a version, in French, English, and Italian, of the "Telemachus" of the amiable Bishop of Toulouse. Where ever did Joanna Hale get such a trunk?

Even with this long recital I have not begun to tell the story of my debt to "The Old Countess" and to Miss Strickland. Without the help of these patriotic women I should never have been able to accomplish my purpose in Coventry, where the Hale tradition had already greatly faded.



REVEREND JOSEPH HUNTINGTON

(1735-1794)

Yale College 1762

He Prepared Hale for Yale College

Hale was prepared for Yale by the village minister, the Reverend Joseph Huntington, a member of one of the great East-of-the-river families that figure so largely in the history of Connecticut. His brother Samuel was president of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Chief-Justice and Governor of Connecticut. Another brother, the Reverend Enoch Huntington, a distinguished divine and Latinist, prepared Timothy Dwight for Yale. The Rev. Joseph was a man of attractive appearance and personality, graceful, urbane, witty. Hale's good manners, easy address, and interest in the Classics, were undoubtedly due to his influence. The fine

Parsonage in which Hale studied is still standing in good order and is one of the few remaining houses that knew Hale's footsteps. One of Huntington's sons became Governor and Chief-Justice of Ohio. As the epitaph on his tombstone is now scaled off, I venture to append it here :

REV. JOSEPH HUNTINGTON

Ordained June 29, 1763
died Dec. 25th 1794 in the 60th Year
of his age and 32nd of his ministry

He was an eminent divine, a
laborious minister & an affectionate
Parent & friend. He was considered
in the churches as a patron of learning
an illustrious example of extensive
charity & was much improved
as a counsellor & peacemaker
Blessed are the peacemakers
for they shall be called the
Children of God

LETTERS FROM HOME

The scene shifts from the stately parsonage of Mr. Huntington, in which the two boys were prepared for Yale, to New Haven, where we get just a glimpse of them through the three letters following, from their father. These letters are much the same as letters to college boys to-day; all of them relate to money, to clothes, and to transportation, though horses then took the place of automobiles. To-day an auto ride of two hours is all that is required to get from home to college, whereas it took two days when these letters were written.*

[From originals in possession of estate of the late Rev. Edward Everett Hale.]

DEACON RICHARD HALE TO HIS SONS ENOCH AND NATHAN
IN COLLEGE, DECEMBER 26, 1769

Dear children,

I Rec^d your Letter of the 7th instant and am glad to hear that you are well suited with Living in College and would let you know that wee are all well threw the Divine goodness, as I hope these lines will find you. I hope you will carefully mind your studies that your time be not Lost and that you will mind all the orders of College with care and be sure above all forget not to Learne Christ while you are busy in other studies. I intend to send you some money the first opportunity perhaps by Mr. Sherman when he Returns home from of the surcit [circuit court] he is now on. If you can hire Horses at New Haven to come home without too much trouble and cost I don't know but it is best and should be glad to know how you can hire their and send me word. If I Don't here from you I shall depend upon sending Horses to you by the 6th of May,—if I should have know oppertunity to send you any money till May and should then come to New Haven and clear all of would it not do? If not you will let me know it. Your friends are all well at Coventry—your mother sends her Regards to you—from your kind and Loving

Father Rich^d Hale

Coventry Dec^r 26th
A.D. 1769

* These three letters from Hale's father have been slightly modernized by division into sentences, etc.

LETTER OF DECEMBER 17, 1770

Dear Children,

I have nothing spettial to write but would by all means desire you to mind your Studies and carefully attend to the orders of Coledge. Attend not only Prayrs in the chapel but Secret Prayr carefully. Shun all vice especially card Playing. Read your Bibles a chapter night and morning. I cannot now send you much money but hope when S^r Strong comes to Coventry to be able to send by him what you want. . . .

from your Loving Fath—
Rich^d Hale

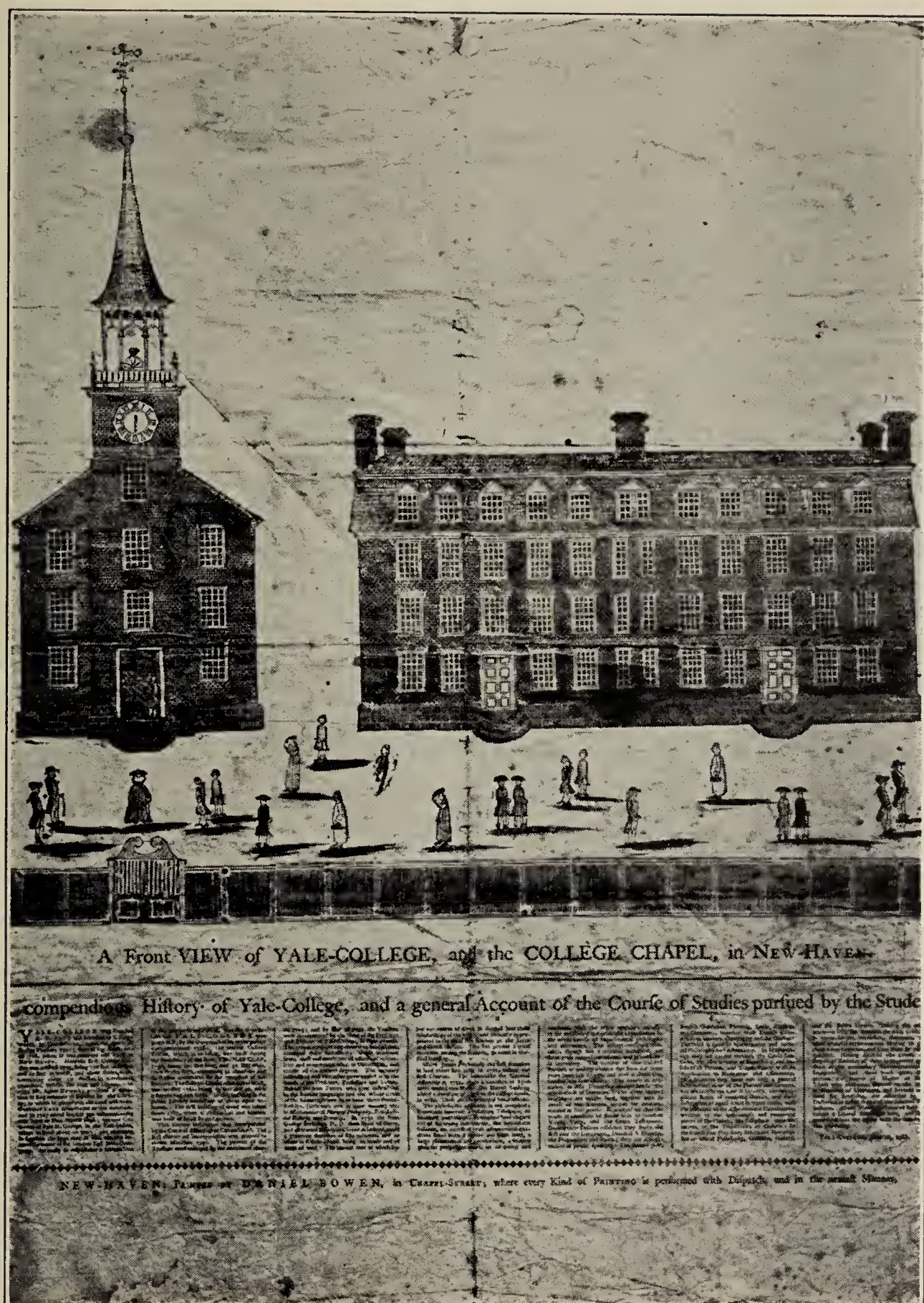
Coventry, Dec^r 17th 1770

LETTER OF AUGUST 13, 1771

Loving Children—by a line would let you know that I with my family threw the Divine Goodness are well as I hope these Lines will find you. I have heard that you are better of the measles. The Cloath for your Coat is not Done. But will be Done next week I hope at firthest. I know of no oppottunity we shall have to send it to Newhaven and have Laid in with Mr. Strong for his Horse which his son will Ride down to New Haven for one of you to Ride home if you can get Leave and have your close made at home. I sopose that one mesure will do for both of you. I am told that it is not good to study hard after the measles—hope you will youse Prudence in that afare. If you do not one of you come home I don't see but that you must do with out any New Close till after Commensment. I send you Eight Pound in cash by Mr. Strong—hope it will do for the present—

Your Loving Father
Rich^d Hale

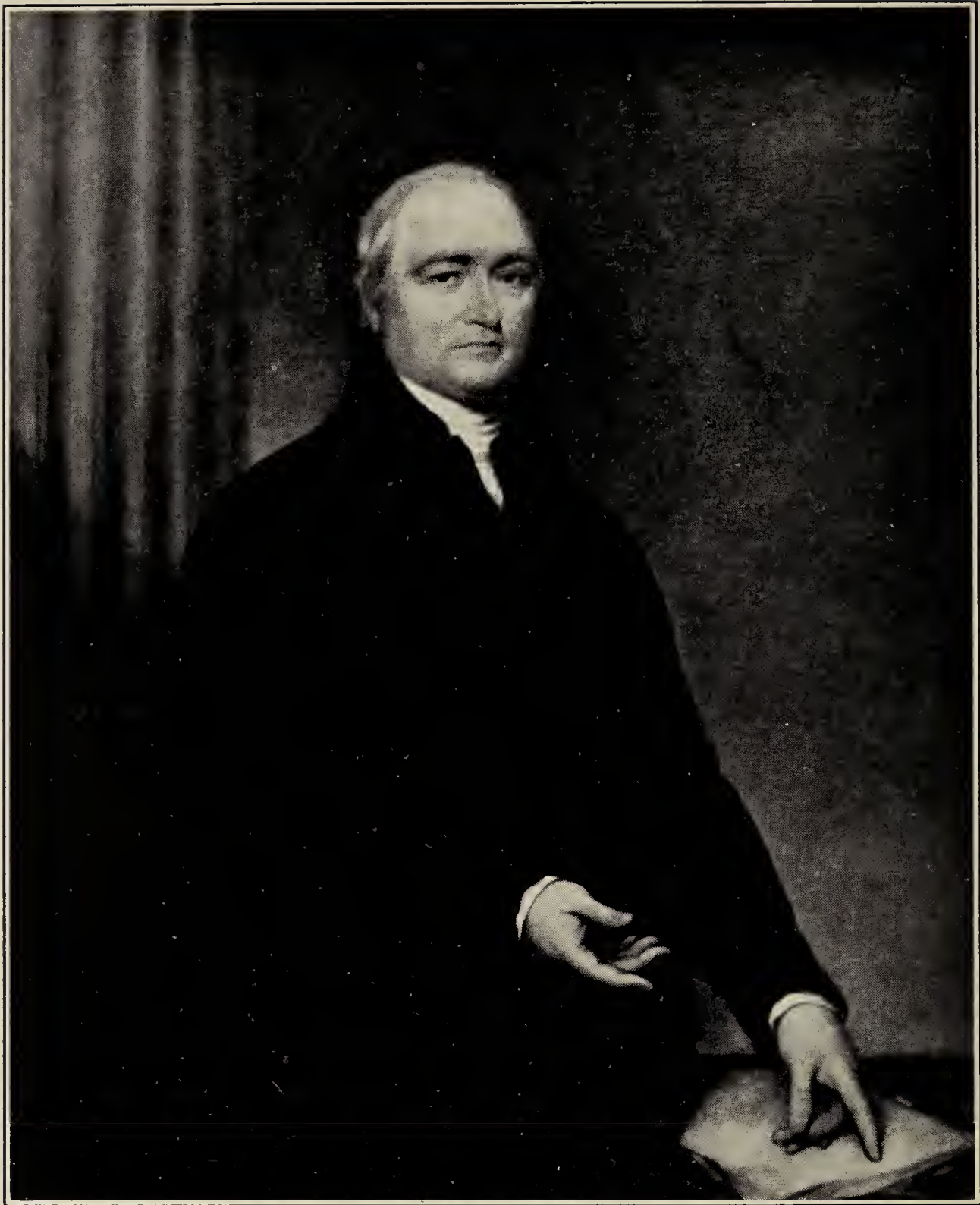
Coventry August 13th 1771



YALE COLLEGE IN HALE'S TIME

(Courtesy of Yale University)

The college as it appeared to Hale when he entered Yale in 1769. This engraving is dated 1786, but the two buildings shown were the same in 1769, when Enoch and Nathan Hale came to New Haven to matriculate at Yale.



TIMOTHY DWIGHT

(1752-1817)

Yale College 1769

Hale's Linonia Brother and Correspondent

From the Portrait Done in 1806 by Col. John Trumbull, now in the Possession
of Yale University

Of all Hale's friends, Timothy Dwight, destined to become Yale's great president, had the most notable career. He was

three years older than Hale and was graduated from Yale in 1769, the year of Hale's matriculation.

Dwight's letter (see p. 70) to Hale is less significant for its content than for the fact that it was written by the foremost young man at Yale. What the service was that it refers to is unknown, but its object was to induce Hale to get subscriptions for Dwight's amazing epic, "The Conquest of Canaan." Dwight had begun the poem at nineteen and we must presume that Hale knew all about it. After Hale's death, Dwight introduced into the poem his famous tribute to Hale, which of all tributes to him, has been the most often quoted (see p. 366).

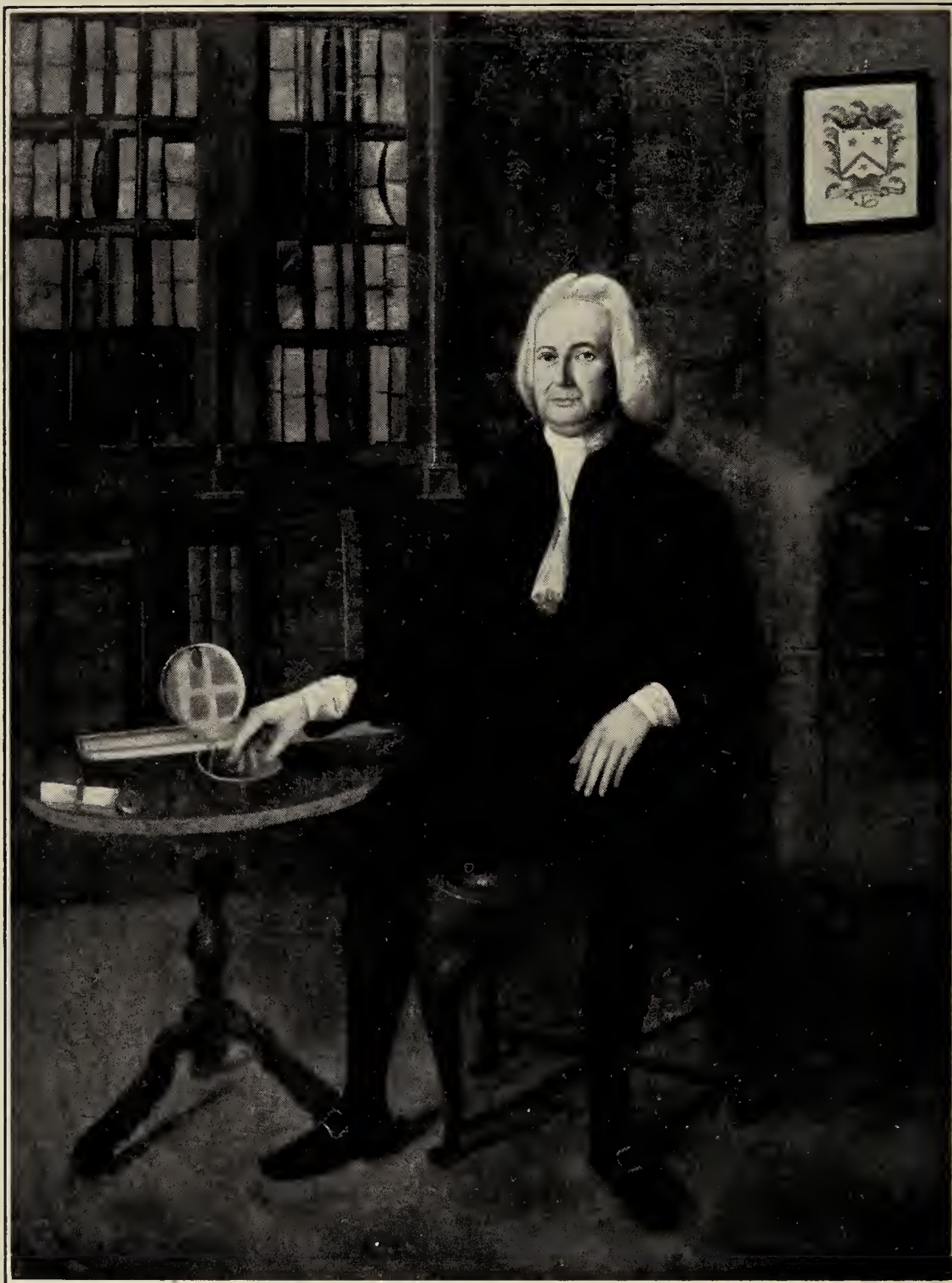
Both Dwight and Hale were members of the "Linonia Fraternity," and I conceive that they were drawn together by the common purpose of building up the Linonian Library.* In some way or other Hale had been able to render Dwight some service but the "many civilities" referred to by Dwight in his letter are unrecorded.

We can easily credit Stuart's statement that Dwight was "wonted, down to the close of his life, frequently to recur to him (Hale), and always in terms of admiration of his course in college, and regret for his untimely fate."

Dwight is buried in the Grove Street Cemetery. His monument bears the following inscription:

"Hic sepultus jacet Vir ille admodum reverendus Timotheus Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D., Collegii Yalensis Praeses, et ejusdem Sacrosanctae Theologiae Professor; Qui De Litteris, de Religione, de Patria optime meritus; Maximo suorum et bonorum omnium desiderio, mortem obiit, Die XI. Januar. Anno Domini MDCCCXVII. Aetatis suae LXV. Ecclesiae Greenfieldensis Pastor Annos XII. Collegii Yalensis Tutor VI. Praeses XXII. Senatus Collegii Yalensis Hoc Saxum Ponendum Curavit."

*It is interesting to note that "Sir Dwight" was cast, as appears in the Linonia Minutes, for a part in Steele's "Conscious Lovers." (See page 124.)



COLONEL GEORGE WYLLYS

(1710-1796)

Yale College 1729

Secretary of State for Connecticut for Over Sixty-Six Years

From the Painting by Ralph Earl

In the Collection of the Connecticut Historical Society

COLONEL GEORGE WYLLYS

(1710-1796)

Yale College 1729

In default of a portrait of Hale's gallant friend, John Palsgrave Wyllys (1754-1790, Yale 1773), I am showing this portrait of his father.

Colonel Wyllys lived and died in the family mansion on Wyllys Hill in Hartford, built in 1636-8 for his great-grandfather, Governor George Wyllys, who removed to Hartford from Fenny Compton, in Warwickshire, in Old England. The portrait shows him sitting in what appears to be the bookroom of the house. On the table beside him is the famous Charter of Charles II, of which he was official custodian and which he kept in its curious box.

Our John Palsgrave Wyllys was born in this same house, by all accounts the finest in the Colony. He is in a way the most appealing and lovable of all of Hale's friends. Alas, that we have no portrait of him to hang in our gallery, or even a single letter either from him to Hale or from Hale to him. For the story of this friend, classmate, and correspondent, I must refer to my "Hale & Wyllys," where I have collected everything I could find about the young man. He seems to have been "a man of culture, character, and exalted patriotism." He has the distinction of being the first commissioned officer in the Regular Army of the United States to be killed in action. He was killed in an Indian ambush, near what is now Fort Wayne, Indiana. "Like Hale, his lamented friend, the gallant Wyllys lies in an unknown grave, unmarked, forgotten; Hale somewhere under the groaning terrain of Manhattan Island, and Wyllys on the banks of the Maumee."

Wyllys married his own first cousin, Jerusha Talcott, daughter of Colonel Samuel Talcott, whose portrait by Ralph Earl also appears herein on page 459. These two portraits together are enough to show young Wyllys's position in life, probably unequalled in the entire state. If the Wyllys family was not the first family in the state, it was the proudest. With young Wyl-

lys's death his sister Susanna wrote, "The Glory of our family departed with him!" The light had gone out on Wyllys Hill.

In his General Orders and in his official report to the War Department, General Harmar referred to Wyllys as a "gallant officer," who "united the talents of a cultivated mind with the best virtues of the heart," and whose "long and meritorious services claim the grateful remembrance of his Country." The Connecticut and New York Societies of the Cincinnati resolved to wear mourning badges in his memory, the President of the New York Society requesting its members to wear crape for twenty-one days. Wyllys's death was celebrated in verse in the issue of February 9, 1791, of the Gazette of the United States, where he is described as having, "polish'd manners, undisguis'd by art, and the tenderest passions, and the firmest heart."

The author has given to Berkeley College, in Yale University, a memorial to Wyllys in the form of a hand-wrought silver tankard appropriately inscribed, but he hopes the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati may put up in Hartford a more adequate memorial.

A companion tankard has been given by the author to Berkeley College in memory of Hale, so that these two friends are, in a sense, united at their Alma Mater.

ISAAC GRIDLEY

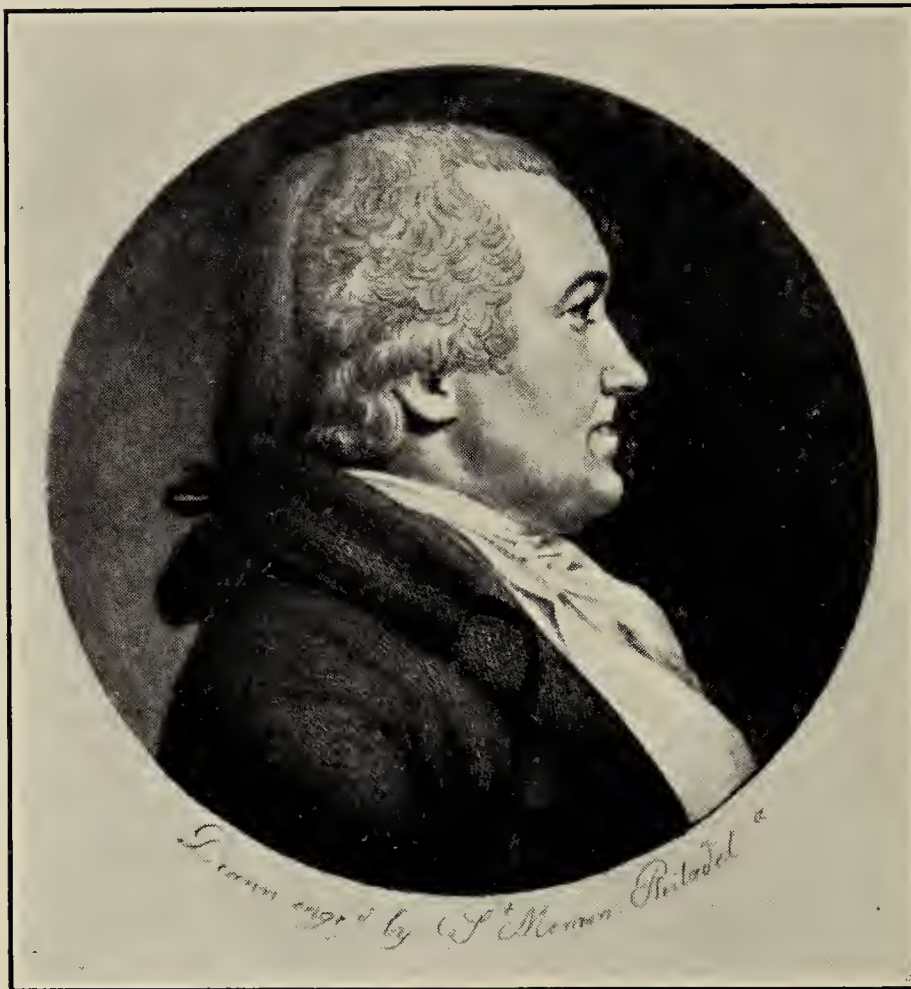
(1754-1836)

Yale College 1773

Professor Dexter, in his "Yale Biographies and Annals" (Third Series), says of Isaac Gridley: "During his College course he was a roommate of Nathan Hale." Upon what authority Professor Dexter made this statement is not known. There are no official records of where or with whom the students of that period roomed, and in the whole range of Hale's correspondence there is no reference whatever to Gridley. Many years ago the author asked Professor Dexter what authority he had for saying that Gridley was Hale's roommate. Professor Dexter replied that he was not prepared to answer my inquiry, and the matter was dropped. Gridley was a Linonia Brother of Hale, but, curiously enough, his name occurs only once in the Linonia Minutes.

After graduation Gridley settled in what was then known as Middletown Upper Houses, now Cromwell. He taught school and was always the gentleman. He never left off wearing short clothes, and was a notable figure on the streets. There are a few lines about him in David D. Field's "Centennial Address," Middletown, Connecticut, 1853, but nothing about his rooming with Nathan Hale. In the account of Gridley in Charles Collard Adams' "Middletown Upper Houses," 1908, the story is told that when Hale and Gridley were out sailing one day, presumably on New Haven Harbor, they were overtaken by a storm by which they were endangered. Hale unaffrighted said, "I will never be drowned, I am to be hanged," and he pointed to a wart on his neck.

To-day Gridley's headstone bears the legend that he was a roommate of Nathan Hale at Yale, but the words appear to have been cut into the stone long after it was erected.



MAJOR ROGER ALDEN

(1754-1836)

Yale College 1773

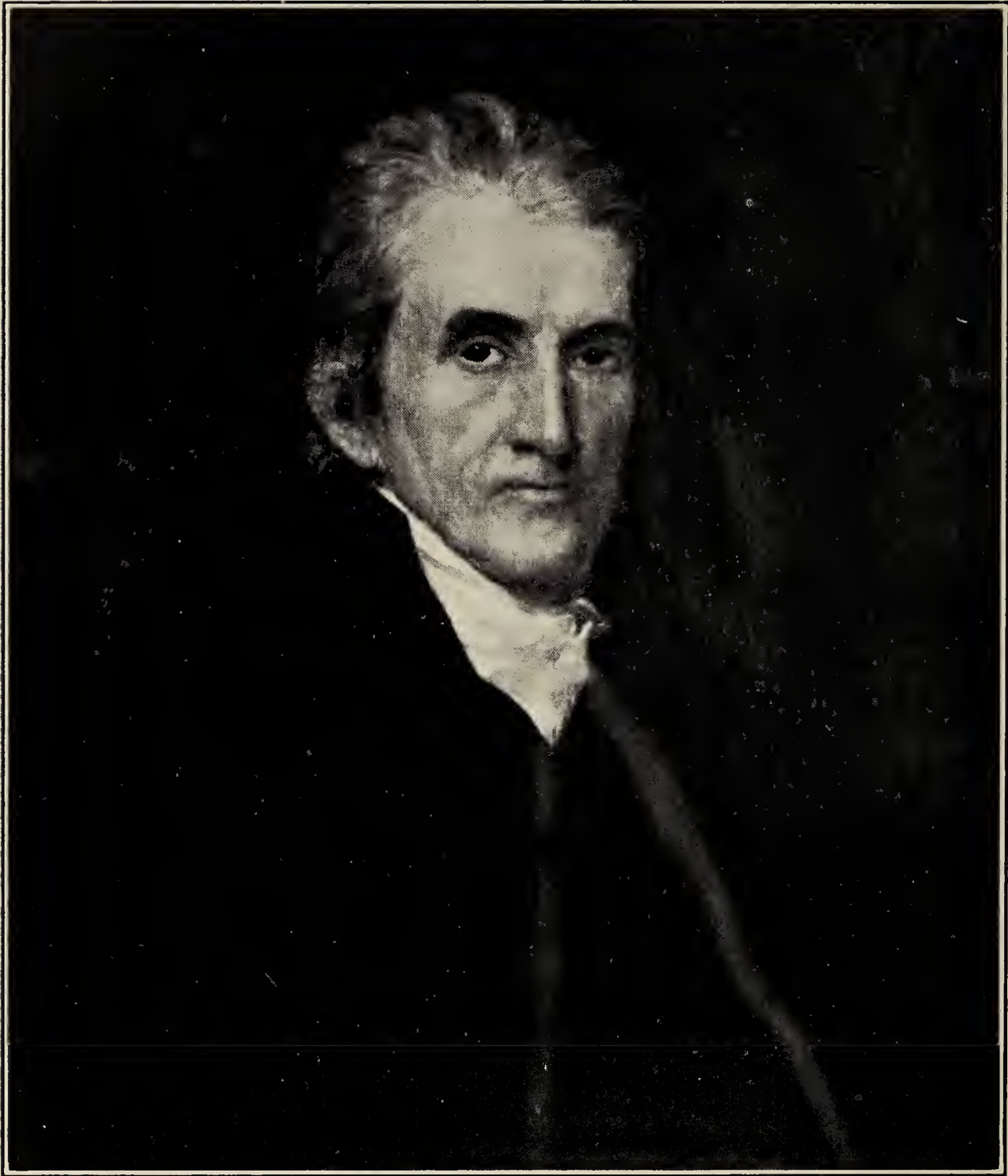
From the Original Portrait by St. Memin (1770-1852)

In the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Roger Alden was a Yale Classmate, Linonia Brother, warm friend, and correspondent of Hale, and had a notable career. He was a descendant in the sixth generation of John Alden of the Mayflower Company, and was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, 11 February, 1754, and died at West Point, New York, 5 November, 1836. Like Hale he began teaching school after graduation. He enlisted as a private soldier in Arnold's Expedition to Quebec, and at that time made the acquaintance of Aaron Burr. He was on terms of intimacy with Burr and his daughter Theodosia for many years. He served as Lieutenant and Adjutant in the Fifth Connecticut Line, from January, 1777, seeing active fighting at Germantown and Valley Forge. He was promoted to Captain,

September, 1779, and afterwards Aide-de-Camp to Brig.-Gen. Jedidiah Huntington; resigned his commission, February, 1781. He studied law and in 1785 was elected Deputy Secretary to the Continental Congress, and in 1789 was appointed Chief Clerk in the Department of State. In 1790 he resigned and removed to Pennsylvania, and became Agent of the Holland Land Company at Meadville. In 1825 he was appointed Ordnance Storekeeper at West Point, and the next year Postmaster, retaining these two positions until his death.

For accounts of his career, see Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals, Third Series," pp. 462-470, and Johnston's "Yale in the Revolution," pp. 282-283. In his letter to Hale dated "New Haven, Novbr 28, 1775," Alden concludes, "tell yourself that no one loves you more than Roger Alden." (See pages 52-53, also pages 33-35.)



JAMES HILLHOUSE

(1754-1832)

Yale College 1773

From the Portrait Painted in 1816 by John Vanderlyn
(Courtesy of the late James Hillhouse of Sachem's Wood.)

JAMES HILLHOUSE

(1754-1832)

Yale College 1773

Born and bred a gentleman, James Hillhouse, the Patriot, was destined to do more for New Haven than any one else of his generation. His life and public services are well set forth in Dr. Leonard Bacon's tribute, published in 1860, as well as in Professor Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals." Friend, correspondent, and Linonia brother of Hale, a letter (p. 21) to Hale is all of their correspondence that remains, but no other letter known to the author gives as graphic a picture of Yale at the outbreak of the Revolution as does this one. Hillhouse was a member of the *Quintumviri*, a group of five particularly congenial Yale classmates, banded together, perhaps for mutual benefit, and certainly for companionship. The other members seem to have been Hale, Mead, Alden, and Wyllys. From the Linonia Minutes we learn that Hillhouse was a contributor to the Linonia Library, which is still in use by Yale students, and that he was cast for a part in Farquhar's "Beaux Stratagems."

The writer once importuned the late James Hillhouse, grand-nephew of the Patriot, and inheritor of the mansion that crowns the height of "Sachem's Wood," where the Patriot died, to search among the old "Sachem's" papers in the garret in the hope of finding letters to him from Hale, but the search was unavailing. It is too bad that Hale's correspondents were not as zealous to preserve his letters to them as he was to keep theirs to him. Hillhouse's single letter to Hale opens a long essay that the writer has selected for inclusion in this book. To it he has the temerity to ask particular attention on account of the picture it presents of student life at Yale just before the War of the American Revolution.

The reader is referred to the author's article on the Hillhouse letter, pages 385-411.



THE YALE DIPLOMA OF JAMES HILLHOUSE;
HALE'S DIPLOMA MUST HAVE BEEN A
REPLICA OF THIS

By good fortune I am able to present a half-tone cut of the Yale diploma of Hale's good friend and classmate, James Hillhouse. Hale's own diploma, which, except for the name, was of course exactly like Hillhouse's, seems to have played a part in Hale's capture.

Hempstead, who parted from Hale at Huntington, after Hale had assumed his disguise as a Dutch schoolmaster, explains in his priceless narrative why Hale took his diploma with him on his dangerous errand into the enemy lines. "He retained nothing but

his College diploma as an introduction to his assumed calling," says Hempstead. (See page 312.) "Thus equipped, we parted for the last time in life." Exactly what use Hale made of the diploma we shall never know, but we do know that he was successful in maintaining his disguise until he was almost in his own lines. His classmate, William Robinson, who in after life often spoke of Hale and of his early fate, said: "He was found out from having his college diploma in his pocket."* Through Enoch Hale's diary we get a glimpse of the sheepskin itself in the hands of Cunningham, the British Provost Marshal, who, with almost diabolical cruelty, showed it to Wyllys while he was a prisoner. Says Enoch Hale's diary (page 298):

Coventry 25th Jan^r A.D. 1777—Pay Miss Ripley 4/0 for making two shirts of the cloth brother N. left viz 7 yds. Ride through Hartford and to Weathersfield to see Maj^r Wyllys who has returned from captivity at N. Y. He saw my Brother's Diploma which the Provost Marshall showed him who also had two letters of his—one to me, the other to his commanding officer written after he was sentenced. Got to Southington at even (evening) Sloppy traveling. 40m (miles)

It is clear that Robinson was right in saying that Hale had his diploma on his person when captured. Otherwise Cunningham would not have had it to show to Wyllys, but what became of it no one knows. Cunningham probably destroyed it—in his eyes a thing of no value whatever.

The story of how the diploma of James Hillhouse came into my hands I have told in my book, "Hale & Wyllys" (pages 56-57). Yale diplomas of 1773 are so rare that the University Library has only recently acquired a single example, and that, as it happens, is the diploma of another close friend and correspondent of Hale, Elihu Marvin.

*Edward Robinson, "Memoir of the Rev. William Robinson," New York, 1859, p. 67.



BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

(1754-1835)

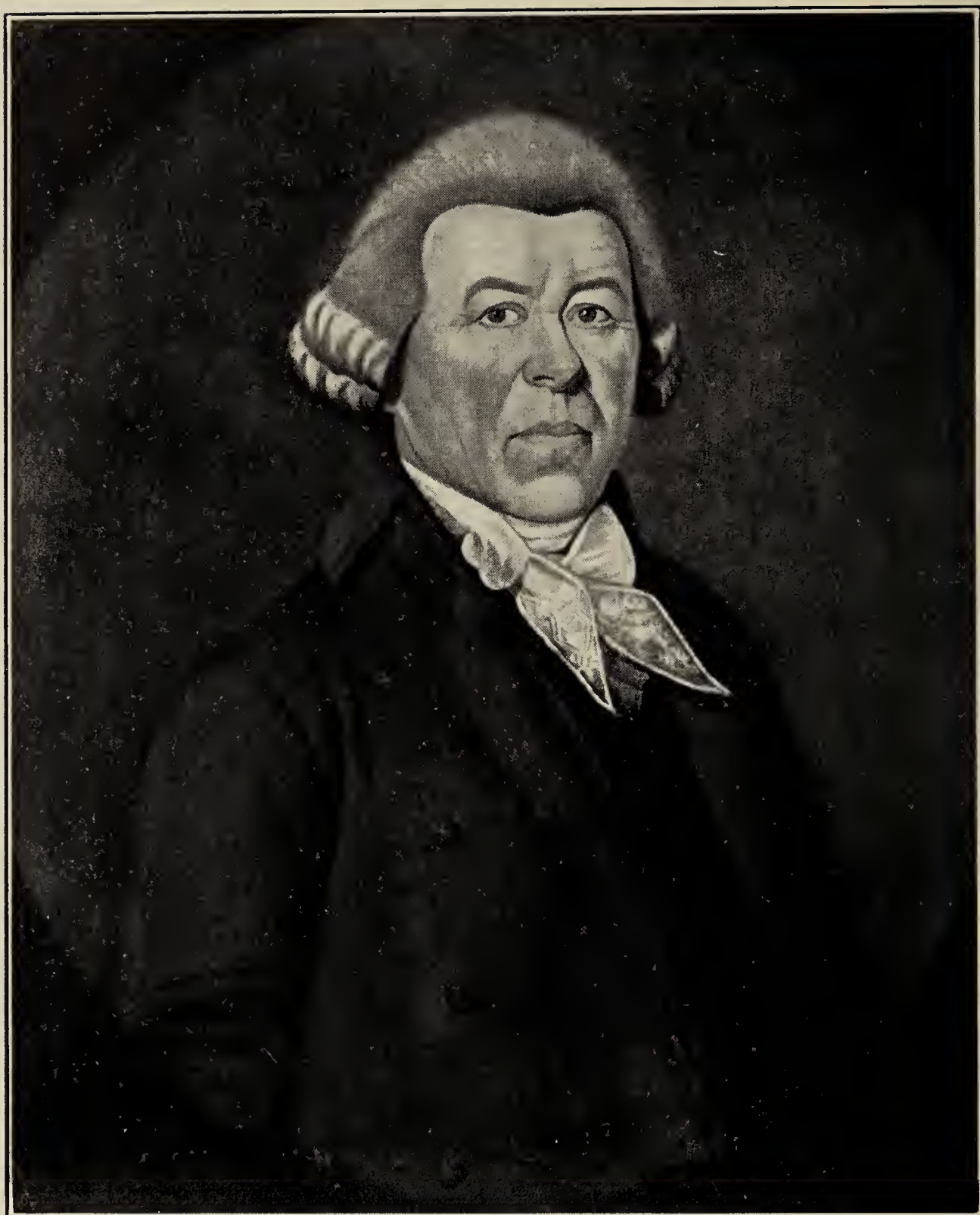
Yale College 1773

From a pencil drawing made soon after the close of the "War of the Revolution," by Col. John Trumbull. This is sometimes called the "Drumhead Portrait."

Hale and Tallmadge appear to have had a romantic friendship and corresponded under the names of "Damon" and "Pythias."

Three letters from Tallmadge to Hale have survived, but none from Hale to Tallmadge. Like Hale, Tallmadge began school-teaching after graduation, but he soon gave up teaching to serve in the army, with which he remained until the close of the war. After the war he married a daughter of General William Floyd (signer of the Declaration of Independence). He settled in Litchfield, where he became an influential citizen. He engaged extensively in commercial pursuits, until his election to Congress in 1801, where he served with credit until March, 1817, when he declined a further election.

In the war he played a leading part in the arrest of André, to whom he became so much attached that in later life he could not speak of André without tears. The fine house he built in Litchfield is still standing.



DR. ENEAS MUNSON, SENIOR

(1734-1826)

Yale College 1753 (B.A.)

From the Portrait by J. William Jennys, in the Possession of Yale University.

Dr. Munson, Yale 1753, a great friend of Hale during his undergraduate days, was born in New Haven June 13, 1734, and died here June 16, 1826. His house stood at about the present intersection of West Chapel Street and York Street, only a short

distance from the old College Yard, and Hale was a frequent visitor in it.

Dr. Munson settled in the practice of medicine in New Haven in 1760 and enjoyed a high reputation as long as he lived. He was president of the Medical Society of Connecticut and a professor in the Medical School of Yale from its organization to his death. During the Revolutionary War he was often a member of the Legislature. He was celebrated as a wit and is said to have been the only person in the community who had the temerity to talk back, so to speak, to the first President Dwight, who so far dominated every gathering in which he took part that he was known as "Pope Dwight." The story of Dr. Munson and his career may be found in a two-volume work, "The Munson Record" (1895).

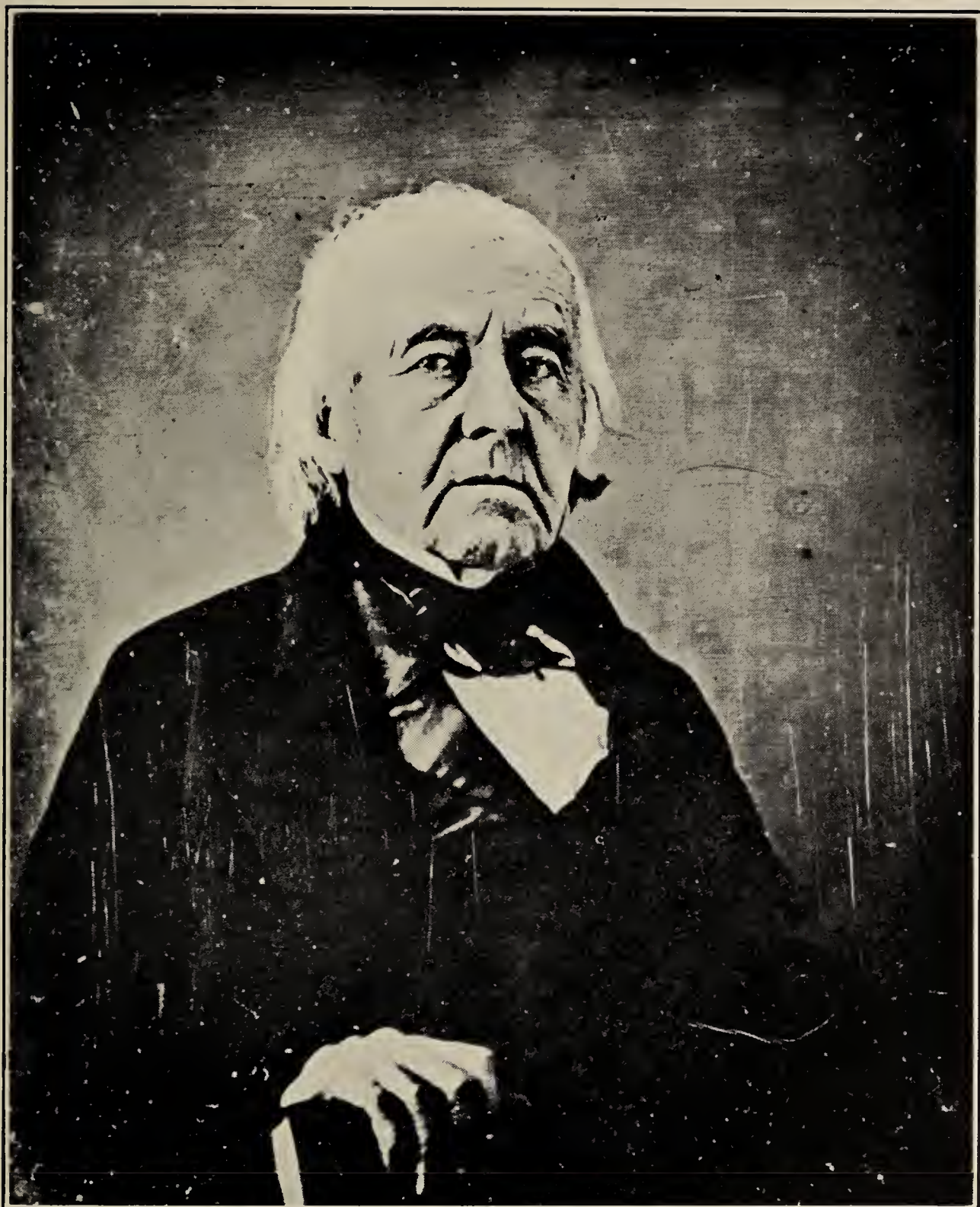
It was no small compliment to Hale, a college boy, to be given so much attention by Dr. Munson, a man of wide interests and already an outstanding citizen of New Haven. We get an attractive picture of Hale and Munson from the notes supplied by the latter's son, Dr. Munson, Junior, to the first issue of the *American Historical Magazine*, January 1836 (see pages 364-365).

In the next issue of the same magazine is a long poem entitled "To the Memory of Capt. Nathan Hale," (see pages 358-362) which contains one of our most attractive and informing pictures of Hale. The poem has been attributed to Timothy Dwight, but Professor Dexter assured me that Dwight did not write it. Dr. Munson was a classical scholar and wrote verse, and there is much in the poem pointing to Dr. Munson as its author. The writer made an extended effort some years ago to find the papers of Ebenezer Baldwin, founder and editor of the magazine, but without success. The author is satisfied that the poem was written by Dr. Munson and calls attention to his text accompanying the poem in the Documentary Section of this book, page 357.



HOUSE OF DOCTOR ENEAS MUNSON, SENIOR

Which stood at the intersection of West Chapel and York Streets. Hale was a frequent visitor in this house during his course at Yale.



DR. ÆNEAS MONSON THE YOUNGER

(1763-1852)

Yale College 1780

Assistant Surgeon under the famous Dr. James Thacher on the Medical Staff of the Continental Army, 1780-1783; present at the Siege of Yorktown and at the Surrender of Cornwallis in October, 1781; member of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati. He contributed an interesting description of Hale to the first number (January 1836) of the *American Historical Magazine and Literary Review*, published at New Haven, which is included in the Documentary Section of this book. In 1848 he was visited by Lossing, to whom he gave an account of Hale published by Lossing in "The Two Spies," 1856. (See pages 364-365.)



THE HALE SCHOOLHOUSE AT HADDAM LANDING

An Authentic Document

Hale began teaching school in a little red schoolhouse at Haddam Landing on the Connecticut River—a stream less storied but even more beautiful than the English Thames. The identical schoolhouse, small and rude, is intact, and save that it has been moved up onto a knoll where it commands a surpassing view of the river, it is to-day probably much as when Hale kept school in it. Though it stands remote and alone, it impresses the visitor as dreaming of its memories. It may indeed be viewed as one of the documents in the case, truly symbolizing the little red schoolhouse, which, according to firmly established tradition, lies at the foundation of American civilization.

Hale began teaching in this building in the Fall of 1773. He had graduated from Yale early in September and had then made a journey (on horseback, of course) to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to visit his uncle, Major Samuel Hale, who carried on a Latin school there.

Little is known of Hale's life in East Haddam, but it is clear from his letter of May 2, 1774, to his classmate, Thomas Mead

(see p. 15), that after college days and college friendships, not to say the activities of Linonia, he found East Haddam too quiet. In the verses by Hale entitled "The Tryst of Haddam Landing," (see p. 90) however, is proof enough that he had an affair with some girl of the locality. We may not doubt that the young woman was pleased—even thrilled—to receive these lines from the handsome young collegian, or that she deplored not having made his acquaintance until just as he was leaving East Haddam for New London, probably about the middle of March, 1774. The verses show Hale at his best and indicate that he was not lacking in the humanity that must have been expected from a spirited and energetic young man going on nineteen.

We get another brief glimpse of Hale at Haddam Landing through Stuart. "It is the testimony of a highly intelligent old lady, who knew Hale well when he resided at East Haddam," wrote Stuart, "that he was happy, faithful and successful in his office of teacher. 'Everybody loved him,' she said, 'he was so sprightly, intelligent, and kind'—and, she added withal, 'so handsome!'" This was Mrs. Hannah Pierson. Somewhere among my papers I have an account of her and her family, furnished me many years ago by the late Honorable Francis H. Parker, the historian of the locality. I cannot to-day find my correspondence with Judge Parker, but I feel that I should make him this much return for all the time and effort he spent in answering my questions about Hale in East Haddam.

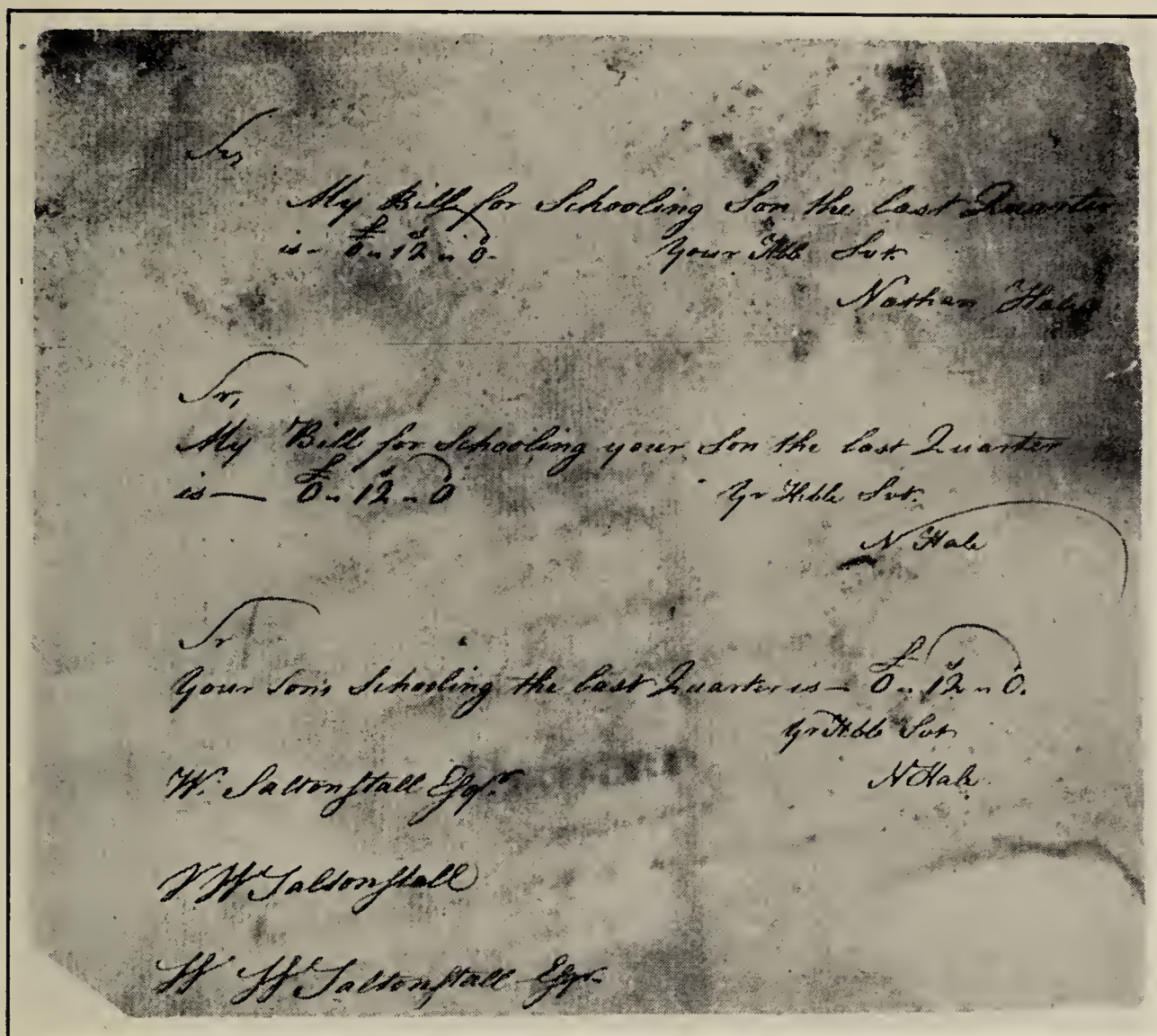
From East Haddam Hale moved up in the scale, to take the headship of the Union School in New London, where he was to remain until July 1, 1775, when he was appointed to a Lieutenancy in the Continental Army by the General Assembly of Connecticut (see page 162).



THE HALE SCHOOLHOUSE IN NEW LONDON

This old schoolhouse is to-day one of the most cherished possessions of New London. It was in it that Hale conducted the school of which he wrote to his Yale classmate, Thomas Mead, to his uncle, Major Samuel Hale, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and to his friend, Dr. Eneas Munson, at New Haven, in the letters printed in this book.

It was doubtless with beating heart and high hopes that Hale, with his commission as Lieutenant in his pocket, and ready to do his part in the coming conflict, closed the door of his schoolhouse for the last time that day early in July, 1775. He little realized, of course, that one hundred and sixty-five years later his portrait, albeit only an ideal likeness, would be placed on upwards of three billion Federal stamps and that his name and fame would be on the lips of millions of boys and girls in just such schools as the one he was leaving. (See pages 554-555.)

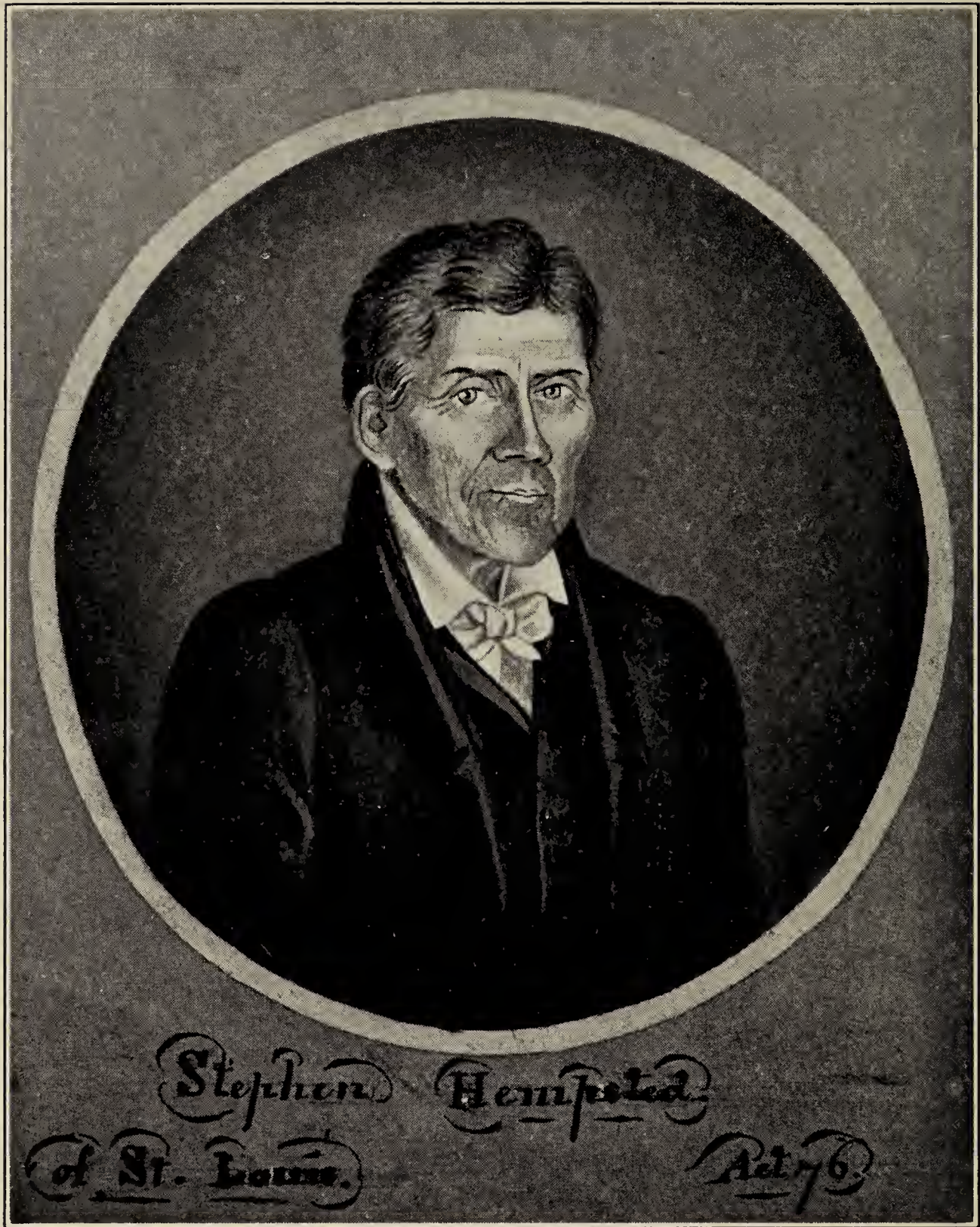


SOUVENIR (GREATLY REDUCED IN SIZE) OF HALE'S SCHOOL-TEACHING DAYS IN NEW LONDON

From the Collection of the late Dr. Edward Everett Hale
Now in the Possession of the Author

One wonders how this piece of paper happened to be preserved! It seems to be nothing more than a bit of scribbling on the part of Hale; perhaps to draft a satisfactory bill for tuition, and incidentally to try out a new pen and to practice writing a fine hand with it. Proficiency in penmanship was a great recommendation for a school-teacher in those far-off days, and along with it the ability to make a quill pen was highly valued. Thus Bostwick says in his description of Hale, "He could make a pen the quickest of any man" (see page 325).

To-day this piece of paper, to which Hale devoted a few minutes at his schoolmaster's desk so long ago, is valuable as a specimen of his handwriting and as containing his signature written three times.



SERGEANT STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD
(1754-1831)

(Courtesy of the late Anna Hempstead Branch)

SERGEANT STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD

Hempstead was another of Hale's New London friends. He belonged to one of the old New London families and lived in the now famous Hempstead House, built in 1678, one of the oldest and most historic houses in the State. Hale was often in this house. The Hempstead family tradition is that Stephen fairly idolized Nathan, and though only a year older, felt that he was a sort of big brother to him. I doubt myself if Hale was as warmly attached to any other of his friends as he was to Hempstead.

Hale had no more devoted friend than Stephen Hempstead, whose narrative "The Capture and Execution of Captain Hale, in 1776" will be found on pages 311-314.

In my book of notes I find the following estimate of Stephen Hempstead, whose services entitle him to a public memorial in New London:

Sergeant Stephen Hempstead, one of Hale's most faithful adherents, the last of Hale's friends to see him in life, the writer of one of the most valuable documents in Hale's history, and one of the most attractive figures on the stage of the Hale drama, was born in New London, May 6, 1754, son of Stephen and Sarah Hempstead, and was a lineal descendant of Robert Hempstead, one of the chief settlers of New London. He volunteered (May 6, 1775) soon after Lexington, marched to Boston, and "was present in the affairs at Cambridge, Bunker's Hill and Roxbury and had the pleasure to see the British evacuate Boston." Upon the expiration of his first term (Dec. 10th) he entered the service for a second term, in "*Captain Nathan Hale's* company," and marched to New York.

When Hale, in Sept., 1776, undertook to secure information of the enemy's strength for Washington, he chose Hempstead to accompany him as far as he could with safety. Hale and Hemp-

stead journeyed together (on foot to avoid attracting attention) from their camp on Harlem Heights to Norwalk, whence a sloop took them across the Sound to Huntington, L. I., where Hempstead took leave of Hale. Hempstead says that Hale "changed his uniform for a plain suit of citizens' brown clothes, with a round brimmed hat, assuming the character of a Dutch schoolmaster, leaving all his other clothes, Commission, public and private papers with me." Hempstead then re-crossed the Sound to Norwalk to await Hale's return. He saw Hale no more. He went back to New York, and in the Battle of Harlem Heights (Sept. 16, 1776) he had two ribs broken and was left for dead on the field. He also took part in the defense of Fort Griswold (Sept. 7, 1781), and saw the murder of the "gallant Ledyard" and was one of the wounded who were stripped naked and piled into an ammunition wagon, which was drawn by the enemy to the brow of the hill and then let go "to run down by itself"—one of the most shocking atrocities of the War. After this experience, he "lay eleven months as helpless as a child" in his brother's house, his own house having been burned with all its contents. He removed, in 1811, to St. Louis, Mo., where he died in 1831.

In 1826 he published in the *Missouri Republican* a narrative of "The Battle of Groton Heights," and in the same paper in 1827 "The Capture and Execution of Captain Hale, in 1776." The latter, reprinted in Johnston's "Hale," pp. 154-157, is one of the most informing and valuable documents we have concerning Hale. Hempstead believed that Hale had been betrayed by his cousin, Samuel Hale, the Tory. For an account of Hempstead, see pp. 58-59 of "The Battle of Groton Heights" (New London, 1882), which also contains Hempstead's account of the "Massacre," as published in the *Missouri Republican* in 1826. Further references to Hempstead are to be found in Johnston's "Hale."

My own studies of the Hale material have led me to put great confidence in the evidential value of Hempstead's narrative, "The Capture and Execution of Captain Hale, in 1776," even though it was not written until half a century after the event. Up to the period of Hempstead's parting from Hale at Huntington, the narrative is a recitation of facts within Hempstead's own knowledge and may be accepted without hesitation. What follows is

merely hearsay, but Hempstead seems to have taken great pains to inform himself of the facts, just as far as they were known.

Years ago I wrote to the late Miss Anna Hempstead Branch, the poetess, sending her a photograph of Bela Pratt's statue of Hale, and I was pleased to receive from her the following reply:

Hempstead House,
New London
Conn.

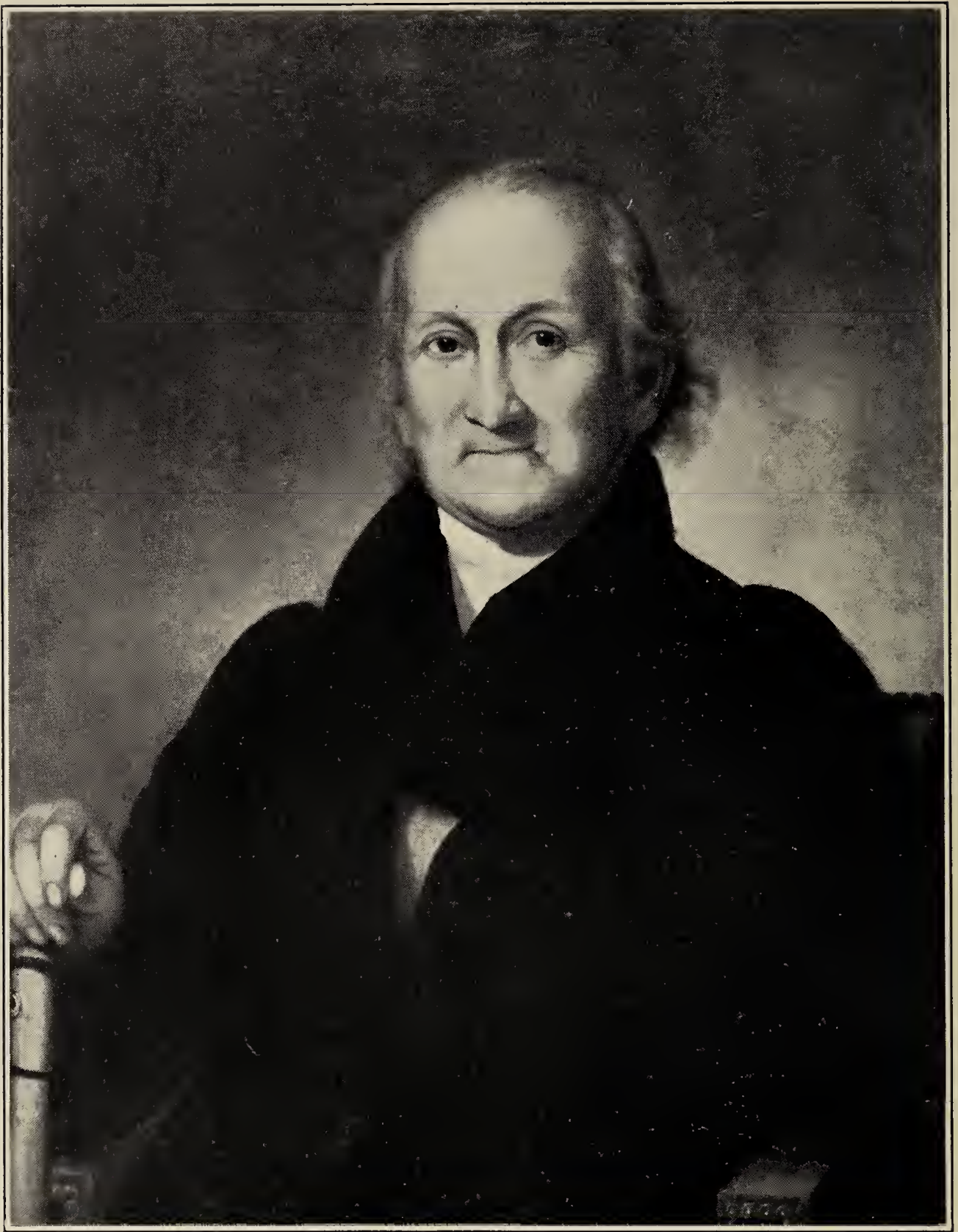
My dear Mr. Seymour:

Thank you very much indeed for the very beautiful picture—Nathan Hale. He was the dear friend of Stephen Hempstead who was born in the house where I live. He came often to this house and there is a family legend that Nathan Hale and Stephen Hempstead used to lie flat on their backs in the meadow in the evening and watch the stars. He gave Stephen his watch when he bade him goodbye.

Perhaps you will be coming sometime to New London. If you do, I shall be happy to show you my old house, with its ancient memories.

Sincerely
(Signed) Anna Hempstead Branch

I subsequently went to see Miss Branch and was shown the old house that had once responded to the footsteps of Hale.



CAPTAIN DAVID NEVINS

(1747-1838)

From the Portrait by Charles Willson Peale

In the Possession of the Family

The author is indeed fortunate to be able to hang in his gallery portraits of a young man and a young woman who were members of the gay circle of Hale's friends in New London and Norwich—Captain David Nevins and Mary (Polly) Hubbard, his wife.

Their original portraits, painted at New York by Charles Willson Peale, now hang in the Nevins family home in Waterford, Conn. For photographs of them I am indebted to Mr. Russell Hubbard Nevins, their great-great-grandson.

Miss Caulkins says of Nevins in her "History of Norwich" (1845): "His personal activity and daring spirit, combined with trustworthiness and ardent participation in the popular cause, peculiarly fitted him for the work. But the battle of Lexington carried him from all minor employments into the army. He joined the Eighth Company, Sixth Regiment, which was organized on Norwich Green in May, 1775, and was its color-bearer on Dorchester Heights." In October, 1776, he was commissioned a Lieutenant and later a Captain. "He remained with the army during the siege of Boston, the occupation of New York, and the retreat through the Jerseys, returning home in the winter of 1777. He did not, however, relinquish the service of his country, but was several times again in the field upon various emergencies during the war." He died in New York in 1838, aged 90. Some account of him is to be found in Miss Perkins' "Old Houses of the Antient Town of Norwich" (1895).



MARY (POLLY) HUBBARD
(1756-1820)

Wife of Captain David Nevins (1747-1838)

From the Portrait by Charles Willson Peale
In the Possession of the Family

This "Lady of the Lost Years" was one of Hale's numerous correspondents, but as far as is known no letter between them is now in existence. She was a daughter of Captain Russell Hub-

bard (1732-1785), who early in the Revolution removed to Norwich from New London, where he had been one of the proprietors of the Union School, in which Hale taught from March, 1774, to July, 1775, when he joined the Continental Army. Polly may have been one of Hale's pupils in New London, but it is more likely that her brother Tom (b. 1758) was one. Hale evidently got to know this engaging family in New London and continued his acquaintance with them after they removed to Norwich.

Polly appears in the letters written to Hale by his Yale classmate, Elihu Marvin (1752-1798), who as teacher of the school at Norwich was another member of this choice circle of young people. Polly married Nevins the next year, 1777.

CAPTAIN GILBERT SALTONSTALL

(1752-1797)

Harvard College 1770

Captain Gilbert Saltonstall, one of Hale's most prolific correspondents, was a son of General Gurdon Saltonstall (Yale 1725), one of the foremost citizens of New London during the War of the American Revolution, and he was a grandson of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, Chief Magistrate of Connecticut from 1708 to 1724 and an outstanding figure in the history of New England during his lifetime. Gilbert's mother was a Winthrop, a granddaughter of the Honorable Waitstill Winthrop, the jurist, and through her he inherited the blood of four more colonial Governors,—the two John Winthrops, and the two Dudleys for good measure. It is significant that Hale had for an intimate friend and correspondent the ranking young man of New London. We are fortunate in having many letters from Saltonstall to Hale, but unfortunate in having none from Hale to Saltonstall. During Arnold's invasion of New London in 1781, General Saltonstall's house was burned, and Hale's letters, perchance, were burned with it. At any rate, none has ever come to light.

Gilbert Saltonstall enlisted in the war in 1776 and became a Captain of Marines on the frigate *Trumbull*, which was launched the same year. In 1780 the *Trumbull* was engaged in one of the hardest fought naval actions of the war, and during the action Saltonstall was severely wounded. Two letters from him to his father can be found in Gardner W. Allen's "Naval History of the American Revolution," Volume 2, published in 1913. After the war Saltonstall became a merchant in New York. He died in 1797, leaving two sons, Gilbert and Gurdon. We have no portrait of him save the one furnished by his own letters. They reveal a young fellow keenly interested in the war, and they show how, in the circle of his New London friends, Hale, who was at the front, was being missed.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS KNOWLTON (1740-1776)

(There is no known portrait of Knowlton)

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Knowlton, of Ashford, was called by Washington "The brave and gallant Knowlton who would have been an honor to any Country." After the Battle of Long Island (August 17, 1776) Washington saw the necessity of securing reliable information of the enemy's strength in arms and men and of his strategic positions. In this "darkest hour of the Revolution" Washington turned to Knowlton of "Knowlton's Rangers," a picked command organized immediately after the Battle of Long Island for special scouting service. Knowlton undertook to find someone who would enter the enemy's lines as a spy, and he called on the four captains of his command for a volunteer. On the first call no one responded; on the second call Hale alone volunteered. He entered the enemy's lines at Huntington, Long Island, and after securing the information desired by Washington, he was captured and promptly hanged by the British.

It is touching to know that on his way to the gallows—in Montresor's tent that Sunday morning—Hale wrote to his commanding officer, Knowlton, who, unknown to Hale, had a few days before himself made the supreme sacrifice. Knowlton was killed in the Battle of Harlem Heights, September 16th, when Hale was alone somewhere in the enemy's lines.



GENERAL WASHINGTON

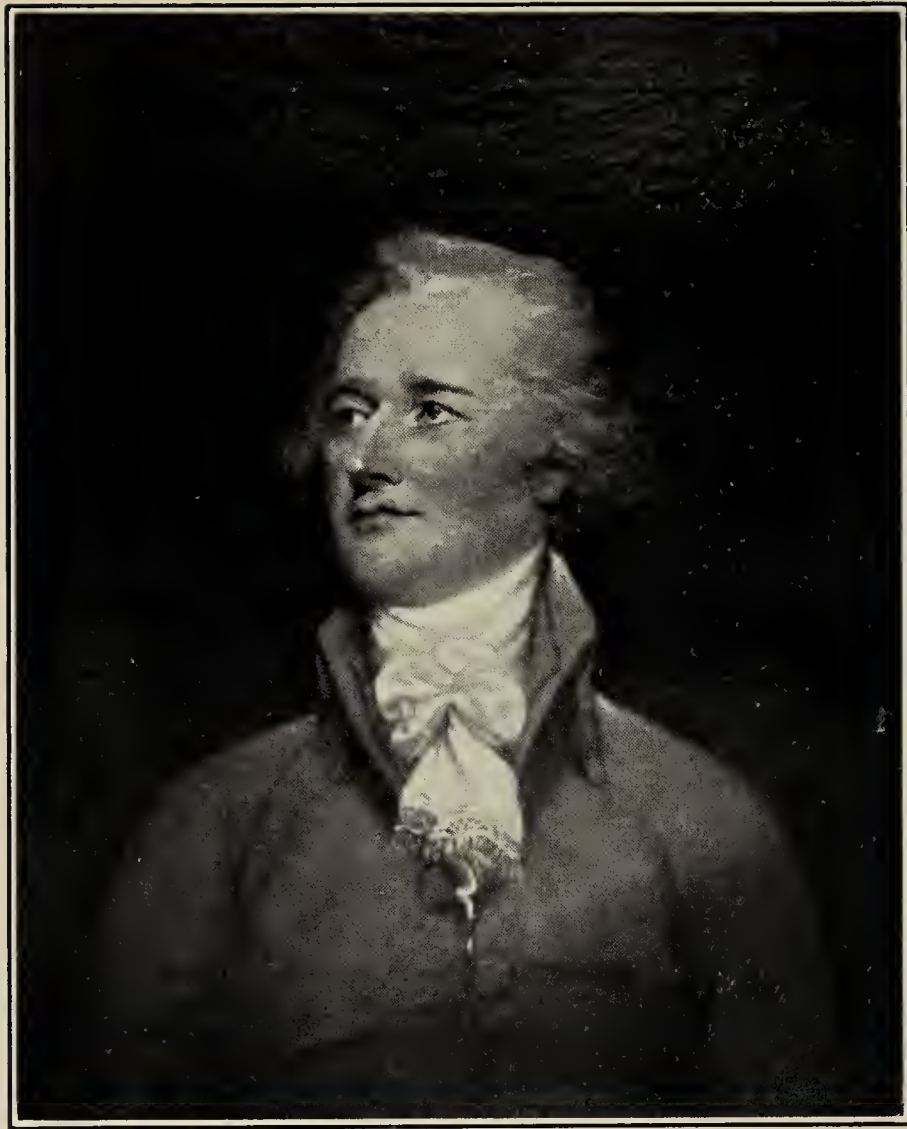
From the Painting Done in 1792 by Colonel John Trumbull

In the Collection of the Yale School of the Fine Arts

GENERAL WASHINGTON

It was at Washington's behest, as there can be no doubt, that Hale volunteered for the service in the performance of which he "resign'd his life a sacrifice to his Country's liberty at New York Sept. 22^d 1776 Etatis 22^d"; but whether it was Washington personally who gave Hale his instructions must, in the nature of the case, be a moot question. There was, of course, no official record of the matter.

Stephen Hempstead, it is to be noted, in his now famous narrative, "The Capture and Execution of Capt. Hale, in 1776," explicitly states that "he (Hale) informed me, he was sent for to Head Quarters, and was solicited to go over to Long Island to discover the disposition of the enemy's camps." What undoubtedly happened was that having answered Colonel Knowlton's call for a volunteer (spy service cannot be commanded, not even of a private soldier), Hale was sent for to report at headquarters to receive his detailed instructions, but whether it was Washington in person who gave the instructions does not appear. In support of those who so contend it may be said that the information Washington felt he must have at this, which has been called the "darkest hour of the Revolution," was of the first importance and of a kind that demanded the highest qualities of service and could be secured only by a man of superior character, ability, and education, who could also make drawings or sketches of fortifications. It is to be considered too that at this stage of the war whatever staff organization Washington had must have been so crude as to compel him to do himself things that he later deputed to others as a matter of course. There is also the tradition that Washington and Hale had a conference in Colonel Murray's house, on Murray Hill. On the other hand it may be urged that it was beneath the dignity of the Commander-in-Chief to make personal contact with the individual who had volunteered for the service in view, and that however crude his staff organization he would certainly have found someone else to convey the necessary instructions for him.



CAPTAIN ALEXANDER HAMILTON
(1757-1804)

From a Portrait by John Trumbull

Hale was hanged Sunday morning, September 22nd, 1776. Shortly before he was led to the gallows he was befriended by Captain John Montresor, Sir William Howe's gallant and humane Aide-de-camp, who also witnessed the execution and is the person to whom we owe the preservation of Hale's famous "Last Words." (See pages 307-310 and 376-382.)

The evening of that very Sunday it became the duty of Captain Montresor to deliver, under a flag of truce, a letter from Howe to Washington respecting an exchange of prisoners. Montresor was met by Washington's Adjutant-General, Joseph Reed, who was accompanied, as references indicate, by General Putnam and by Captain Alexander Hamilton, the latter a youth of only nineteen but already a captain of artillery and afterwards aide to Washington.

Two days later Washington's reply to Howe, dated September 23rd, was carried down to the front with a flag by Lieutenant-Colonel Tilghman, one of Washington's aides, accompanied, as the references indicate, by Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel B. Webb and by Hale's comrade-at-arms, Captain (afterwards Général) William Hull. Captain Montresor again represented Sir William Howe and was the officer who met the American officers and received Washington's letter.

That on both occasions Montresor spoke of Hale is recorded by General Hull in his *Memoirs of his own Revolutionary Services*. Of the first meeting Hull says that Montresor "informed Hamilton * * * that Captain Hale had been arrested within the British lines, condemned as a spy, and executed that morning." Of the second meeting he says: "I learned the melancholy particulars from this officer (Montresor), who was present at his execution, and seemed touched by the circumstances attending it."

It thus appears that Alexander Hamilton was the first person on the American side to learn of the capture and execution of Captain Nathan Hale. I conceive that Montresor singled out Hamilton to receive the grim bit of information because, as bearer of an official letter from the British Commander-in-Chief, he deemed it more becoming to impart the news to the young captain than to either Washington's Adjutant-General or General Putnam, and that even to Hamilton he must have conveyed the message in a kind of aside. I conceive too that Hamilton, knowing of Captain Hull's intimacy with Hale, in turn conveyed the news to Hull, and that on the occasion of the second meeting with Montresor, Hull actually questioned the British officer about Hale's death and thus obtained what he called "the melancholy particulars"—details that Montresor had not imparted to Hamilton. It even seems to me highly probable that Hull himself sought the assignment to accompany Washington's flag, but in any case it seems plainly to have been from Hamilton that he had the first word of his friend's tragic fate.



CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRESOR
(1736-1799)

From the Portrait by John Singleton Copley

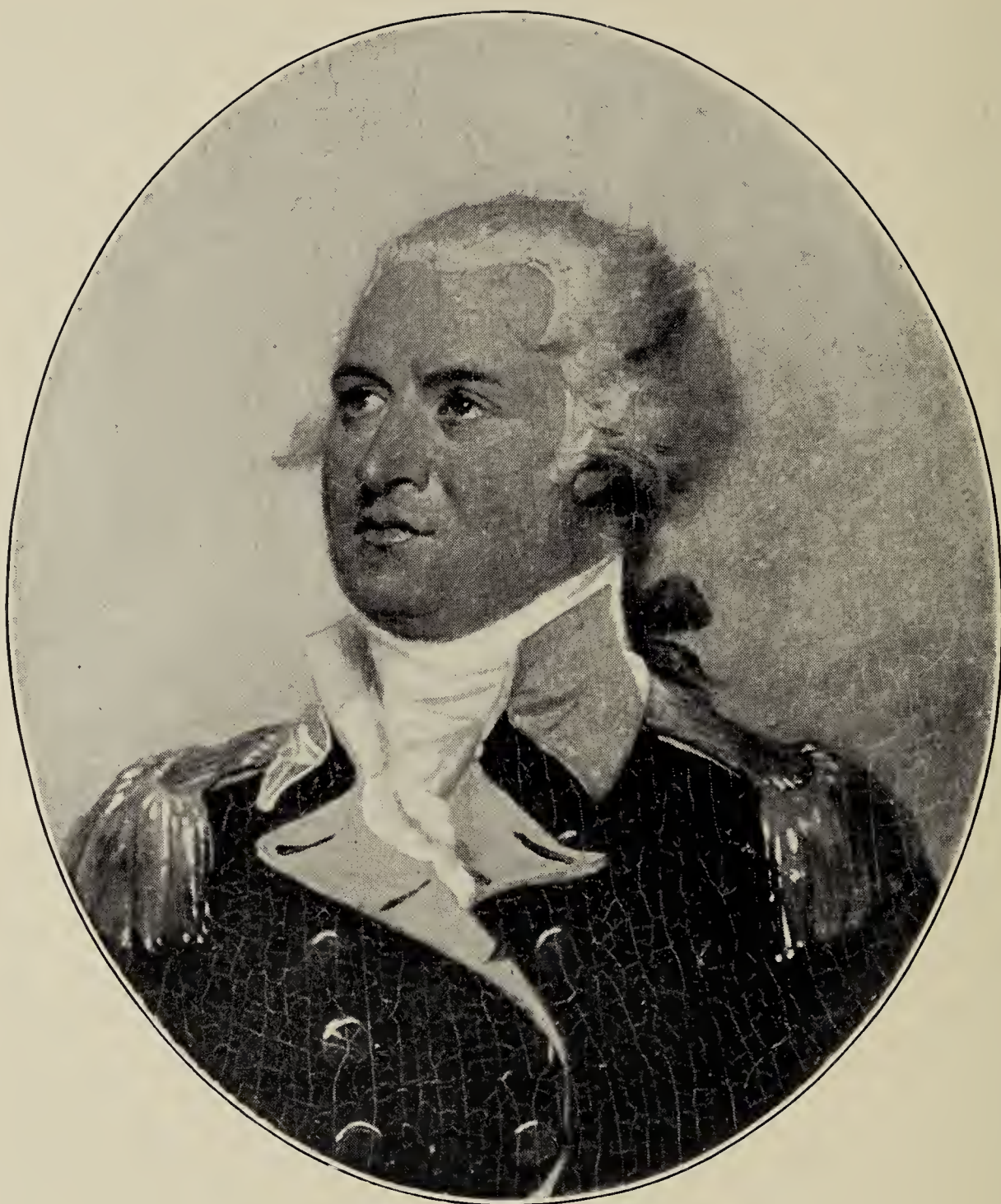
Captain John Montresor, who befriended Hale on the morning of his execution and preserved Hale's Last Words, was born at Gibraltar on April 6, 1736. At the time of Hale's execution he was an Aide-de-camp to Sir William Howe and had a marquee

on the Artillery Park of the British army. When Hale was brought out to be executed, Montresor alone befriended him.

Montresor's humane, gallant, and courageous befriending of Hale that Sunday morning is, I have always felt, the one redeeming feature in the entire tragedy. One of the first things I did on reconditioning the Birth-Place was to hang a life-size copy of Copley's portrait of Montresor in the panelled dining-room, along with similar portraits of Hale's best friends. It occurs to me now that just at this time it would be a graceful act on the part of the Sons of the Revolution to hang in Fraunce's Tavern, in New York, with all its associations with Washington, a portrait of Montresor.

Montresor may have been attracted to Hale by his youth, handsome figure, and noble bearing, but my own opinion is that Montresor's primary interest was professional. Montresor was an engineer and was himself in the way of making military sketches (some of them are reproduced in his journal published by the New York Historical Society in 1881, "The Montresor Journals"), and he was anxious to see the young man who had just been making sketches of the British works.

Enoch Hale mentions Montresor in his diary, the entry of Oct. 26, 1776, printed in the Documentary Section of this volume (page 297).



WILLIAM HULL.

(1753-1825)

Yale College 1772

From the Miniature by John Trumbull

In the Yale School of Fine Arts

We are indeed indebted to Hale's comrade-at-arms and devoted friend, Captain (afterwards General) William Hull. Hale doubtless first knew Hull at Yale, where he was only a year ahead of Hale. They were both in the siege of Boston, and from there they went on to New York at the same time. It was Hull who

furnished Hannah Adams with an account of Hale, and he left manuscripts from which his daughter, Mrs. Maria Campbell, prepared the life of her father quoted herein, pages 307-310.

The writer endeavored years ago to locate General Hull's papers, in order to ascertain the exact record of Hale's last words, but he was advised that the papers had unfortunately all been lost in a fire. It is therefore unlikely that we shall ever know more about Hale's last hours or the touching incident with Montresor.



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE
(1757-1834)

From the Portrait by ———

In the "Memoirs" of Lafayette, published by his family, occurs the following passage:

"Captain Hale, of Connecticut, a distinguished young man, beloved by his family and friends, had been taken on Long Island under circumstances of the same kind as those that occasioned the death of Major André; but instead of being treated with the like respect, to which Major André himself bore testimony, Captain Hale was insulted to the last moment of his life. 'This is a fine death for a soldier!' said one of the English officers who were surrounding the cart of execution. 'Sir,' replied Hale, lifting up his cap, 'There is no death which would not be rendered noble in such a glorious cause.' He calmly replaced his cap, and, the fatal cart moving on, he died with the most perfect composure."

This statement has not, I am aware, the significance of first hand testimony but it does come from a very important witness. Lafayette, a year and a half younger than Hale, did not reach America until the year after Hale was hanged, but he was then

immediately in close association with Washington, and he must have learned from Washington everything that was known about Hale. He was himself an idealist and would have been eager to know about Hale, whose youth, and whose idealism as expressed in his Last Words, would have made a strong impression on him. For the above reasons I attach considerable weight to Lafayette's statement that Hale "had been taken on Long Island."

I quote too a significant passage in a very early brief account of Hale in Barber's "Connecticut Historical Collections," 1836:

"Having disguised himself and crossing over to Long Island, he proceeded to the British encampment, obtained the necessary information, but at the moment of his leaving the island, he was recognized by a relative, who was a refugee, and betrayed."

I am at a loss to know where Barber got the story that just "at the moment of his leaving the island" (the earliest statement in print to that effect of which I know) Hale was recognized by his Tory cousin and betrayed, but according to Barber too, it will be noted, it was on Long Island that Hale was taken. This is in accordance not only with Lafayette's Memoirs, but also with the entry that Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie made in his Diary on the very day of Hale's capture.

It will be noted that in the portrait of Lafayette he is shown as wearing the "Eagle" of the Cincinnati, of which Wyllys was a member, and which Hale would undoubtedly have joined had he lived.

Head Q^r New York Island, Sept: 22: 1776

Parole London

Count: Great Britain

The 2^d & 6th Brigades & 3^d Batt: of
Light Infantry & Artillery as ordered for to
day are to March to Morro at 9 o'clock under
the Command of Gen: J. Percy

The Packet for Europe will be Ready to
sail Tuesday the 24th Inst.

A Spy for the Enemy (by his own full
Confession) Apprehended Last night, was
this day Executed at 11 o'clock in front
of the Artillery Park

Memorandum

Q^{rs} to take Particular care that the
Necessary Houses are frequently changed
Field off: for P^t this evening Colo: H^{on}
In Waiting Colo: Hyde

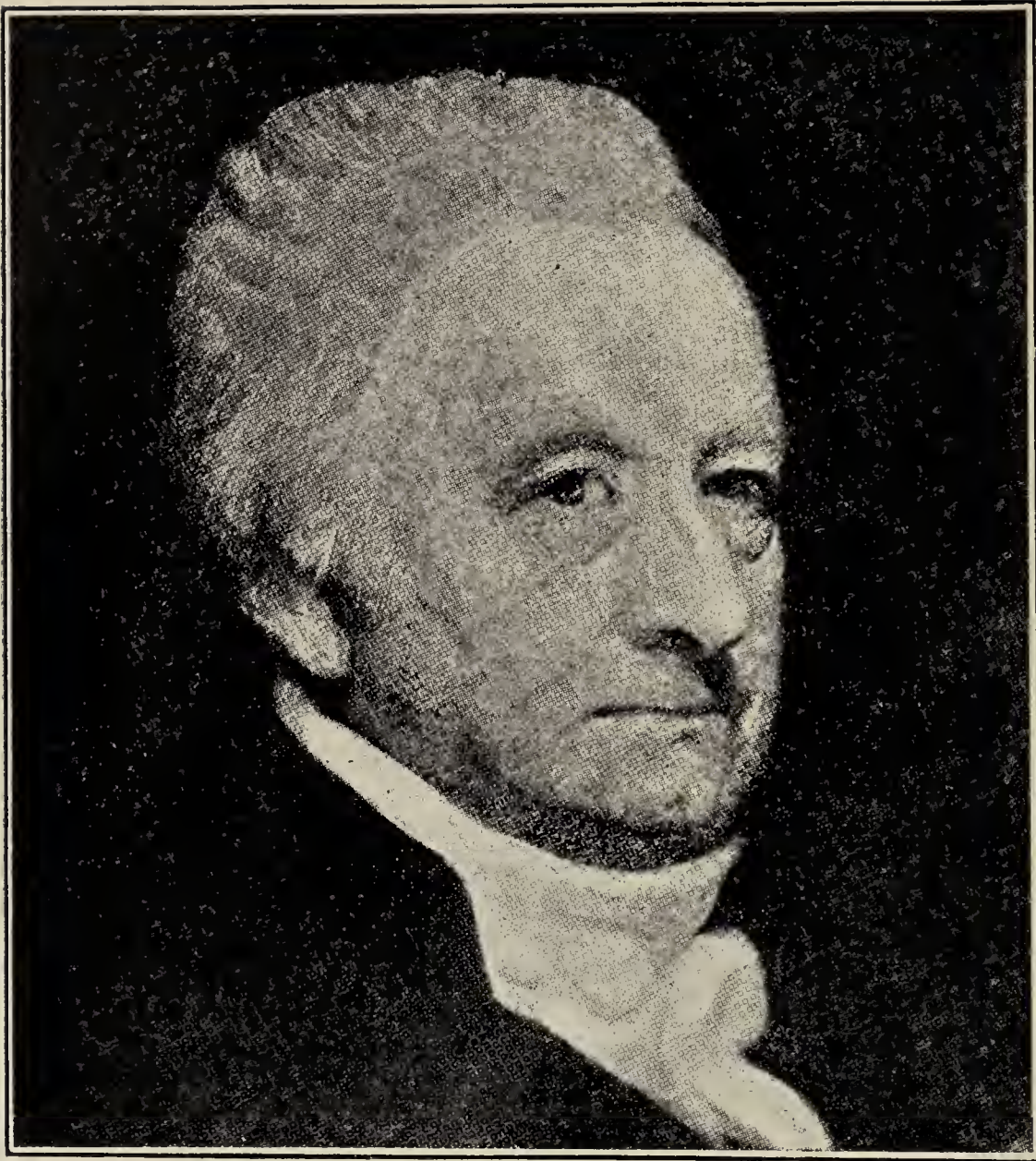
A PAGE FROM AN ORDERLY BOOK KEPT BY AN OFFICER OF THE BRITISH FOOT GUARDS

(Courtesy of the New York Historical Society)

The page from the British orderly book reproduced herewith is the only official record of the capture of Hale that is known to the compiler, and it is in consequence one of the most important documents in Hale's history. The book from which the page is taken was, by a rare stroke of luck, secured at an auction by the late Mr. William Kelby, then Librarian of the New York Historical Society.

Out of the document Hale steps, as it were, in the full splendor of his manhood. Hale told who he was—"by his own full confession," the order reads, and the fact justifies Hale's rank as our ideal patriot.

No other official account of Hale's capture has been or is likely to be discovered, but from the diary of Frederick Mackenzie, another British officer, we are led to believe that Hale was taken on Long Island (see p. 290). A chapter on the Capture of Hale by Professor James Grafton Rogers will be found elsewhere in this book. (See pages 435-445.)



LIEUTENANT FREDERICK MACKENZIE
(-1824)

(Artist unknown)

(Courtesy of the President and Fellows of Harvard University)

Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie, it is to be noted, made the entry in his diary* respecting the capture and hanging of a rebel captain on the very day on which the execution took place, and the indication is plain that he had just picked up what he wrote from fellow officers who knew the facts or had perhaps even been eye-witnesses to them. Such an outstanding event must surely have been a leading subject of conversation among British officers in New York, and this fact explains the amount of detail Mackenzie gathered about Hale for his diary entry. It also heightens Mackenzie's statement that Hale had been taken on Long Island (afterwards also stated by Barber and by Lafayette), for where he was taken must have been a detail of paramount interest. The fact that Hale had his Yale diploma with him when taken doubtless explains Mackenzie's knowing that he "had been educated at the College in Newhaven in Connecticut."

*The diary entry itself will be found in the documentary section of this book, p. 292.

THE AUTHOR STUMBLES BY CHANCE ON THE HEADSTONE OF DOCTOR JOHN WALDO WHOSE LETTER FROM THE FRONT BROUGHT TO COVENTRY THE NEWS OF HALE'S BETRAYAL, CAPTURE, AND EXECUTION

Drifting about in a lonely graveyard in Coventry, the author was attracted by a fine, tall tombstone, and reading the inscription upon it, was thrilled to find that he was standing before the tombstone of Dr. John Waldo, Surgeon in Colonel Jedidiah Huntington's Regiment in the War of the Revolution, a man highly esteemed in his day and known to the author from the reference to him in Enoch Hale's diary entry of October 15, 1776. "Accounts from my brother t[he] Capt—are indeed melancholly!" says the entry. "That about the 2d week of Sept. he went to Stanford crossed to long Island. (Doct Waldo writes) & had fin[ishe]d his plan but before he could get off was betrayed taken & hanged without ceremony!" The letter in which Dr. Waldo conveyed this news has disappeared. It is not even known whether or not the letter was addressed to Enoch Hale, but it is clear that such was the weight of Dr. Waldo's word that it left Enoch without hope and led to his immediate decision: "Conclude to go to t[he] Camp next week." (See page 296.)

When Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in conjunction with his address at Groton, Connecticut, September 7, 1881, for the first time printed extracts from the diary of his grandfather, Enoch Hale, he deleted from the entry in question the significant words that are there interlined after the word "betrayed"—"Tis said by his cousin Sam^l Hale!" That Dr. Hale deleted those dreadful words may have been because he thought the charge unproved or because he could not bear such a blot on the family escutcheon, but that the Hale family in Coventry, even from the receipt of Dr. Waldo's letter, perhaps supplemented by additional details after Enoch's return from camp, always believed that Nathan had been betrayed by his cousin seems to be certain. Even the petition to Congress in 1836 said as much. Since Hale had been captured and hanged inside the enemy lines, there can, in the nature of the case, have been no direct proof of his having been betrayed. The circumstantial evidence must have been strong enough to support the family's belief. The letter written by Samuel Hale the Tory in refutation of the charge of betrayal will be found in the Documentary Section of this book, pages 304-6.



peint par M. de la Tour, le 1795.

MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS

*Comandeur en Chef des Indiens dans les Habitati-
ons derrières d'Amérique.*

Se rend à Londres chez M. de la Tour, le 1795.

MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS

(1731-1795)

(Courtesy of Mr. Kenneth Roberts)

MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS

Captain William Bamford made the following entry in his diary:

“22 Su. bright hot M^s.

Nathan Hales, a Cap^t in y^e Rebel Army & a spy was taken by Maj^r Rogers & this m^s hang’d—.”

[It is fitting that I should here insert a portrait of Major Rogers (Hale's captor) and a brief account of the career of Major Rogers. I have to thank Mr. Kenneth Roberts for permission to use the portrait and Professor James Grafton Rogers for the sketch.]

Robert Rogers (1731-1795), the Ranger, appears to have been the captor of Nathan Hale. Rogers was one of the dramatic and notorious figures of his day. Dozens of novels hinge upon his prowess and that of his Rangers in the French and Indian Wars. His own writings are now treasures of book collectors. Several localities, like Rogers' Rock on Lake George in northern New York State, commemorate legends of his exploits. His later career is a chapter of truculent ambition, flings of adventure, and an end as a derelict in London.

He was born at Methuen, Mass., then a village at the edge of the wilderness. His father moved northwest with the frontier and Robert grew up near what is now Concord, N. H., hunting in the dense woodlands, trading and skirmishing with Indians. Celebrated for strength and endurance, skilled in pathfinding and stratagems, he soon learned to recruit and lead bands of scouts. Between 1755 and 1761 he rose from the ranks to the command as major of a large battalion of Queen's Rangers. He explored, raided, and fought, from Halifax and Montreal westward to Detroit and beyond but especially in the Ticonderoga and Crown Point campaigns against the French. His raid upon the St. Francis Indians in 1759 became the chief episode of Kenneth Roberts' recent novel and screenplay, *Northwest Passage* (1937).

Robert married the daughter of a minister in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1761. The marriage later came to grief. Rogers went

on to campaign against the Cherokees in the Carolinas and helped defend Detroit against Pontiac, but was in increasing trouble from debts and irresponsible conduct. He sailed for England to seek advancement. There he published his military *Journals*, later an *Account of North America*, and finally, *Ponteach*, one of the first plays written by a New Englander. He was a London celebrity. He sought the King's commission to explore a water passage across the continent but returned with only the command of the fort in the Straits of Mackinac. This service ended in a court martial for insubordinate expenditures. He was acquitted.

The Major was in England again in 1769, quarrelling and dissipating. His brother James, another officer of the Rangers but a solider fellow, bought him out of debtor's prison. Robert may have served in Algiers one season. He returned to America in 1775, still a British officer on half-pay, flirted with both sides of the Revolutionary conflict, was detained by Washington for awhile as a suspect, and then joined Howe's forces. In the fall of 1776, when Nathan Hale entered the British lines on Long Island in disguise, Rogers held a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the Royal army, and was raising a regiment called the Queen's American Rangers among the Tories along the Sound. He was scouting by land and sea, as the logs of the British vessels show, between Hell Gate and Hempstead, with a headquarters probably at Flushing during the week just before Hale's execution. It is reasonably certain that Rogers or his men apprehended Hale somewhere in this locality on the young spy's way out from New York with information and maps for General Washington.

Soon afterwards, in October, Rogers was ambushed during a raid on White Plains and lost his command. After recruiting for several years more, he fled back to London in 1780. There he died in penury, still a half-pay officer, and there he was buried in a city churchyard.

Soldier of fortune, adventurer, author, gambler, and romancer, Robert Rogers remains in history not only a boy hero of the wilderness but a figure of talents and vitality. Cyrano and Jesse James, Burr, Arnold, and Davy Crockett—something of them all in the Ranger.—J. G. R.

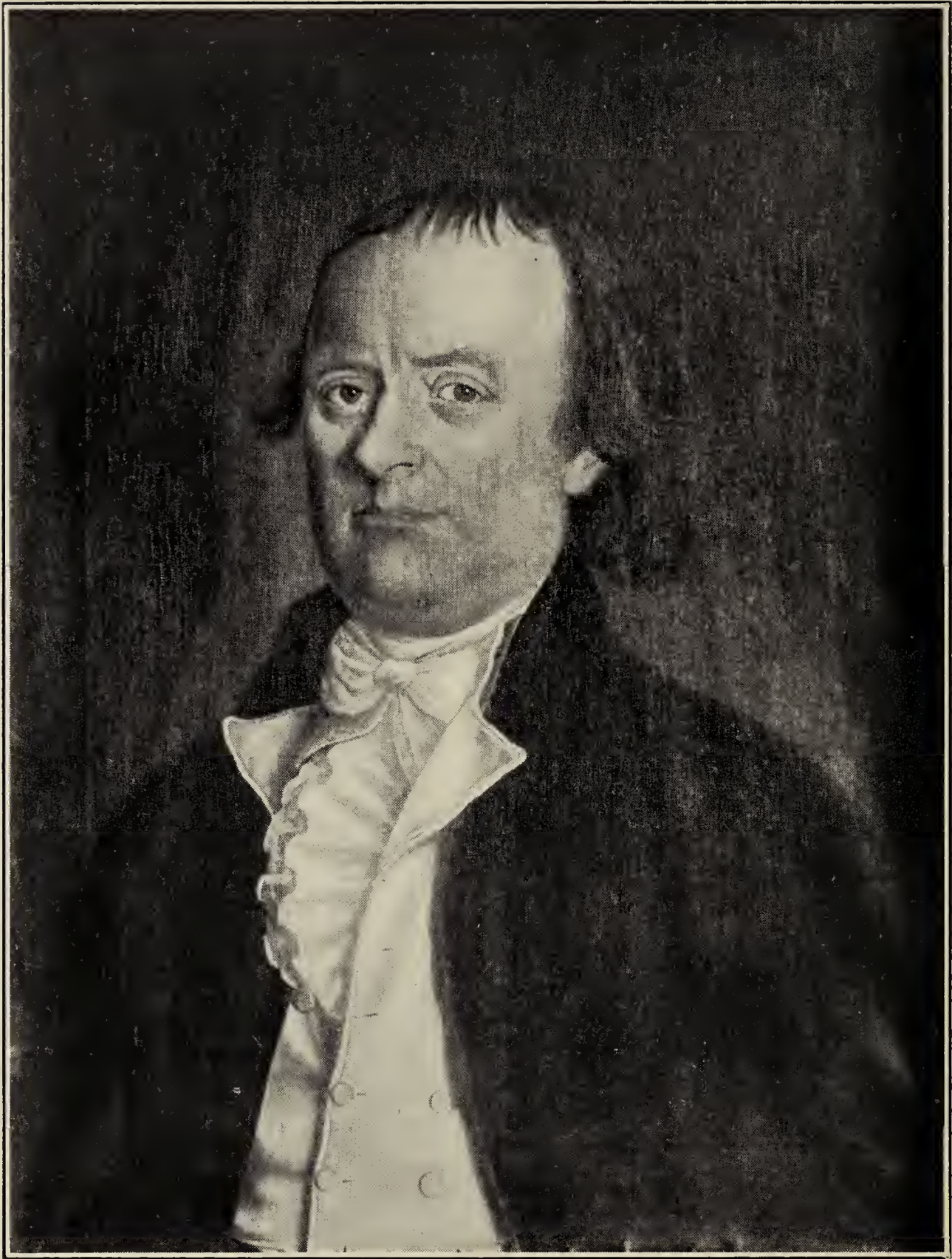
A BRITISH SOLDIER'S TRIBUTE TO HALE

In the "London Courant and Westminster Chronicle"

Monday, Dec. 4, 1780

For this item in the Documentary Section (p. 300) the author is indebted to his fellow Centurion, antiquarian, and member of the Walpole Society, Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey, who had the good fortune to discover it while searching through the Yale University Library's great collection of English newspapers covering the period of the American Revolution. The item was written, as stated in it, by "a person who was in the English army, and at that period serving under General Howe." It clearly shows that Hale and his fate were the subject of conversation and sympathetic interest in the British, as well as in the American, army, and in this respect it compares favorably with the accurate and sympathetic account of Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie in his diary entry of Sept. 22, 1776, the very day Hale was hanged.

The statement about Hale that "the identity of his person" was "proved by a near relation of his own, who enjoys a pension from government," is particularly significant in its bearing on the moot matter of Hale's alleged "betrayal" by his Tory first cousin, Samuel, who was in New York, at the time of Hale's capture, serving Sir William Howe as "Deputy Commissary of Prisoners," but who was in England and a pensioner of the government at the time this letter was published. It was natural, and perhaps inevitable, that Nathan's family and friends should have charged Samuel with having betrayed Nathan, but here is a British soldier stating it as a matter of fact and not merely of conjecture. Being on the British side, he is of course far more likely than anyone on the American side to have got "the low-down" on this detail of the story. His statement does contain some errors of fact, but considering that it was not written until more than four years after Hale was hanged, it is surprisingly accurate, and the fact that after that lapse of time it was written at all makes it all the more a sincere and striking tribute to Hale. It may be again mentioned that such an account of Hale's capture coming from the British has more force than any account coming from the American side, since Hale was captured by the British, and the Americans knew nothing about it except as hearsay.



LIEUTENANT ELISHA BOSTWICK

(1748-1834)

From the Portrait by Richard Jennys

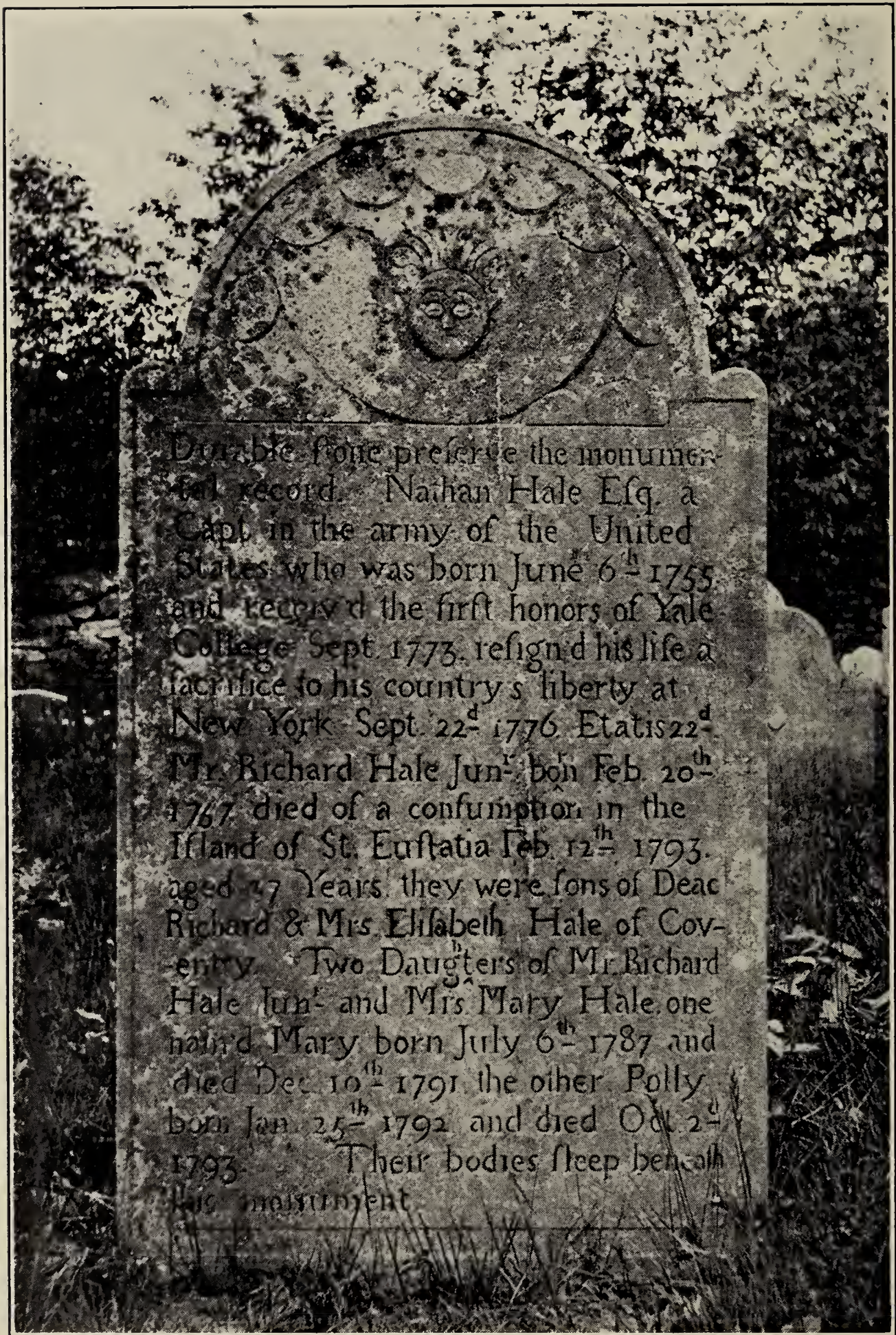
(Courtesy of the New Milford Historical Society)

Among the portraits of friends of Hale to be seen on the walls of the dining-room at the Birth-Place the portrait of Elisha Bostwick hangs side by side with that of his wife, who has a somewhat romantic history and wears a striking “bang.” No

reader who may visit the Birth-Place should fail to examine the portraits of this pair of early Connecticut worthies.

Bostwick and Hale were fellow officers in the Nineteenth Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Charles Webb, in the Army of the United Colonies, and as such they were comrades-at-arms during the siege of Boston and again at New York. Some fifty years later, after the war was over, Bostwick, now a lonely old man, wrote on the back of his Commission (signed by John Hancock) the reminiscences of the war that are printed in the Documentary Section (pages 319-325). Ultimately, the document was filed with the old soldier's pension application, and for the better part of a century it lay unknown and forgotten in the dusty records of the Pension Office in Washington, until the author had the good fortune to be the means of bringing it to the light of day. It shows by what accidents such precious finds are often made. It contains our most authentic "picture" of Nathan Hale. The story of its discovery is told in the Documentary Section of this book, pages 412-414.

Bostwick was a member of the leading family of New Milford, his native place. Orcutt, the local historian, says of him: "He was a fine appearing man, a full manly form, with somewhat of a military bearing, intelligent and benevolent in the expression of his countenance, religious and noble in his character; a man in whom all the people of the town took much honor and delight; and when, after fifty-five years of service as Town Clerk, he declined a further election, there was a most affecting scene at the town meeting."



THE HALE CENOTAPH IN COVENTRY

THE HALE CENOTAPH IN COVENTRY

This moss-grown cenotaph in the old burying ground in South Coventry was erected, probably about 1794, by Deacon Richard Hale, in memory of his sons Nathan and Richard, both of whom died and were buried far from home, and of two daughters of the latter. The inscription, with its rarely felicitous tribute to Nathan, is believed to have been composed by the Reverend Joseph Huntington, the village minister, who prepared Nathan for Yale. The lettering of the inscription on the tablet erected by the writer to the memory of Captain Hale in Battell Chapel at Yale follows the much-admired lettering on the stone. The inscription reads, in part :

“DURABLE STONE PRESERVE THE MONUMEN-
TAL RECORD— NATHAN HALE ESQ. A
CAPT. IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED
STATES WHO WAS BORN JUNE 6th 1755
AND RECEIVED THE FIRST HONORS OF YALE
COLLEGE SEPT. 1773. RESIGN'D HIS LIFE A
SACRIFICE TO HIS COUNTRY'S LIBERTY AT
NEW YORK SEPT. 22^d 1776. ETATIS 22^d”



HANNAH ADAMS

(1755-1832)

From the Portrait by Chester Harding (1792-1868)

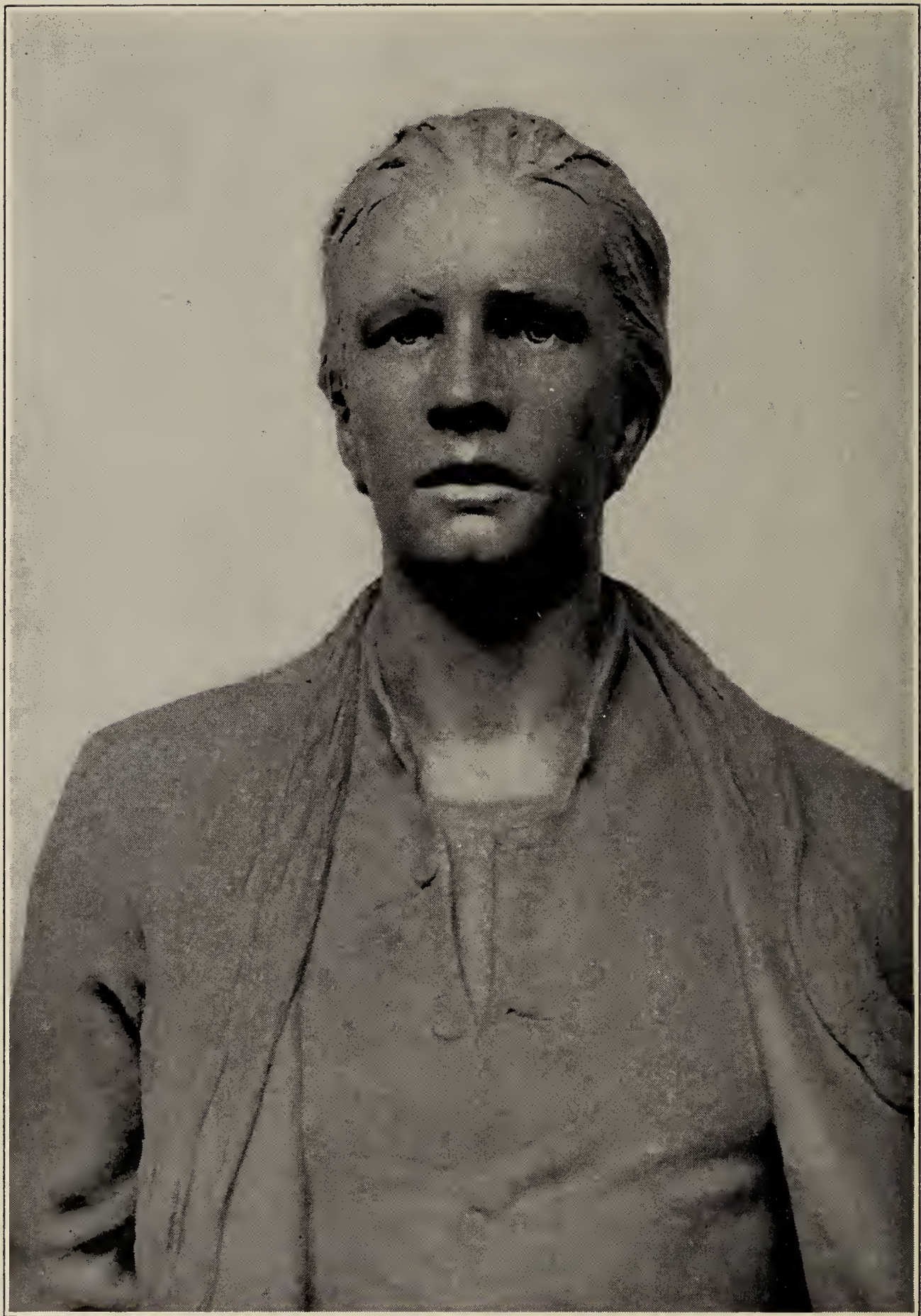
Hannah Adams (1755-1832) is clearly entitled to have her portrait, along with portraits of Hull, Hempstead, Dwight, Munson, Montresor, and others, hung in my gallery of friends of Nathan Hale, for it was Hannah Adams, living at the time in Medfield, Massachusetts, who *first* gave Hale's story to the world.

It is in her "History of New England," published at Dedham in 1799, some twenty-three years after Hale was hanged. A footnote informs the reader "that the compiler of this 'History of New England' is indebted to General Hull, of Newton, for this interesting account of Captain Hale." The account is in quotation marks.

During the closing years of her life Hannah Adams lived in Boston and she was a constant frequenter of the Athenaeum, where her portrait now hangs. She was the first woman in America who made literature a profession. She has too, the distinction of being the first person buried in Mount Auburn.

Hale's story made its second appearance only after the lapse of another twenty-five years, in "Annals of the American Revolution" by Jedidiah Morse, Hartford, 1824. The story of André, in the meantime, had been freely circulated in America, even from the arrival here in the early part of 1781 of Anna Seward's celebrated "Monody on Major Andrè" [*sic*].

Hannah Adams' account of Hale, as furnished her by Hale's intimate friend and comrade-at-arms, Captain William Hull, will be found in the Documentary Section of this book, pages 328-330.



Nathan Hale, born at Coventry, Connecticut, June 6, 1755, "resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty at New York Sept. 22d, 1776." His last words were, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell (1802-1876, Yale 1827) eulogized Hale as "the mournful flower of patriotism, the young scholar of Coventry."

Gov. Richard D. Hubbard (1818-1884, Yale 1839), in his moving address at the dedication of the Hale statue in the Capitol at Hartford in 1883, described Hale as "the Lycidas of our historic dead."

The Rev. Dr. Theodore T. Munger (1830-1910, Yale 1851) characterized Hale as "coming nearest the full ideal of heroic patriotism to be found in American history," and as the "truest hero in Yale's lists and her most beautiful and precious gift to the Country."

The statue (an ideal conception, not a portrait) was designed for Yale University in 1898 by Bela Lyon Pratt (1867-1917) (a native of Connecticut), but not executed and erected until 1914, when it was placed in front of Connecticut Hall, in which Hale roomed as an undergraduate 1769-1773.

"The poetic and deeply illustrative statue of Nathan Hale on the Yale Campus is highly esteemed by a small circle particularly interested in art; but the great majority of an exceptionally enlightened community is probably still unaware that this is a work of extraordinary merit."—(Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883-1933, Yale 1904) in the "Yale Review," April, 1918, p. 605.)

A replica in bronze of the figure at Yale was erected in 1923 (June 22d) at Hale's birthplace in South Coventry; it stands but a few rods from the spot where the masonry of Hale's actual birthhouse lies under the sod. The main body of the present house was built in 1776 by Nathan's father, Deacon Richard Hale (1717-1802), but the inner portion of the ell is older and formed a part of the original homestead of about 1746.

This photograph was made in Mr. Pratt's studio in Boston from the design when in the *clay*. The plaster model from which the two bronze figures were cast is now in the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence, Rhode Island, to which it was presented by Mr. Pratt.

THE HALE FEDERAL STAMP

(1925-1938)

The author likes to think that he did a national service in inducing Postmaster-General New to place a head of Nathan Hale upon the familiar half-cent Federal stamp of which almost three billion (2,807,117,453) were issued. The author cannot refrain from telling the story in this book. The idea came to him like a flash during a sleepless night on a Pullman sleeper on his return from Washington after a business trip. Forthwith he wrote to President Harding, from whom he received a patriotic but non-committal reply. Later on, at the suggestion of Mr. Taft, he wrote to President Coolidge, whose reply, equally patriotic but not more helpful, suggested that the matter might be taken up with the Postmaster-General. Undaunted, the author made a personal appeal to the Postmaster-General, who was sympathetic but hardly encouraging; it apparently was a new thing to receive a suppliant who wanted, not a postmastership, but the favor of a Federal stamp for a national hero. The bombardment of the Postmaster-General went on for many months until, at length, Congress authorized the issuance of a half-cent stamp which was just what the author desired—publicity for Hale. Upon the passage of this legislation, the Postmaster-General at once wrote the author:

Office of the Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.
March 10, 1925.

My dear Mr. Seymour:

I hope I am about to make you happy. You may not be aware of the fact that the recently enacted postal pay and rate bill created a condition which seems to make it necessary for the department to issue a new stamp of one-half cent denomination. Requests for such an issue have been coming in for the last few days, and I am satisfied the demand for such a stamp will be widespread and permanent. Anticipating this I had the Bureau of Engraving and Printing make two designs for me which I am sending for your information and inspection.

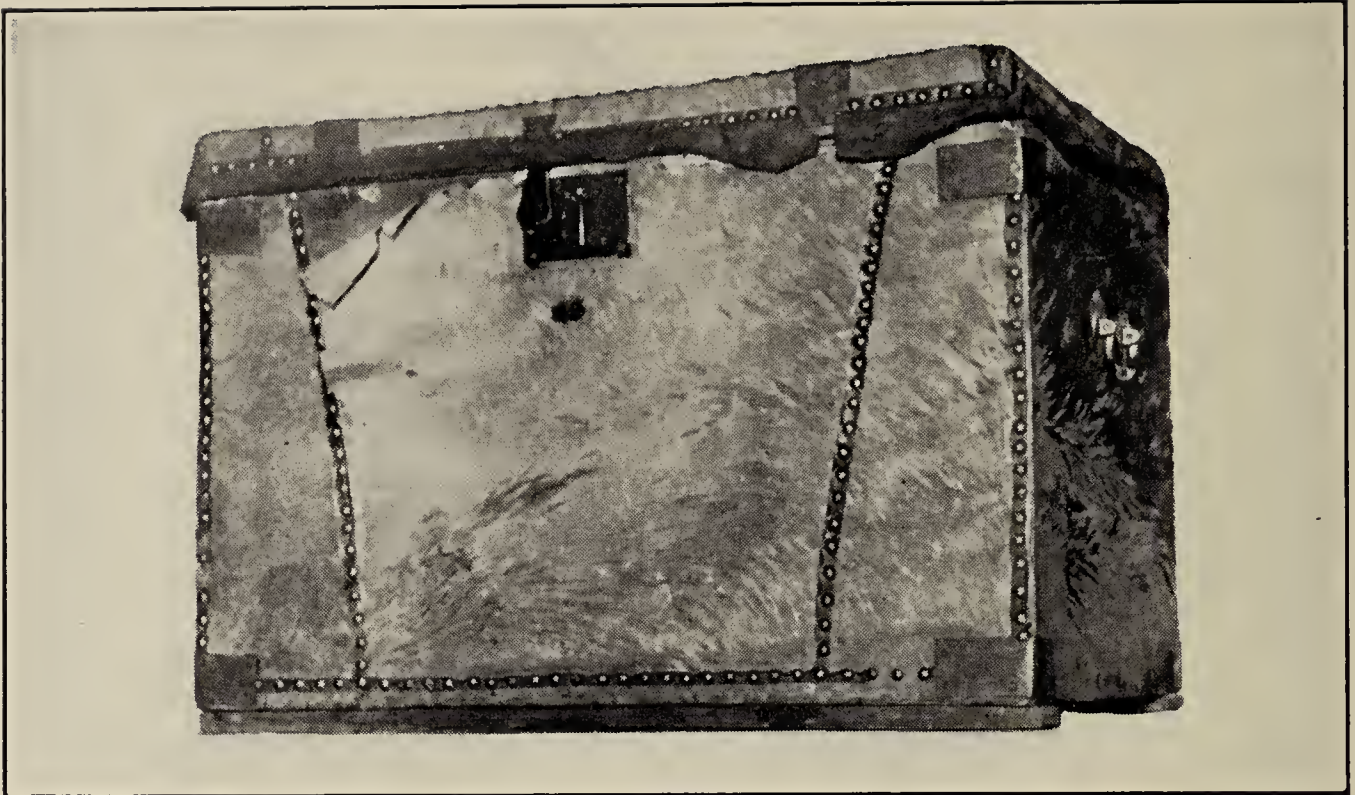
My choice goes instantly to the one showing merely the face. To me it is a perfectly marvelous countenance. If that face doesn't

carry on it the stamp of nobility, I am no judge of physiognomy. I feel almost as much personal interest in this matter as you do, and I see a way to get what we want without any reference to Sesqui-Centennials or anyone else for I have authority to place this order myself.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HARRY S. NEW,
Postmaster General.

The stamp, which was first issued to the public on April 26, 1925, was designed from Bela Lyon Pratt's Hale, for which he made the sketch model in 1898. The stamp proved to be very useful as well as popular, as the above figures testify, and fulfilled its purpose of assisting the author to put "Hale on the map." The author never ceased to thank Postmaster-General New for his forbearance and his help.



HALE'S ARMY TRUNK NOW PRESERVED AT THE BIRTH-PLACE

This trunk is one of the very few of Hale's personal belongings that have survived. It was presented to the writer in 1915, the year after his purchase of the Birth-Place of Hale, by Miss Laura Maria Ripley of Coventry and Hartford, who had received it from her first cousin the Honorable Chauncey Howard, who in turn inherited it from his grandmother Joanna (Hale) Howard, Hale's sister and devoted to his memory. After Hale's execution, his personal belongings were secured, as seems probable, by his friend and attendant, Asher Wright, and brought back to his father's house in Coventry. Ultimately this trunk, in which his belongings had been packed, was given to his sister Joanna, who kept it in the spare chamber of the Howard house on South Street. From that house it was removed with numerous other family belongings to the Ripley house on Ripley Hill, built toward the end of 1800 by Judge Jeremiah Ripley and there in 1915 the writer found it in the great attic, with other souvenirs from the Howard house. From there the writer took the trunk to the Hale house, where it is treasured to this day. It is a large rectangular trunk, covered with horsehair or deerskin, and though the worse for wear, is still sound. The trunk measures thirty inches in length, twenty inches in width and twenty and one-half inches in height.

One may imagine how Hale treasured the trunk, a fine one in its day and how often he must have lifted its cover to consult its contents. It seems to have been saved by the pious care of his sister Joanna.

HALE'S LETTER OF JUNE 3, 1776

Written when in camp in New York to his brother Enoch. It is one of the last letters by Hale known to have been preserved, and is of special interest to students of his history and character. The letter was bought by the writer from the family of the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, a grandson of Enoch. Not more than a dozen letters written by Hale are at present known.

friends - particularly belonging to the family. I forget not frequently to visit & strongly to represent our good Grand-mother & strong. As she not repeatedly favoured us with her tender most important advice & the natural tie is sufficiently, but increased by so much goodness, our gratitude cannot be too sensible. I always remember Mr. Worthington - & shall write to him if I have Edwits. Day Mr. Wright for me. Tell them Sister is well & is doing as some time lived with me as a waiter. I am in hopes of obtaining him a four lough fawn that he may have opportunity to go home, see his friends, and get his summer clothes.

At this moment told that our Brother Joseph Adams was here yesterday to see me, when I happened to be out of the way. He is in Col. Parsons Regt. & I intend to see him today and if possible by exchanging get him into my company; Yours affectionately, N. Hale.

As I like from the kind of making me some dinner I have made a little for me. Why don't you let the doctor & the doctor.

Dear Brother,

Your favour of the 9th of May and another written at Norwich I have seen - the first mentioned on the 10th of May 1846.

You complain of my neglecting you - It is not, I acknowledge, wholly without reason - at the same time I am conscious to have written to you more than once or twice within this half year. Perhaps my letters have arrived.

I am not on Long Island, as you suppose; but in New York, encamped about mile back of the city. We have been on the Island, and spent about three weeks there, but since returned.

As to Brigades; at the beginning of the Campaign we were at Winter Hill in Gen. Sullivan's; from thence we were removed to Roxbury & annexed to Gen. Spruence's; we marched from that place

New York June 27 1846

here in Genl. Health; on our arrival we were
put in Genl. Good Health; here we continued
a few days and we returned to Genl. Health, on
our being ordered to the northward we
reverted to Genl. Health, in whose Brigade
we still remain.

In the first detachment to Canada
under Genl. Thompson, West's Regiment
was put down; but the question being
asked whether we had many Seamen &
the answer being yes we were ordered and
another put down in ~~that~~ ^{our} place. — Our
continuance or removal from here depends
wholly upon the operations of the War.

It gives pleasure to every friend of his Country
to observe the health which prevails in our army.
Doct. Dr. (Surgeon of our Regt.) told me a
few days since, there was not a man in
our Regt. but might upon occasion
go out with his Firelock. Much the same
is said of other Regiments.

The army is every day improving in
Discipline & it is hoped will soon
be able to meet their enemy at any
kind of place. — My company, which
at first was small, is now increased
to eighty. There is a Sergeant recruit-
ing who I hope has got the other 10
which completes the Company.

We are hardly able to judge as to
the number the British army for
~~the summer~~ is to consist of — undoubt-
ed sufficient to cause us too much
headaches.

Genl. Washington is at the Congress,
being sent for thither to advise on
matters of consequence.

I had written you a completed letter
in answer to your last but missed the
opportunity of sending it.

This will probably find you in
Coventry — if so remember me to all my

HALE'S BELONGINGS REACH HOME

Poor Asher, now a broken old man, said: "When he (Hale) left us, he told me he had got to be absent for a while, and wanted I should take care of his things." After a few days of suspense, the news came of Hale's capture and execution. Asher never recovered from the blow. He had been acting as Hale's waiter, and it may be supposed that they were tentmates.

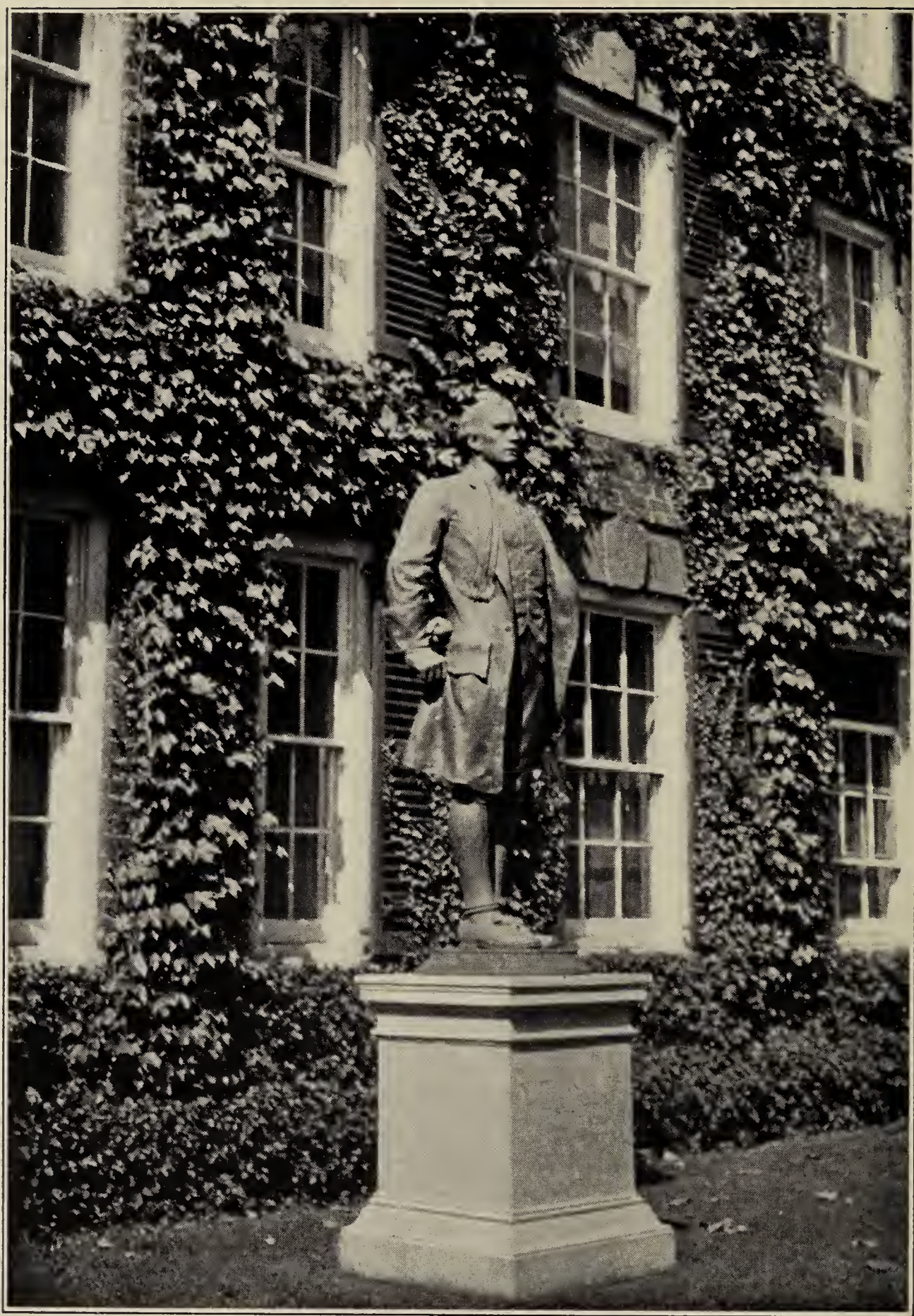
The only record of the arrival of Hale's belongings at home is in Enoch Hale's diary. Under date of June 4, 1777, Enoch wrote: "Brother Nn's things brot home yesterday." On June 28, 1777, he wrote: "Make in part a distribution of Brother Nn's Cloathing." (See page 299.)

Unfortunately, we are left in the dark as to just what "things" besides the "Cloathing" were "brot home" and as to how they were "brot," but we are certainly safe in believing that, having been packed by "poor Asher," they came in the very Army Trunk that was afterwards so carefully kept by Hale's sister, Joanna. We are safe too in supposing that at the same time came his Camp Basket, likewise cherished by Joanna, and in 1844 deposited in The Connecticut Historical Society by the Honorable Chauncey Howard, Joanna's grandson. This basket is still filled with straw and pieces of thin clear glass, fragments of round bottles. Mr. Bates, who has jealously guarded the Hale souvenirs in the custody of the Society, thinks that the basket is to-day just as Hale left it, save that the bottles are broken.

Along with the "Cloathing" mentioned by Enoch undoubtedly came Hale's Army Diary, Army Receipt Book, and Book of Muster Rolls, his Captain's Commission (now at Yale), and numerous letters to him and other papers. Of course no vestige remains of Hale's uniform or other clothing, and no word is to be found about the silver shoe-buckles that, along with his Commission, he entrusted to Hempstead when he changed into his disguise at Huntington. It is, moreover, curious that no mention is anywhere to be found of Hale's sword, although as a Captain he

must have had one. A slender sword, marked with the initials "N. H." but otherwise unidentified, was long ago picked up by a collector in a house in Coventry that had associations with Hale's sister, Elizabeth, and was owned and greatly prized by the late Mrs. C. L. F. Robinson of Hartford. Hale's Army Receipt Book fell into the hands of his widowed step-sister, Mrs. Ripley, who used its blank pages for her own purposes. His Book of Muster Rolls went to his brother Billy, who similarly used its blank pages for his own accounts as a blacksmith.

The letters to Hale are widely scattered, but most of them are now in the possession of The Connecticut Historical Society, as are also the Diary, the Book of Muster Rolls, and the Camp Basket. Hale's watch, referred to in Roger Alden's letter to him as "your memento," which, according to Deacon Jasper Gilbert, he took with him into the enemy's lines, must have fallen into the hands of the drunken Provost-Marshal Cunningham.



THE HALE STATUE

Standing in the Old College Yard in Front of Connecticut Hall

THE HALE STATUE

Standing in the Old College Yard in Front of Connecticut Hall

Hale roomed in this building as a Yale undergraduate, 1769-1773. His last words, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country," are inscribed on the circular bronze base on which the figure stands. Cut into the front face of the granite pedestal is "Nathan Hale 1755-1776 Class of 1773," and into the rear face the legend, "A Gift to Yale College by Graduates and Friends Anno Domini MCMXIV."

Bela Lyon Pratt, the sculptor, made the sketch-model for this statue about 1898 at the request of the author, who specified that the figure should represent a man no older than Hale was when he was hanged, at which moment, indeed, he is represented, bound for the sacrifice.

The pedestal was designed by John Walter Cross (Yale, 1900). It was friends of the author in that Yale class who finally had Pratt's design cast in bronze and placed on the old college campus in front of the very building in which Hale roomed as an undergraduate.



THE HALE HOMESTEAD AS IT APPEARS TODAY

From the Old Walled Garden

The main house was built by Deacon Richard Hale (1717-1802) in 1776, when Nathan was at the Front. That portion of the ell between the main house and the large inner ell chimney is a part of Hale's actual birth-house, built by his father about 1746. The old pear tree in the foreground (still in bearing) was planted by Deacon Hale. To the extreme right, in the corner of the garden, is seen the back of the Hale statue, erected in 1922 by the author—a replica of that in the old college yard at Yale.

—(From a photograph by Harold Manley Griffith.)



THE CELLAR OF THE HALE HOMESTEAD

Showing the massive corbelled chimney piers.



THE PINE-PANELLED DINING ROOM OF THE HALE HOMESTEAD

Showing pictures of Nathan, Joanna Hale, her husband, Dr. Nathan Howard, and some of Nathan's intimate friends.

The dining table shown is old, but not as old as the other furniture in the room.



THE PARLOR

Showing a portrait of Major John Hale at the far end of the room.
Over the fireplace hangs a portrait of Major Thomas Youngs Seymour.
From the original by Colonel John Trumbull in the Yale School of the Fine Arts.



THE NORTHWEST BED CHAMBER

Showing Hale's Army Trunk at the foot of a field bed on which is a fine old sword,—not Nathan's, and an Officer's sash.

The "shadow portrait" of Hale was found under the original paint on the inside of the door opening into this room.



“THE UNTRODDEN SNOW”

Scene at the Birth-Place of Nathan Hale
on Washington's Birthday, 1920

Soon after the writer came into the ownership of the old house, then vacant and neglected, and deserted save by the ghostly tenantry of all abandoned old houses, he happened upon the following quotation, which provides a partly literal and wholly spiritual description of the house as he found it.

“Maisons anciennes aux volets un peu retombants et disjoints, châteaux solitaires dans les vallons, combien en est-il à travers les campagnes de France, qui, le long de leur passé, ont abrité de telles éminentes tragédies! Sacrifices, dévouements, pitié, profonds dialogues intérieurs, volontés libérées des mobiles ordinaires du monde, haute sagesse acquise dans les larmes, tout ne s'est pas évaporé sur l'heure: une empreinte est demeurée, un parfum de légende et de respect. Endroits élus, bijoux disséminés aux replis des provinces, dépositaires de plus purs débris du passé, du plus précieux héritage, du plus secret, du plus réservé, dont le langage est capable encore de façonner lentement des âmes à leur sagesse sévère et à de graves renoncements.

(Émile Clermont's *Laure*, Paris, 1913, p. 2.)

—Photograph by Malcolm Parrott Nichols, the author's junior partner.

THE HALE ROMANCES

All this business about Hale having been engaged to someone is, as I view it, "much ado about nothing." Whether or not Hale was engaged may never certainly be known, but in my view the evidence is overwhelming that he was not. He did in his brief life have more than one romance, however, and those a biographer must not ignore.

First of all is the unnamed girl to whom he addressed the doggerel verses that I have entitled "The Tryst of Haddam Landing" (p. 90). We have no idea who the girl was, but we are assured by the verses themselves that they were founded on a sure-enough, though brief, romance.

We know too, from the letter of June 7, 1774, of Hale's classmate, Ebenezer Williams, that Hale was in love, or thought he was in love, with Betsey Adams, daughter of Pygan Adams, who lived in New London with her Aunt and Uncle Richards, with whom Hale boarded. From the text of Williams' letter we may infer that Hale had confided in Williams that he was badly smitten. She married Thomas Poole of New London and lived to pay a most touching tribute to Hale (p. 160).

Then there is the "Girl of the Weeping House of Norwich" referred to, but likewise not named, in the verses of another of Hale's classmates, Elihu Marvin (pp. 72-73). Here again the context of the verses suggests much more than a casual flirtation.

There are too, the letter from "P. H." to Hale and the fragments of Hale's reply to "P. H." Who was "P. H."? The author has failed to identify her, and it is clear that Hale himself chose to conceal her name, for, though he followed his invariable custom and endorsed her letter, he did so with her initials only.

So much for romantic episodes revealed by the documentary material. References to similar episodes are to be found in several printed works.

In the "History of the Kingsbury Family" (p. 215) it is recorded that Martha Edgerton (born July 16, 1758; d. unm. April, 1823; daughter of Captain Ebenezer Kingsbury, of Coventry) was beloved by Nathan Hale—no doubt a home-town flirtation.

In Chancellor Walworth's "Hyde Genealogy" appears Uriah Tracy (born Aug. 9, 1753), who married Feb. 9, 1794, Lydia Hallam of New London, described as "the lady who was engaged to be married to the unfortunate Capt. Hale, of the army of the revolution who was taken and executed by the British as a spy." Elsewhere in the book Lydia Hallam is referred to as a quiet woman who had not married young, and the manner of the reference plainly implies that she had mourned the loss of a lover. In Miss Caulkins' "History of Norwich, Connecticut" the report of Lydia Hallam's relations with Hale is different. Says Miss Caulkins: "She was a woman of quiet amiable manners, and had been a favorite friend of the unfortunate Nathan Hale, but not, as has been reported, betrothed to him." The reader is free to choose between Chancellor Walworth and Miss Caulkins—both first-class antiquarians.

My lifelong friend, Charles Newton Morris (Yale 1882), a native of West Hartford, Connecticut, once told me of a tradition cherished in his family about Hale's having been engaged to someone, but I think he neither remembered the girl's name nor paid much attention to the story, and I dismissed it as just another unverified Hale romance. Many years ago too, I had a brief correspondence with an old lady living in Machias, Maine. I do not now recall how it began, but I think she somehow got hold of my name as a person interested in the story of Nathan Hale. At any rate, she wrote me something about Hale's attachment to a girl living in Norwich. I hoped to go to Machias and get the story from the old lady's own lips, but I never had the opportunity to do so. I now think that it may have concerned the "bride" of Marvin's doggerel verses.

All of these stories serve to show how busy rumor has been with Hale's name, but after them all the reader can only turn back

to Deacon Jasper Gilbert, whose inquiries in Hale's own family led to the verdict that Hale had no "calculation on matrimony." Of the story of Hale's engagement to his widowed stepsister too much has been said elsewhere in this book. The present author is in entire accord with Professor Johnston when he says, "The power of Hale's story is in the simple record."

THE STORY OF HALE'S ALLEGED ENGAGEMENT TO HIS WIDOWED STEP-SISTER

What about the story that Nathan Hale was engaged to marry his widowed step-sister, Alice (Adams) Ripley, who afterwards married, for her second husband, Mr. William Lawrence of Hartford, son of a former Treasurer of Connecticut? The story first appeared in Stuart's "Life of Nathan Hale, The Martyr Spy," 1856, where it is based, not on anything in the nature of direct evidence, but only on statements made to Stuart by the step-sister's granddaughter, Miss Alicia Sheldon. In the introduction to the second edition of this book, to be sure, Stuart refers to having talked with Mrs. Lawrence herself, in her eightieth year at the time, but even so he does not claim that she said anything about having been engaged to Hale. It was only her granddaughter who said that, and to the present compiler it appears that this lady embroidered her story upon nothing more than the wish to claim even so tenuous a distinction as having a grandmother who was engaged to Hale. No one who is familiar with Stuart's "Life of Hale" and others of his works, and with his career, needs to be told that in temperament he was receptive to just such a romantic tale.

In a footnote on pages 28 and 29 of the first edition of his "Life of Hale" Stuart says of Mrs. Lawrence :

"She possessed for many years a miniature of Hale, besides numerous letters from him, and one of his Camp-Books. The miniature, most unfortunately, has disappeared. So also have the letters; but the Camp-Book we have seen and examined. It is now in the possession of one of the lady's grand-daughters, to whose polite and careful noting of her grandmother's statements we are indebted for several very interesting facts about Hale."

With all due respect to Stuart, the compiler must gravely doubt that Mrs. Lawrence ever had a miniature of Hale or, indeed, that Hale ever had his miniature painted.

Miniatures of young men of the Revolutionary Period, even of the wealthiest class, are exceedingly rare. The compiler has

failed to discover that a single one of Hale's intimate friends ever had a miniature painted. No letter, either from Hale or to him, refers to a miniature of him, nor does his *Army Diary or Account Book*, and it is strange indeed that, had Hale indulged himself in anything so extraordinary for a young man of his means and position in life, he did not make mention of it in his *Diary*. In this connection it is to be noted that Hale's *Army Account Book* also contains the record of his personal expenses. No member of Hale's family, moreover, ever mentioned a miniature of Hale. It is very difficult too, to imagine when or where or by whom Hale could have had a miniature painted before he met his fate in September, 1776. In brief, it appears that the story of the miniature is wholly unsupported and rests entirely on the statement of Miss Sheldon, who herself never saw it.

Furthermore, as to those "numerous letters" from Hale that Stuart says had been in the possession of Mrs. Lawrence, it is to be asked: Why should those letters have been allowed to disappear, while two letters written to the lady not long afterwards by Hale's brother Enoch were carefully preserved? The latter letters ultimately came into the possession of George E. Hoadley of Hartford, such an enthusiastic collector of Hale memorabilia that he is said to have fairly pestered Mrs. Lawrence's granddaughter for any Hale material the family still had, but he obtained no letters from Nathan Hale to Mrs. Lawrence.

The fact is that it was Enoch Hale, not Nathan, who had asked for the hand of Alice (Adams) Ripley in marriage, and family talk about this may well have been the foundation of the story of her engagement to Nathan. And although it was actually Enoch who, after Nathan's death, courted her, it is not unlikely that she preferred Nathan to Enoch, and that in her old age she said as much.

In Stuart's "sketch of Mrs. Lawrence," Appendix B of his "Life of Hale," he further says of her:

"She possessed a mild, amiable countenance, in which was reflected that intellectual superiority which distinguished her even in the days of Dwight, Hopkins, and Barlow, in Hartford—men who could

appreciate her, who delighted in her wit and worth, and who, with a coterie of others of that period who are still in remembrance, considered her one of the brightest ornaments of their society."

To accept this statement at its face value makes it appear truly remarkable that if Dwight and Hopkins and Barlow, particularly Dwight, so greatly enjoyed and appreciated Mrs. Lawrence, none of them ever referred to her in any writing known to the compiler, much less to her romantic engagement to one of the heroes of the Revolutionary War, whose story was perfectly familiar to every one of them. To have been engaged to Nathan Hale would alone have given her distinction in Hartford or any other community. If in addition she had such a position in Hartford society, and possessed such beauty and charm and wit, as are attributed to her by Stuart, it is remarkable indeed that she was never so much as mentioned either by a single one of the distinguished men of whose circle Stuart says she was "one of the brightest ornaments" or by any other person of her acquaintance.

In the Documentary Section of this volume there is a verbatim transcript of all the entries in Hale's Army Receipt Book that are made in his handwriting. Several years after Hale's death this same book was used by Alice (Adams) Ripley as a diary, covering a period both before and after her second marriage, to William Lawrence of Hartford. What she wrote is transcribed hereafter. The reason she used the blank pages of this book is obvious enough. Blank books were scarce in the hard years after the war. Hale's effects had been returned to his family, and Mrs. Ripley, still a member of the household, used this book for her diary in precisely the same way that Hale's brother Billy used Hale's Book of Muster Rolls for keeping the accounts of his own business of blacksmithing.

Mrs. Ripley's diary entries reveal her as a young woman of a pious, somewhat self-centered, almost neurotic, temperament, and they give reason to surmise that her first marriage, to Elijah Ripley, a man considerably older than herself, had not been particularly happy. This fact, and the early loss of her only child by the marriage, were undoubtedly what made her hesitant to

remarry. A careful reading of her entries in the diary shows that her hesitation was caused entirely by personal reasons, not at all by sorrow at the loss of a supposed "betrothed."

The way in which she used Hale's book, indeed, alone shows that, sentimentalist as she was, she had no sentimental feeling about it. Nathan himself had ruled page 20 from the front of the book for his company accounts and had made two entries on it. Mrs. Ripley filled out the page with literary items by which she had been impressed in her own reading, and she wrote them directly across the rules that Hale had drawn. On the back of this very page too, under date of November 24, 1782, she entered a note of her marriage to Mr. Lawrence on that day. It is inconceivable that a sentimental woman—which these very entries show her to have been—could have been so callous as to make such uses of a book that had belonged to her "betrothed," particularly of the very last page, and the back of it, that bore his handwriting. Clearly, her heart was not in Hale's grave.

It may be added too that Hale's own correspondence bears evidence that he was not betrothed to anyone. In the summer of 1774 he appears to have felt attracted towards Miss Elizabeth Adams of New London. He may even have sought advice on the advisability of marriage just as he was beginning his career, for reports of his interest in Miss Adams reached several of his friends. Ebenezer Williams wrote to him on June 7, 1774, mentioning Miss Adams by name (the context clearly shows that Miss Adams of New London was referred to) and cautioning him against any "particular pursuit." A month later, on July 4, Benjamin Tallmadge wrote him that "by the last accounts you was all over (head and heels) in love." Williams wrote him again on August 3, quoting Hale himself to the effect that he was "weaned from home" and again warning him against *particular* connections but raising no objections to "a polite intercourse with the fair sex." Hale himself can hardly have helped feeling that he was not well enough established in his profession to marry, and his feelings for Miss Adams may not have been as deep as his friends supposed at the time, but she in old age, as Mrs. Poole, wrote a glowing tribute to his character.

Both before and after he entered the army, Hale did in fact maintain what Williams called "a polite intercourse" with several young ladies. This is evidenced by the verses he wrote to a girl from whom he parted at Haddam Landing; by Elihu Marvin's letter of February 26, 1776, referring to a girl in Norwich who mourned Hale's absence; and by the fact that while in the army he had more than one feminine correspondent. On several different dates in his diary Hale mentions letters received from girls, but he does not mention receiving any letter, while he was in the army, from his step-sister. All of this points to the conclusion that although Hale enjoyed feminine society, he was not betrothed to Mrs. Ripley or to any one else.

Finally, it must be said, as early as 1836, and therefore twenty years before Hale's engagement to his widowed step-sister was first alleged by Stuart, Deacon Jasper Gilbert, a member of the Hale family circle in Coventry, wrote to Cyrus P. Bradley that he could not discover that Hale had any "calculations on matrimony." Gilbert had been asked a direct question about this, and he had in turn questioned members of the family then living in Coventry, beyond doubt including Hale's own sister Joanna, who had been a member of her father's household with Alice (Adams) Ripley. He must have been assured that Hale was not engaged to his step-sister. Indeed, the compiler himself was told twenty-five years ago by Mrs. Laura Maria Ripley, the nearest person then living to the Hale family tradition, that "the Hale Family took no stock in the story of Hale's engagement."

In the wide range of documentary material relating to Hale there is nothing to show that Hale himself ever spoke of an engagement and there is no evidence that Mrs. Lawrence, herself, ever claimed to have been engaged to Hale. Indeed, she may well have been restrained, if, perchance, she had had any desire to pose as having once been engaged to Nathan, by her recollection of her unforgotten affair with his brother, Enoch. (See pages 577-582.)

The story of the engagement, appearing first in the First Edition of Stuart's "Hale," was elaborated in the Second Edition but still with no proof, and it was given with even more detail but

again with no shadow of proof in the First Edition of Johnston's "Life of Hale." However, before Johnston got out his Second Edition, he was given by the late George E. Hoadley, of Hartford, a love poem which Mr. Hoadley had secured from Miss Alicia Sheldon, Mrs. Lawrence's granddaughter. This poem Mr. Johnston viewed in a sense as a "scoop," and, though unaddressed, undated and unsigned, and not in Hale's handwriting, he accepted the poem as proof of an engagement between Nathan and Alice Adams, and forsooth entitled it "Hale to 'Alicia'." He must have considered its source sufficient to guarantee its authenticity, but he could not have done so, had he ever seen Enoch Hale's diary. A later chapter is devoted to the poem and attention is invited to it (pages 587-588).

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND ENOCH HALE

Yale College 1773

TO HIS WIDOWED STEP-SISTER ALICE (ADAMS) RIPLEY

There is no portrait of Enoch Hale, but we get a good idea of him as a young man from the letters here reprinted to his widowed step-sister, Alice (Adams) Ripley. Dr. Rosenbach, the present owner of the two letters, has given me leave to print them. The earlier in date (Westhampton, September 28, 1779) is almost entirely taken up with doctrinal discussion, but it serves to show the color of his mind and suggests what the two young people had to talk about. The letter of later date (Hatfield, February 16, 1780) continues the discussion, but at the end plainly reveals the lover. It is clear that he had made a declaration of marriage to her and that she had refused him, and he is seen as pleading for her to change her mind. It only remains to say that Enoch was unsuccessful in his suit for his widowed step-sister's hand, although her family tradition is that he was a persistent lover. At any rate, she preserved these two letters from him as long as she lived, but there is not the faintest suggestion anywhere throughout the entire range of the Hale material that Nathan ever wrote her a letter or that she ever was the object of his affections.

Mr. Lyman, whose wedding Enoch Hale attended the day before he wrote the second letter, seems to have known that Enoch was in love with Alice, for he requested Enoch to be his proxy in giving Alice "the return usual on such occasions," presumably a kiss. In the earlier letter he addressed her as "My friend & sister beloved," and referred in the first paragraph to the impending events of great personal concern to him (he was ordained the following day), and therefore this letter gives only "hints" of what she "may expect from my present feelings."

ENOCH HALE'S LETTERS TO MRS. ALICE RIPLEY

[Addressed] To

Miss Alice Ripley
Coventry

[1]

Westhampton Sept^r 28th AD 1779

My friend & sister beloved

A short time I will endeavour to devote to your amusement—if a kind Providence shall give these lines a save conveyance to you. It is tuesday A.M. My mind is full with thots & expectations of the afternoon & to-morrow. And if it may be ever said that futurity is present to us, I think I may now apply it to myself as to the scene before me especially its anxiety & weight of care. But this is not to administer to your pleasure or benefit. I will change my theme & endeavour to be more agreeable: (only leting you know by these hints what you may expect from my present feelings.)

I think of no subject by which I can hope to please you more, than by something that relates to religion: as I am satisfied that is much the business of your mind. You will suffer me then with the tenderness of friendship & brotherly love to expostulate (forgive so coarse a word) a little with you, of church communion in the ordinances of Christ, particularly in partaking of the Lord's-supper. I know (I think I may say it) that you pay a serious regard to the commands & institutions of the great head of the Church: And am sorry to enquire why one, "Do this in remembrance of me," should be omitted. Some I know neglect this ordinance thro' carelessness & disregard to religion: But my conscience will not suffer me to apply this to you. On the contrary I am satisfied that not inattention or disrespect to duty; but some tender scruple of mind keep you back. This then I desire to remove. To have always a sense of the gracious exercise of faith in God & the Mediator is truly very desirable & happifying in the performance of every duty: But I am satisfied we should never make this the determining point whether we will (or ought to) attend or neglect any ordinance of Christ. [After a short pause to wait upon company & a second interruption I proceed]

In reading the scriptures I do not find, either from the doctrines of the old Testament or the new, saving grace to be essential or necessary to the lawful attendance upon the ordinances or outwar^t enjoyment of the privileges of the church—I know that without faith it is impossible [2] to please God. But if this is to keep persons from any priviledge it may as well debar them from the use of all; & as well from earthly enjoyments such as food & raiment & even from drawing the breath of life, as from the duties of Christianity. It is a duty to do every thing in faith; but we are not to abstain from doing till we have faith or know that we have it. And I find no prohibition on this account against our attendance on the Lords supper any more than against our doing any other thing or even against living.

It is my persuasion which I think is built upon the word of God, that all church privileges which by covenant belong to the people of God belong to all that visible body, that is, to all the visible seed of Abraham (excepting only such as for their scandal are excommunicated). And in this number all the baptized infants of believers or covenant parents are included.

God, when he entered into covenant with Abraham as the father of those that believe, included all his seed, as the heirs of the same privileges which God gave to him. They were all to be circumcised, & were all (by the law which was afterward given by Moses) to eat of the passover. The church is still the same. It is now the good olive, tho' some of its branches are broken off [f] by unbelief in the excommunication of the Jews, & others ingrafted, in the conversion of the gentiles. And the privileges of the church are so extensive now & belong to as many persons (that is all the seed of Abraham both natural & ingrafted) as under the dispensation of the Law. Infants were then & so are they now included with their parents in covenant with God. They were & are still heirs of all the privileges of the church. I say heirs, for infants are not of a capacity to enjoy the actual possession of all gospel privileges: But have (I suppose) a right of inheritance (as much as a young heir has to his estate) to all its outward advantages, & nothing but their neglect or scandalous conduct by which they [bring] upon themselves excommunication, can of right debar them from their actual particip[a]tion in all the ordinances of Christ as soon as they ar[r]ive to sufficient capacity & knowledge. Neither can anything I fully believe excuse their neglect.

Infants in the gospel church (you allow) have a right to baptism (And it is upon the same foundation with that upon which the seed of Israel of old were circumcised;) viz because they belong to the kingdom or people of God, & have a right & are in duty bound to enjoy their privileges. In the same manner it may be argued & proved that all these baptized infants, so soon as they become of proper understanding may & ought to enjoy (actually) every [3] good privilege.

The passover prefigured the death of Christ in the same manner as the Lord's-supper is now a memorial of it to believers. The passover was instituted to commemorate the deliverance of the children of Israel from the bondage of Egypt: but as this was a Type a much greater deliverance by Christ: so the pascal lamb has an especial reference to his death. This is in a particular manner evident by the command Exodus XII.-46. "Neither shall ye break a bone thereof," which is expressly said to be fulfilled as a prediction of the manner of Christ's death John XIX. 36 "A bone of him shall not be broken." The whole congregation of Israel were commanded expressly, to keep this ordinance. And our Savior gives a like command to be observed in his gospel church, "This do in remembrance of me."

The children of Israel (I suppose) tho' circumcised in infancy began at twelve years old to eat the passover, when they were considered as capable of acting in religion as adult persons. This I think we may learn from the example of Christ & his parents: Luke II 41, 42. And (I believe) the same is confirmed by the Jewish Rabbies & historians. The same is perhaps a proper age for the children of the kingdom (such as all baptized persons in the Christian church are) to enter upon the possession or actual enjoyment of all gospel privileges & ordinances. Or rather I should judge, that as soon as they attain sufficient capacity & knowledge, they come to the Lord's table, they not being debarred by wicked behavior. The gospel scheme is now more clearly revealed & more easily understood than it was in the days of Judaism; & its advantages for instruction are also greater. I should think therefore that it might be hoped that persons would sooner come to understand the mysteries of the cross & be qualified for attending the gospel passover or supper of our Lord. And as some are of more forward & enlarged Ability & have better opportunities or make better improvement in religious knowledge than others so I should suppose these might with propriety be sooner than they admitted to the Lords-Table. These hints I have hastily put together (you'll excuse the inaccuracies which attend the letter). I have no doubt, but you will give the subject its due attention. If this should be of any benefit or effect any good end toward your attending this blessed (& I do not doubt but you would find it) comforting ordinance. If you have any objection or doubts as to your proceeding, you may have an able Counselor in your Rev^d Pastor, who will delight in assisting you, as he does in promoting the good of souls. If you please you may show him this as an introduction of the subject. And I leave it with your prudence to show it or not to him or any other. With duty, & love, to parents brethren, & friends, & I am particularly, your faithful friend

& brother

Enoch Hale.

N. B. I know not yet, whom I shall see from Coventry or to how many I shall write. Therefore mention my respects in general to all.

[Addressed] Miss Alice Ripley
Coventry

[1]

Hatfield Feb^r 16th AD 1780

Dear sister

I sincerely thank you for you[r] letter, I received yesterday by Doct^r Waldo. And should be very glad to return you a *better* answer, than my present situation (which is only for a few minutes, & in

the presence of some Company) will enable me to write. But what you will find lacking here, I hope soon to supply by an easier communication of words face to face.

Mr Lyman & Miss Hubbard (now Mrs Lyman were united in marriage yesterday—as you expected. I remembered your request—They thank you for your good wishes—Mr Lyman observed, that as you were absent, he could not make all the return usual on such occasions, & desired, that when I see you I would (as his particular friend) do it for him.

I partly wrote something some time ago, to be in readiness to send you when I should [have the] opportunity: which I have not had, till now, since I was at Coventry; & this is what I did not previously think of, so that I have not letter with me, ready to send.

The absence of Mrs Hale— & E[un]ice & Nabby's being gone—must make considerable alteration I think in the family: however you are not alone now—I am glad the time passes so agreeably with you as it does. You presume my mind is busied about matters of greater moment that to be amused by trifles of no consequence.” In the general I hope it is. I have truly had much to attend to this winter: but perhaps what you call *trifles*, I may think matters of great consequence. You told (I think I don't mis-remember) that perhaps you might write something, further of the matter of our then conversation, which I do not find so [2] much of, as I hoped for, in perusing your letter. One word I take particular notice of, which I am at some loss how to understand. You write yourself *unalterable*. It is truly an excellent part of a character to be uniform & constant—& in this sense I am very willing you should apply it to yourself— If you mean *inflexible* particularly as to the matter just referred to (as I hope you do not) I should rather much rather I assure you, that some other word had been in its place. But I will say no more of it, till I have opportunity for an explanation which, if the weather & roads & other circumstances are favorable, I hope (as I mentioned in the beginning of this letter) is not far distant. In the mean time—I subscribe—your tenderly affectionate—& unalterable brother

Enoch Hale

Miss Ripley

Enoch was a persistent suitor, and his diary reveals several “confabulations,” one “*in lecto*,” with “A. R.,” but she remained “*unalterable*.” Other facts too, about the romance are revealed in Enoch's diary. It is enough to say that he married the year after, raised a family of five daughters and three sons, and was settled over the church in Westhampton, Massachusetts, for fifty-seven years.

As for "Sister Ripley," as he called her, she soon made a greatly advantageous marriage with William Lawrence of Hartford. She bore him several children and had a happy life, living into her eighty-eighth year. If when Stuart consulted her she said anything to him about a romance with Nathan Hale, the very subject of their conversation, it is "passing strange" that he makes no mention of it, for he afterwards made her the heroine of a romance with Hale.

SENTIMENTS OF ALICE (ADAMS) RIPLEY
ENTERED ON BLANK PAGES OF HALE'S
RECEIPT BOOK

Nathan Hale's own entries in his Receipt Book are printed in full in the documentary part of this volume. Some years after his death, pages left blank by Hale were utilized by his step-sister, Mrs. Alice (Adams) Ripley, for what she termed her "diary." The entries were made in 1782 and 1783, just before and after her marriage to William Lawrence. Presumably she used this book because it happened to be at hand; she was a member of the Hale household and blank books were scarce.

Actually her entries are not those of a diarist. Mostly they are items copied from her reading, interspersed with a few scattering thoughts of her own. They are not of sufficient importance to transcribe in full, and the few extracts printed below will be enough to indicate her complexion of thought.

Alice Adams, daughter of Captain Samuel Adams, and his youngest child by his second wife, Abigail Cobb, was born at Canterbury, Conn., July 1, 1756. Her name was entered as Alice in the birth entry, and in the original distribution of her father's estate in 1762 she was called "Alicce Adams the Youngest Daughter." Deacon Richard Hale married her mother "the Widow Abigail Adams, of Canterbury," June 13, 1769, and Alice thus became a member of the Hale household. As Alice Adams she married at Coventry, February 8, 1773, Elijah Ripley, who died at the end of the following year, and her only child by Mr. Ripley died in October, 1775.

Scarcely more than sixteen and a half years of age at marriage, she had lost husband and child before she was twenty, and she was still but twenty at the time of Nathan Hale's death. In the period between 1778 and 1780, Rev. Enoch Hale, Nathan's brother, courted her, and it is clear from his letters and the entries

in his diary that she rejected his suit. Enoch usually referred to her as "Miss Ripley," the term "Miss" being then applied to unmarried women, whether maidens or widows. Once he entered her name in his diary as Alice, and several times used only her initials, A. R. In the Coventry Church records her name was entered as Alice Ripley when she married William Lawrence of Hartford in November, 1782. Mr. Lawrence, in his will dated July 28, 1821, calls her his wife Alice, and names his children as Sarah Lawrence, Alicia wife of Charles Sheldon, and Roderick Lawrence.

It is evident from all these records, official and unofficial, that her name was Alice. In her "diary," written about the time of her marriage to Mr. Lawrence, she calls herself "Alicia." There is in existence a poem "To Alicia" which has been attributed to Nathan Hale. The manuscript is not in Hale's handwriting, nor apparently is it in the handwriting of Mr. Lawrence. It strongly resembles her own writing, and probably it is a copy which she made of a poem once addressed to her by an admirer, the original of which had become worn. We have taken the pains to make it clear that her legal name was Alice. There is no evidence that she was ever known as Alicia until she began applying that form of the name to herself in her diary about 1782. This suggests that it may have been Mr. Lawrence's pet name for her at the period of his courtship, and it seems significant that one of her children by him was actually named Alicia.

This is conjectural. All that can be asserted positively is that no evidence has come to light that Alice was ever called Alicia until long after Nathan Hale's death; and that there is no evidence to connect the poem, "To Alicia," with Hale.

The "diary" extracts follow.

"Alicia Ripley her Diary may this blank be in time inscribed with solid sentiments, worthy remarks, and just observations—May the authoress while she is extracting the brightest ideas from books and conversation be enabled to treasure them up in her memory, and may her mind be an inexhaustible store-house containing true knowledge and profound erudition—may a gentle influence attract the attention of the worthy who are pleased to favor her with their friendship.

“May all her words and actions be governed by the unerring rules of wisdom and prudence—let her mind be like a Casket containing precious pearls of the choicest kind—O may her thoughts sweetly emanate so as to convey instruction to others neither seeming to arrogate knowledge to herself—finally may she be justly and universally beloved and esteemed by all her friends and acquaintance” [pages 2-3]

On page 20, the last page from the front end of the book on which Hale had written, and which he had ruled for his accounts, Alice entered quotations from Rollin and Demosthenes, and on the reverse side (page 21) she wrote the following.

“1782 November the 24th Sunday

This day was celebrated my Nuptials with Mr Lawrence the most solemn transaction and the most important period of my existence (except of a spiritual kind) the scene was striking beyond conception and the contract as lasting as life—but happy thrice happy should I have been had my doubts ended with the ceremony!—With what fears and anxieties have I past this change heaven only is my witness!”

“Mr L——— is now the companion and guide of my life and as I may say my monitor, and director too—to whom I have vowed not only obedience but love—why should I repine before I know the consequence—surely this event has taken place by the direction & all wise counsel of the supreme being who conducts and terminates all things—” [page 23]

“How oft have I wished and even prayed that this mighty affair might be wholly left to ye will of providence?—and ’tis certainly by the divine institution that this change has been wrought—heaven only is my witness of the doubts & fears struggles & anxieties of mind which I have suffered Virtue inclin’d me to live single; Friendship persuaded me to marry—the motives for the former were the [*sic*] when I first gave consent That this and every other dispensation relating to this matter may redound to the glory of God and our own spiritual welfare is the wish next my heart” [pages 24-25]

“Saturday the 11th day since my arrival in Hartford all which time has been agreeably spent untill this day and why this may not be number’d among the rest I can’t say but an unusual gloom hangs upon my mind for which I cant account for A depression of spirit but why this languor of mind, and where is fled that wonted fortitude which has ofttimes distinguished Alicia——” [page 26]

“March 28th 1783

A heavy gloom hangs upon my mind—O the pilgrimage of this life is infinitely troublesome & perplexed by all trials & afflictions that I meet with here may I be brought nearer to god and divine things & whenever the blessed redeemer shall resume that life he gave me

I shall resign it into his hands without sorrow and without fear”
[pages 29-30]

“God preserve you my amiable friend—preserve & direct you through the uncertain paths of this world till you arrive to the realm of everlasting rest—till your innocent your happy spirit shall quit without a sigh the tender frame that confines it—and rise conducted by some smiling Angel to the blessed society of good men made perfect—may this be the happy lot of Alicia——” [pages 31-32]

Few of the remaining entries are of a personal nature. They are mostly quotations in prose and verse.

THE UNADDRESSED, UNDATED AND UNSIGNED "LOVE POEM" NOT IN HALE'S HANDWRITING

The poem beginning "Alicia, born with every striking charm," which Johnston printed on page 190 of the Second Edition of his "Nathan Hale, 1776," has ever since figured so largely in Hale's story that it behooves the present author to speak of it and its history.

Johnston printed the poem in full and headed it "Hale to 'Alicia'—Love Poem," but the fact is, as the author is forced to conclude, that he was wholly unwarranted in doing so. The manuscript from which Johnston took the poem is unaddressed, undated, and not in Hale's handwriting, and the text of the poem bears no internal evidence of having been composed by Hale. It is a document that contains no intrinsic evidence of authenticity and is not entitled to rank as a Hale document.

The history of the manuscript, as the author understands it, is that from Hale's step-sister, Mrs. Alice (Adams) (Ripley) Lawrence it passed to her granddaughter, Miss Alicia Sheldon, and from her hands into those of the late Mr. George E. Hoadley of Hartford, who afterwards furnished a copy of it to Johnston, who accepted and used it as authentic. On the death of Mr. Hoadley a few years ago the manuscript, along with the rest of his Hale material, was offered for sale at auction in New York, and at that time a lady much interested in both Hale and Yale offered to buy the manuscript and present it to Yale, if it could be shown to have been written by Hale. It accordingly then came under the eyes of experts in handwriting, who subjected it to the accepted tests and pronounced it not to be in Hale's hand. Its sale for a large sum consequently fell through.

An earlier chapter in its history is likewise significant. It is that although Miss Sheldon had told to Stuart, with many particulars, the story of her grandmother's alleged engagement to Hale, a story of which Stuart made much in his "Life of Hale,"

she had omitted to produce the poem that would, if authentic, have been the best possible support and background for the romance. Miss Sheldon herself, peradventure, knew from her grandmother that the poem had been neither composed nor penned by Hale—reason enough for not giving it to Stuart.

These facts are ample to show that Johnston was wholly without warrant in using the poem as he did, but it is also a fact that the intrinsic character of the poem shows no resemblance to Hale's mode of thought or use of words. So acute a critic as the late Professor Henry Augustin Beers of Yale (1847-1926, Yale College 1869) examined and compared the poem with the three specimens of verse that were beyond question written by Hale (herein printed), and he could find nothing whatever to indicate that it and they were written by the same person.

The last phase of the matter is that Mr. Jacobus, himself perforce an expert in handwriting, in the course of transcribing the extensive entries made by Mrs. Lawrence in Hale's Receipt Book, became aware that the handwriting bore a curious resemblance to the handwriting of the poem. It is now his considered belief that the poem as we have it is in the handwriting of Alice Adams herself, and that she copied it from an original of unknown authorship.

FORMER PRESIDENT TAFT VISITS THE BIRTH-PLACE: LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND PRESIDENT HARDING

I find that former President Taft came to the Birth-Place on October 21, 1916, and wrote in the visitor's book, "Well worth a life's devotion." Hanging there today in the Judgment Hall is a large photograph of him that he sent me many years later from his summer home at Murray Bay. It is inscribed:

"To my dear friend, George Dudley Seymour of New Haven and Yale, with affectionate regard and deep sympathy with his earnest preservation of the memory of the 'Patriot Nathan Hale'."

July 20th, 1928

Pt-a-Pic
P. Q.

Wm. H. Taft

Former President Theodore Roosevelt wrote me, not long before his death, that the next time he came to Connecticut to visit his sister, Anna (Mrs. William Cowles), in Farmington, he should drive over to the Birth-Place, of which he had, doubtless, had an enthusiastic account from his sister, Corinne (Mrs. Douglas Robinson), whose morning call with a horse and buggy I have always looked back upon with especial pleasure.

When I conceived the idea that a Federal postage stamp would serve my purpose of bringing Hale before the American people, I wrote President Harding and received from him the following letter, which I like to think he wrote himself:

White House, Washington, D. C.
May 31, 1923

My dear Mr. Seymour:

I am genuinely obligated to you for reminding me of the anniversary of Nathan Hale's graduation from Yale. I wish it were possible that some really fitting and adequate testimonial to Hale, of a National character, could be provided. Your suggestion is appealing, but unfortunately it is not possible to provide for all the national heroes in this way.

I hope an opportunity will be afforded when, either in compliance with this particular suggestion or in some other way, I may be able to contribute my bit toward reminding the American people of Captain Hale and his great services and sacrifices.

Most sincerely yours,

Warren G. Harding

Mr. George Dudley Seymour
129 Church Street
New Haven, Connecticut

After President Harding's death, I wrote to President Coolidge, who replied as follows:

The White House

July 31, 1924.

My dear Mr. Seymour:

You may number me among those profoundly in sympathy with your fine purpose of bringing about a proper national recognition of the patriotic services of Captain Nathan Hale. I can say with all confidence that whatever form may be given to the testimonial, if it is approved by the friends of this movement, it will have also my own approval. Nathan Hale's memory will live so long as the martyrs of American liberty are remembered by a grateful country. There should be some proper national memorial to him, and I hope it may not be much longer delayed.

Most Sincerely yours,

(signed) Calvin Coolidge.

In my reply to the President, under date of August 9, 1924, I said in part:

"In my letter to Mr. Harding, I suggested that a head of Hale should be placed on a postage stamp. I did not press that idea in my letter to you, though it remains uppermost in my mind as the method by which the name and fame of Hale could be impressed upon the entire country almost at a stroke, and the cause of Americanization immeasurably forwarded. A stamp of high denomination would not serve the intended purpose on account of restriction of use. It occurs to me now, however, that the main purpose might be accomplished by a single large issue, say, of the one-cent stamp, after which the Franklin issues might be resumed. A Nathan Hale stamp so issued would no doubt be cherished in the hands of millions of people.

"There should also be a suitable permanent memorial to Hale in Washington, but it seems to me that nothing could be devised as a

first step that would equal in effect the issuance of a large number of one-cent Hale postage stamps. I am sure no one would be more gratified by it than the 'shade' of Franklin himself."

To this letter, the Secretary to the President replied as follows, under date of August 11th:

"Your letter of August 9th, to the President, has been received. I shall at once take up with the Postmaster General your suggestion as to the Nathan Hale Stamp."

Then correspondence and several satisfactory calls upon the Postmaster General followed, with the gratifying letter of March 10, 1925, elsewhere quoted.

The following letter from President Coolidge was written for exercises held in Coventry, in commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the sacrifice of Nathan Hale on September 22nd, 1776.

The White House,
Washington,
September 20, 1926.

"My Dear Mr. Seymour:

I am glad to know of the exercises to be held in Coventry, Conn., in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the heroic end of Nathan Hale.

There is no finer record of high character and patriotic devotion, of unselfish service and of a spirit unquenched and majestic in death than that of Nathan Hale. If human conduct is influenced by the example of those gone before—if inspiration for better things comes from the study of a worthy and noble nature, we cannot lay too much emphasis upon the life and death of this outstanding figure in our Revolutionary history.

We read of the careful training given by his God-fearing and sturdy parents on the Coventry farm. We know how deeply religious he was, how he comforted the stricken soldiers in his company by prayer and the reading of the Bible. In any analysis of Nathan Hale, one must take account of his strong faith in the power that guides our destinies.

Prospective glory and fame have been powerful incentives to action and always will be. History has sung the praises of those who have died in battle, acting under orders and sustained by excitement and the cooperation of their fellows. But, Nathan Hale in time of great crisis for our new nation, volunteered for a dangerous, a solitary and what by many was considered an ignominious mission. A brother officer urged against it, pointing out that capture and death as a spy were almost certain to follow. Hale replied he was well aware of

the character of his undertaking and of the perils involved. The declaration of motives he then made I wish might be burned into the minds of every citizen of our land. With simple dignity and earnestness this young officer said:

‘I wish to be useful, and every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious.’

Can anything be finer than this? No thought of glory or reward of any nature, just a desire ‘to be useful,’ to do whatever country dictated, to go wherever duty led. Many are moved by desire for power; others seek the acclaim of the multitude. What is needed today is a better realization of the majesty of service in the less spectacular, and it may be the unpleasant and obscure duties in life.

Nathan Hale knew what an almost impossible task it would be to get information of the forces and plans of General Howe and to carry it out of the English lines to General Washington. The young schoolmaster on entering the Continental army more than a year before is reported to have quoted in the original Latin to a Yale friend in New Haven the phrase: ‘It is sweet and fitting to die for our country.’ The sudden call to face peril and death probably was far removed from his early dreams. But, there was not a second’s hesitation—not a trace of flinching. ‘I wish to be useful,’ he said, as he accepted the difficult task.

How wonderful if every one could be brought to realize the nobility of unselfish service in the things that ‘need’ to be done—whether the doing offers attractive rewards or holds out only a prospect of failure and contumely, possibly of what might be considered an inglorious end. Yet, did the hanging of that noble spirit, barely three months beyond his twenty-first birthday, mark a failure? Was his execution, among strange and hostile faces, amid unsympathetic and possibly ribald comment, an ignominious death? No! It was a gloriously radiant moment when this young Christian patriot, denied the clergyman and the Bible for which he had asked, having seen his farewell letters to his loved ones torn up by a cruel provost marshal—so that the ‘rebels’ should not know that they had a man in their army who could die with such firmness—with his hands tied behind his back as a mark of shame, advanced with bright eyes and firm and steady tread to his fate. It was as if he walked with God. And, his last words: ‘I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country,’ have come down to us as a precious heritage representing the supreme heights to patriotic sacrifice.

This hero’s story should be taught to every child in our schools and his farewell words impressed upon their minds as a true symbol of unselfish and sublime devotion to duty. He did not die in vain.

We do not need a war to dedicate our energies unselfishly to the public good. It is not necessary to be employed by the government

in order to render service to our country. Good citizenship is not a passive state. On every side the citizen may find duties to be performed—not of a striking or appealing nature perhaps, but vitally essential, if we are to preserve the liberties for which Nathan Hale and his associates in the Continental Army fought and died.

Will you please give my greetings and best wishes to those who will be joining with you on Wednesday evening, in honoring the memory of this national hero?

Very truly yours,

(Signed) CALVIN C. COOLIDGE."

SCENARIO—THE MARTYRDOM OF NATHAN HALE

Written by the Author for the Yale Pageant
Produced in the Yale Bowl on October 21, 1916

From "The Book of the Yale Pageant," Published 1916

"That life is long which answers life's great end."—Young.

It is a Sabbath morning, and the place the encampment of the Royal Artillery overlooking the East River, and facing the Old Post Road from New York to Albany and Boston, not far from the spot where Hale's regiment had landed but a few months before. The parade ground of the camp is empty save for a small straggling group of old men, women and children, and a thin line of red-coated soldiers. To the South, a cloud of smoke rises from the burning city of New York, half obscuring the sky and casting its pall of gloom over the scene of the tragedy about to be enacted. In the distance, the grave and even agonizing sound of muffled drums is heard with smiting reverberations. Gradually these increase in intensity until two drummers appear, followed by a rude cart dragged along by half a dozen unkempt soldiers, hardly recognizable as such in their rough undress. Behind them the common hangman, a mulatto, bears the ladder, his neck, as was the grewsome custom, encircled by the fatal rope. Then a handful of soldiers in uniform, marching two by two, and beside them, the British Provost Marshal Cunningham, drunken, ferocious, and of an infamy so notorious that the by-standers shrink back from him. And then,—Hale—his hands bound behind him, walking alone, with measured tread—a Captain in the Continental Army, and yet so boyish, with flushed cheeks and fair hair. He is of medium height, but the quiet dignity of his bearing, the freedom of his carriage, and his high color, give him a certain brightness which lifts him above the rest of the company. Looking straight forward, he moves to his fate. Once he raises his handsome head to note the great pillar of smoke

rising from the burning city and doubtless wonders at the portent of the conflagration. He hears with no outward sign of emotion the half stifled cries of the women and children who watch his forward march to the beat of those muffled drums. Simply and quietly he walks to his doom, thinking, perchance, of the broad landscape of his boyhood home beyond the Eastern hills in Coventry, of Connecticut Hall where he spent so many happy hours, of the loved home circle and his friends. We can imagine him unflinching without, but tremulous within—he was young, life was dear to him, the earth that he looked upon was fair, friendship had been sweet to him, he did not wish to die.—A few more soldiers in worn and faded uniforms follow with stolid faces and remonstrant hearts, and lastly, at one side, with bowed head and slow stride, the gallant and noble figure of Captain Montresor, who alone of that company had befriended Hale during the morning hours when the preparations were being made for the final scene. This little cortege passes before us and makes us feel, as never before, the rhythm and meaning of that sad lyric:—

To drum-beat and heart-beat,
A soldier marches by:
There is color in his cheek,
There is courage in his eye,
Yet to drum-beat and heart-beat,
In a moment he must die!*

* From the poem by Francis Miles Finch, Yale 1849, read at the centennial anniversary of the Linonia Society, July 27, 1853.



THE AUTHOR AS A SCHOOLBOY WHEN HE FIRST READ JUDGE FINCH'S
POEM ON "HALE'S FATE AND FAME."

EPILOGUE

It is fitting that I should conclude this book with a brief tribute, however imperfect, to Francis Miles Finch (1827-1907), Yale 1849, who wrote the poem, "Hale's Fate and Fame," that is responsible for my own lifelong interest in Hale. As a small boy at school in Bristol, I sat at my desk by an open window in a corner of the schoolroom and read and reread Judge Finch's poem, and it profoundly interested my boyish mind. It has, I think, done more to contribute to the name and fame of Nathan Hale than any other one thing.

So dearly cherishing this inspiring poem, the reader may imagine how thrilled I was at the prospect of meeting its author, as I did on the occasion of the dedication of the Nathan Hale schoolhouse in East Haddam on June 6, 1900, the anniversary of Hale's birthday, when I attended the ceremonies with the late Dr. Theodore Thornton Munger, who represented the Yale Corporation on the occasion. I remember talking with Judge Finch on the train on our way to East Haddam and sitting behind him on the platform while he read his poem. Old and feeble as he was at the time, I was more thrilled to have met him at last than I can now say. Later on I had some correspondence with him but I cannot now recall its purport.

Judge Finch had a successful career as a lawyer and was for many years a distinguished judge of the New York Court of Appeals. In the course of his life he produced many poems, among which "Hale's Fate and Fame" and "The Blue and the Gray" are the most notable. He was a close friend of Ezra Cornell and Andrew D. White, and in the founding of Cornell University he was active as a trustee and especially as a legal counselor. "Hale's Fate and Fame" was written as one "episode" in the much longer poem composed for the centennial celebration of the Linonian Society of Yale in 1853, when Nathan Hale, Timothy Dwight, and James Hillhouse, were celebrated as the chief worthies of the Society.

The Hale Episode, with the few lines that introduce it, follows.

HALE'S FATE AND FAME

By Judge Francis Miles Finch

Yale College 1849

[From "An Oration by William Maxwell Evarts, and A Poem, by Francis Miles Finch, delivered before the Linonian Society of Yale College, at its Centennial Anniversary, with an account of the celebration. New Haven: Published by the Linonian Society. 1853."]

And there was one—his name immortal now—
Who died not to the ring of rattling steel,
Or battle-march of spirit-stirring drum,
But, far from comrades and from friendly camp,
Alone upon the scaffold.

To drum-beat and heart-beat,
A soldier marches by:
There is color in his cheek,
There is courage in his eye,
Yet to drum-beat and heart-beat
In a moment he must die!

By star-light and moon-light,
He seeks the Briton's camp;
He hears the rustling flag,
And the armed sentry's tramp;
And the starlight and moonlight
His silent wanderings lamp.

With slow tread and still tread,
He scans the tented line;
And he counts the battery-guns
By the gaunt and shadowy pine;
And his slow tread and still tread
Gives no warning sign.

The dark wave, the plumed wave!
It meets his eager glance;
And it sparkles 'neath the stars,
Like the glimmer of a lance;
A dark wave, a plumed wave,
On an emerald expanse.

A sharp clang, a steel clang!
And terror in the sound;
For the sentry, falcon-eyed,
In the camp a spy hath found;
With a sharp clang, a steel clang,
The patriot is bound.

With calm brow, steady brow,
He listens to his doom:
In his look there is no fear
Nor a shadow-trace of gloom;
But with calm brow and steady brow
He robes him for the tomb.

In the long night, the still night,
He kneels upon the sod;
And the brutal guards withhold
E'en the solemn Word of God!
In the long night, the still night,
He walks where Christ hath trod.

Neath the blue morn, the sunny morn,
He dies upon the tree;
And he mourns that he can lose
But one life for Liberty;
And in the blue morn, the sunny morn,
His spirit-wings are free.

But his last words, his message words,
They burn, lest friendly eye
Should read how proud and calm
A patriot could die,
With his last words, his dying words,
A soldier's battle-cry!

From Fame-leaf and Angel-leaf,
From monument and urn,
The sad of Earth, the glad of Heaven
His tragic fate shall learn;
And on Fame-leaf and Angel-leaf
The name of HALE shall burn!

Hale has not yet been admitted to the Hall of Fame, which may be thought to need the luster of his name more than his fame needs anything that the Hall of Fame could bring to it. It is a cause for thankfulness that after neglect for over a century he should now definitely have taken his place as our youthful national hero and, next to the flag, our highest symbol of patriotism. In his youth, in his manly beauty and athletic prowess, in his simplicity and straightforwardness of character, in his supreme sacrifice and early death, he has an unfading brightness which must forever endear him to all who are quick to feel a modest and undaunted spirit. (Written in 1923 by G. D. S.)

A FRAGMENT OF ANOTHER LETTER BY HALE*

After this book was in type and about ready to be printed, the author was advised that a fragment of a letter by Hale was to be sold at auction on May 17 in Philadelphia, with the collection of books and autographs of the late Doctor S. Weir Mitchell. According to the auctioneer's catalogue, the letter is dated "New London, May 24, 1774," and thus was written home soon after Hale went to New London from Moodus, where he began school-teaching.

The portion of the letter quoted in the catalogue reads:

"I send my most filial duty to my Mother and sincere love
to my Sisters, and am as I ever hope to be
Your dutiful son."

The letter is accompanied by the following attestation by the famous early autograph collector, Doctor William B. Sprague:

"The within is an autograph of the celebrated Captain Nathan Hale, who was hung by the British as a spy during the Revolution. It was given me by his family and was almost the only relic they had of him.

W. B. Sprague."

Below the above is written in another hand:

"Rev^d Dr. W. B. Sprague of Albany, Nov., 1838."

It is well known that Doctor Sprague had access to Nathan's papers and that he secured many items from them, including Hale's Commission as Captain. It may be thought that by 1838 the papers had been pretty well picked over.

The lines quoted indicate that the letter was addressed to Hale's father. His own mother was not then living.

* I learn that this Hale item was sold for \$100 to a Philadelphia dealer by the name of George Grasberger. I make no doubt that Doctor Mitchell bought this item for his collection of autograph material from Stan V. Henkels, the once famous auction commission merchant of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Years ago Mr. Henkels from time to time had a Hale item in his sales. I tried in vain to get him to tell me the history of these items, which he steadily refused to do more than to say that the owner of them, or the owner's father, secured them from Doctor William B. Sprague, as he understood the matter. That explanation appeared reasonable to me, since it is well known that Doctor Sprague knew Hale's family and had some Hale items.—G. D. S.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

[Prepared by Mr. Jacobus and applying chiefly to Hale's Army Diary, Hale's Army Accounts, Hale's Receipt Book, and Hale's Book of Muster Rolls.]

Acct ^t	.....	account.
adv ^{ce}	.....	advance.
alter ^g	.....	altering.
art. War	.....	Articles of War.
arv ^d	.....	arrived.
B. Cloth	.....	broadcloth.
BG	.....	Brigadier-General.
B. Shal ^{con}	.....	black shalloon.
bay ^t	.....	bayonet.
blank ^t	.....	blanket.
bn	.....	been.
Br	.....	breeches.
bum	.....	bomb.
b ^r sugar	.....	brown sugar.
C. b.	.....	cartouche box.
C. buttons	.....	coat buttons.
Cans ^s	.....	cannons.
Car. b.	.....	cartouche box.
Carbine	.....	a short rifle.
cartouche	.....	cartridge.
Cl	.....	cloth.
Coat ^g	.....	coating.
Col ^o	.....	Colonel.
comp ^t	.....	complete, "compleat."
Corpl	.....	Corporal.
Count:	.....	Countersign.
Cpt	.....	Captain.
C ^r	.....	Creditor.
Cw ^t	.....	hundred weight.
D (raised)	.....	dozen.
d ^d	.....	delivered.
Def ^t	.....	defeat.
Din ^r	.....	dinner.
D ^o	.....	ditto.
D ^r	.....	Debtor.
dr. hair	.....	dressing hair.
Dress ^g	.....	dressing.
Ens ⁿ	.....	Ensign, the lowest commissioned rank, an under-Lieutenant.
fav ^r	.....	favor.
Fif ^r	.....	Fifer.

fir ^g	.....	firing.
fm	.....	from.
Fusee	.....	a flint-lock musket.
G. Coat	.....	great coat, a heavy overcoat.
Gall ^{ns}	.....	gallons.
Geneva	.....	gin.
Gen ^l	.....	General.
h	.....	hour.
Hair Drs	.....	hair dressers.
hoses	.....	hose, stockings.
Holland Thread	.....	a linen thread for close weaving made in the Netherlands.
ibid	.....	same.
inf ^d	.....	informed.
K's Arms	.....	King's Arms, the standard equipment at the beginning of the Revolution.
Kn Garters	.....	knee garters.
L.	.....	letter.
L. Sugar	.....	loaf sugar.
Lieut ^t	.....	Lieutenant.
L ^t	.....	Lieutenant.
m	.....	miles.
Maj ^r	.....	Major.
mak ^g	.....	making.
mch ^d	.....	marched.
m ^d	.....	manned.
mend ^g	.....	mending.
mk ^g	.....	making.
mtt ^g	.....	meeting.
N	.....	North.
N. L.	.....	New London.
nil mat.	.....	no matter, or nothing material; i. e., no damage done.
nil mem	.....	nothing remembered or worth noting.
Nor ^{wh}	.....	Norwich.
nt bef	.....	night before.
off ^d	.....	offered.
ord ^r	.....	order.
osnabrig	.....	osnaburg, a coarse linen made of flax and tow.
⌘	.....	per, by.
P	.....	paid.
P. Guard	.....	picket guard.
p ^d	.....	paid.
Phlip	.....	flip, a drink.
pld	.....	played.
pr or p ^r	.....	pair.
pr.	.....	preached.

pr ^d	.....	promised.
putt ^g	.....	putting.
Q. M.	.....	Quartermaster.
Q. M. G. or Q ^m . G.	.....	Quartermaster General.
r	.....	rounds.
Recd or Rec ^d	.....	received.
Reck ^g	.....	reckoning, account or bill.
rem	.....	?
ret ^d	.....	returned.
Rt	.....	receipt.
Scab ^d	.....	scabbard, a sheath.
Scr.	.....	screw.
sd or s ^d	.....	said.
Serg ^t or Ser ^t	.....	Sergeant.
Shalloon	.....	a loosely woven woolen fabric.
Sk.	.....	skein.
Sling	.....	a strap for slinging a musket to the shoulders or from a saddle.
St	.....	Sergeant.
Stock ^{gs} or Stock ^{gs}	.....	stockings.
Surtout	.....	a man's overcoat.
Suttler	.....	sutler, a trader permitted to sell eatables or other goods to soldiers.
V. Breeches	.....	velvet breeches.
Velt	.....	velvet.
W. buttons	.....	waistcoat buttons.
Wash ^g	.....	washing.
w ^h	.....	which.
w ^t	.....	with.
w ^t	.....	went.
y ^e	.....	the.
y ^t	.....	that.
zen	.....	dozen.

INDEX

INDEX

- Abbot, Abiel, Rev., 353.
 Abiel (1808-1896), letter written for his mother, 351, 475.
 Benjamin, 354.
 Ezra, Deacon, 421, 475.
 Harris, 353, 421.
 Rebeckah (Hale) (1781-1860), portrait, 474; account of, 474-475; letter about her uncle Nathan, revealing shadow portrait on door, 351-354, 415, 418, 420-424, xxxiii.
- Abell, Mr., 353.
- Adams, Abigail (Cobb), 334, 460.
 Alice (Mrs. Ripley, afterwards Mrs. Lawrence), wooed by Enoch Hale, 577-582, 466; alleged romance with Nathan Hale, 571-576, 583-588; poem "To Alicia," 576, 584, 587-588; account of, with diary excerpts, 583-586; mentioned, 236, 248, 294, 298, 457, 483, 561, xxxii, as "Miss Ripley," 507.
 Collin, see Pigott Collin Adams.
 Eliphalet (1677-1753), Rev., 160.
 Elizabeth ["Betsey"], afterwards Mrs. Poole, 18-20, 27, 45, 59, 160, 350, 486, 568, 574; letter from Hale, 177; letter to Hale, 89, 177; tribute to Hale in 1837, 160, 349.
 George Burton, Prof., 418.
 Hannah (1755-1832), author of "A Summary History of New England," excerpt, 328-330; mentioned, 317, 338, 340, 443, 535; portrait, 550; account of, 550-551.
 Joseph, 81.
 Pigott Collin, 222, 223, 225, 227, 231, 232, 235, 239, 243-247, 253, 270, 280, 285, 287.
 Pygan (-1776), Capt., 19, 160, (241?), 350, 568.
 Samuel, Capt., 460, 583.
 Samuel, Hon., 42.
 Sarah, 334, 460, 465; called Sally, 17.
 ———, Capt. of privateer *Warren*, 194.
- Addison's "Cato," known to Hale, 85, 86; Hale's Last Words derived from, 376-382, 402, 410, 453.
- Alden, Ichabod, Lt.-Col., of Duxbury, Mass., 70.
 John, 502.
- Roger (1754-1836), classmate of Hale, 100-107; portrait and account of, 502-503; letters to Hale, 33, 52; mentioned by Hale, 16; mentioned by Hillhouse, 22; in Linonian Society, 121, 123-125, 127-131, 134-137, 142, 145, 152, 153, 392; mentioned, 154, 200, 343, 389, 390, 402, 403, 406, 411, 505, 561, xxvii.
- Allen, Ethan, Col., 47.
 Ebenezer, 241, 242, 244, 276, 280, 285, 287.
 Frederick Winthrop, owner of Hale letter, 82; interested in Pratt's Hale statue, 419, 420.
 Gardner W., author of "Naval History of the American Revolution," 526.
 Thomas, 29.
- Allis, Elisha (1747-1835), Judge, 113, 114.
- Amadon, Ammidown, [Ichabod?], innkeeper, Mendon, Mass., 197, 221.
- Ames, Alvin, 221, 242, 245, 265, 272, 280, 285, 287.
 Samuel, Jr., 265, 280, 287.
- André, John, Major (1750-1780), 300, 302, 313, 314, 326, 327, 330, 358, 362, 364-366, 453, 509, 536, 551, xxxii.
- Arnold, Benedict (1741-1801), Col., 157, 194, 311, 502, 526.
- Ashcraft, William, 231.
- Ashford, Conn., 197, 338.
- Asia* exploit, 81, xxix; ship mentioned by Hale, 191.
- Atkins, Elisha (1750-1839), Rev., classmate of Hale; 96-107, 295.
- Attawanhood, son of Uncas, 460.
- Attleboro, Mass., 174, 200.
- Atwater, Jeremiah, 294.
 Noah (1752-1802), Rev., 137, 138, 142.
 Thomas, 142.
- Austin, Lydia, 335.
- Avery, Abraham, Corp., 165.
 Park, 51.
- Babcock, Gamaliel (1749-bef. 1787), classmate of Hale; 96-107.
 Mary, 487.
 Oliver, Lieut., of Stonington, Conn., 232, 233.

- Backus, [Andrew], Capt., 218.
 Bacon, Leonard, Rev. Dr., 393, 505.
 William, 165, 203, 212, 216, 222, 226, 242, 243, 253, 269, 273, 280, 285, 287.
 Baker, ———, innkeeper, 221.
 Baldwin, Abraham (1754-1807), Senator, 115-117, 119, 121, 122.
 Asa, 165.
 David, 166.
 Ebenezer, Col., 356, 380, 511.
 Simeon Eben, Gov., 357, 394.
 Baltimore, Md., 372.
 Bamford, William, Capt., diary entry concerning Hale, 446-447; 437, 438, 440-442, 444, 445, 450, 451, 454, 541, xxx.
 Barber, John Warner (1798-1885), author of "Connecticut Historical Collections," portrait, 462; his engraving of the Hale Mansion, 461; account of Hale's capture, 537; mentioned, 292, 443, 450, 487, 540.
 Barck, Dorothy C., 290.
 Barker, Hannah, 335, 463.
 Samuel S. A. (1756-1819), 117, 118, 121, 123-125, 129, 130, 132, 151, 397.
 Barlow, Joel (1754-1812), author of "Columbiad," 340, 572, 573.
 Barrington, N. H., 448.
 Bates, Albert C., 173, 331, xix.
 Beckwith, Baruch (— -1778), classmate of Hale, 31, 96-107, 154.
 Guy, 165, 247, 267, 275, 280, 285, 287.
 ———, 111.
 Beebe, Charles, 230.
 Christopher, Corp., 165, 191, 202, 205, 229, 231, 243, 257, 279, 285, 287.
 Ephraim, 226, 230, 232, 254, 262, 274, 280, 285, 287.
 Gideon, 228, 230, 231, 243, 263, 280, 282, 285, 287.
 Paul, 222, 225, 228, 244-246, 270, 271, 280, 285, 287.
 Thaddeus, 246, 266, 274, 280, 282, 285, 287.
 Beecher, Henry Ward (1813-1887), 490.
 Beers, Henry Augustin (1847-1926), Prof., 588.
 Belcher, John, Lieut., 162, 164, 201; letter to Hale, 40.
 Belden, P[eggy], 64.
 S[ally], 64.
 Samuel, 29; Hale receives letter from, 89, 179.
 Belding, Mr., 12, 13; perhaps Samuel Belden.
 Bellamy, Jonathan (1752-1777), 117, 121, 122, 125.
 Benedict, Thaddeus (1749-1799), 96-107.
 Benham, Sidney T., xx.
 Betts, Stephen, Jr., Lieut., 163.
 Billings, Caleb (1743-1817), 111.
 Elisha (1749-1825), 115-120, 122-124, 127, 130, 134, 135, 145, 151, 392, 396, 397, 407, 411.
 Bird, Rev., of Watertown, 175, 176, 183, 190.
 Bishop, William Henry, Prof., 490.
 Bliss, ———, 127.
 Aaron (1745-1823), 111.
 Bolles, David, 368, 369.
 Mr., of New London, Conn., 218.
 Joseph, 275, 280, 285, 287.
 Booge, Aaron Jordan (1752-1826), Rev., 134, 137, 139, 143.
 Richard, 165.
 Boston, Mass., 178, 181, 189, 192, 195, 316, 320, 331, 338, 340, 343, 368-371, 375, 463, 464, 475, 534, 551, 553.
 Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass., owner of a Hale letter, 37.
 Bostwick, Elisha (1748-1834), Lieut., portrait, 546; account of, 546-547; commission as Lieut., 319-320; Revolutionary War recollections, including account of Hale, 320-325, 422-423; discovery of this document in the Archives, 412-414, 422; mentioned, 159-385, 452, 477, 517, xxxiii.
 Isaac, Capt., 167, 171, 175, 181, 206, 319, 320.
 ———, 293.
 Bourn, Polly, 35.
 Bowers, John, gunner, died, 194.
 Jonathan, 165.
 Brackett, Joshua, Dr., of Portsmouth, N. H., 71.
 Bradley, Cyrus P. (1818-1838), projector of a Hale biography, 19, 160, 173, 315, 317, 333, 337, 341, 342, 344-350, 388, 389, 406, 479, 482, 483, 575; tribute to, 486.
 Stephen Row (1754-1830), 138.
 Bran, Isaac, 238, 241, 245, 247, 251, 287.
 Branch, Anna Hempstead, poet, 431, 518, 521.
 Brewster, James, Conn. State Librarian, 162.

- Jonathan, Lieut., 162.
 Brice, N., 373.
 Bridge, Robert C., 167.
 Briggs, James (1746-1825), Rev., 137, 153.
 Brinsmade, Daniel, Ens., 171.
 Brockway, Thomas (1745-1807), 111.
 Brooklyn, Conn., 483.
 Brooklyn, N. Y., 436.
 Brooks, Charles, 246.
 John, Major, 78, 181, 195, 234, 297, 320, 338.
 Brothers in Unity, society, Yale College, 109, 398; mentioned as "Plutonians," 130, 131, 137, 147, 149.
 Brown, Charles, 67, 165, 194, 209-211, 213, 216, 225, 226, 229, 231, 232, 235, 243, 246, 280, 285, 288.
 James, 189.
 John, 228, 230, 280, 285, 288.
 Joseph, 166.
 Robert, 126, 395.
 ——, innkeeper, Cambridge, 178.
 Buck, Mrs., of Wethersfield, 81.
 Buckminster, Joseph (1751-1812), Rev., 113-115, 117-121.
 Bulkley, Eliphalet (b. 1746), Capt., of Colchester, 194.
 Gershom (1746-1832), Rev., 113-115, 117, 118.
 Noah (1744-1776), 110, 111.
 Bunker's Hill, 182, 195, 320.
 Burbank, Samuel, Lieut., of Holliston, Mass., 182.
 Burnap, Daniel, 488.
 Burr, Aaron, 502.
 Theodosia, 502.
 ——, 112.
 Bushnell, David (1742-1824), member of Linonian Society, inventor of submarine torpedo; 138, 142.
 Ezra, Sergt., 165, 201.
 Horace (1802-1876), Rev. Dr., 553, xxiv.
 Butler, Amos, 165.
 Button, Eliphalet, 228, 230, 239, 242, 253, 255, 278, 280, 285, 288.
 Caleff, Stephen, 221, 222, 238, 241-243, 246, 250, 269, 272, 280, 285, 288.
 Cambridge, Mass., Hale at Camp, 78, 79, 171, 176-179, 183, 190-196, 198, 313, 316, 370, 426; his description in verse, 92-94; Hale receives letters at Camp Winter Hill, 45, 46, 49, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59-60, 65; Hale writes from there, 46; Hurlbut writes from there, 65, 66; receipts of soldiers dated Winter Hill, 206; mentioned, 320, 372.
 Camp, Abraham (1752-1781), Rev., classmate of Hale; 96-103, 106-107; in Linonian Society, 121, 123, 131, 132, 137; mentioned, 295.
 Campbell, Maria (Hull), 307, 535.
 Canada, David, 221, 225, 235, 280, 285, 288; testimony in pension files, 368-369.
 Canfield, Thomas (1751-1826), 104-107, 134.
 Canterbury, Conn., 294, 583.
 Cape Ann, 191.
 Carrington, Edward (1747-1795), 112.
 Carver, Joseph, 171.
 William, 165, 194, 209, 218.
 Caswell, B. W., 167.
 Catlin [Catland], Eli, Lieut., Capt., 181, 196.
 Caulkins, Frances Manwaring (1796-1869), New London and Norwich historian; testimony regarding Hale, 161; mentioned, 85, 523, 569.
Cerberus, British vessel, 443.
 Chadwick, Charles, 29.
 Chamberlain, Mr., of Colchester, Conn., 194.
 Champlin, Christopher, 42, 176.
 Chandler, John (1754-1804), 115, 116, 118.
 William (1758-1787), classmate of Hale; 96-107.
 Chapman, Alpheus, Sergt., Ens., Lieut., 61, 67, 164, 171, 182, 192, 201, 217, 224, 225, 234, 247, 279, 284, 368, 372.
 Silas, 256, 273, 280, 285, 288.
 Chappell, Alpheus, 259, 276, 280, 285, 288.
 John (2), 165, 203, 267, 275, 280, 285, 288.
 Chelsea, Mass., 192.
 Chary, ———, innkeeper, Windham, Conn., 216, 219, 220.
 Cheney, Abiel (1749-1805), 113, 115, 119, 120, 127.
 Cheseborough, Benjamin, 165, 203, 207.
 Peter, 165.
 Zebulon, Corp., 165.
 Chester, Leonard (1750-1803), Major, 113, 114.
 Chicago Historical Society, owner of Hale poem, 90, 434.
 Chilsey, ———, a soldier, wounded, 321.
 Chittenden, Abel, 116-121, 152.

- Christophers, Betsey, 46.
 Christopher, Sheriff, 48, 180.
 Chunks, George, 165, 207.
 Church, Dr., 42, 45, 51.
 Fairbanks, 165, 206.
 Joseph, 266, 274, 280, 285, 288; testimony in pension files, 367-368.
 Silas, 29.
 Church & Hallam, letter to Hale, 76.
 Clark, Benjamin, Capt., 463.
 Edward, 165.
 William, 242, 244, 267, 274, 280, 285, 288.
 Clarke, Ebenezer, innkeeper, Medfield, Mass., 198, 221, 222.
 Jabez, 370.
 James Freeman, 307.
 Clary, Polly, 11.
 Clement, Peabody (1746-1820), classmate of Hale; 96-103.
 Cleveland, Chaplain, of Cape Ann, 449.
 William, Ens., 60.
 Clift, Waterman, Capt., 37.
 Clinton, James, Brig.-Gen., 241, 327.
 Coats, Caleb, 165, 209, 217.
 Cobb, Abigail, 334, 460, 583.
 Moses (1751-1781), 115-118, 120-122, 124, 127, 130, 132, 134, 151, 392, 397.
 Simeon, 165.
 Cobble Hill, 183, 192, 195.
 Cogswell, at New Haven, 294.
 Coit, B[etsey], 64.
 John, 63.
 Thomas, Dr., 29, 55, 218.
 William, Capt., 93, 178, 181, 347, 350.
 Colchester, Conn., 194, 295, 301.
 Colton, George (1736-1812), Rev., of Bolton, Conn., 296.
 Jabez (1747-1819), 138, 139, 141.
 Comstock, Benjamin, Jr., 165.
 James, 165, 215.
 Concord, Mass., 94.
 Concord, N. H., 486, 541.
Connecticut Courant, see *Hartford Courant*.
 Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn., owner of Hale letters and relics, 7, 12, 13, 14, 33, 35, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 75, 76, 83, 172, 173, 200, 279, 315, 331, 387, 560, 561.
 Connecticut State Library, owner of Hale documents, 163, 164, 166, 167.
 Cook, Thomas, 204, 210, 211, 213, 222, 223, 226, 241, 242, 271, 280, 285, 288.
 Cooley, Daniel (1752-1810), classmate of Hale; 96-107; mentioned, 11; member of Linonian Society, 122, 132, 134, 392.
 Coolidge, Calvin C., President, 554; letters regarding Hale, 590-593.
 Copley, John Singleton, painter, 532.
 Cornell, Ezra, 597.
 Cotton, Rev., 299.
 Coventry, Conn., 32, 80, 181, 295, 297, 298, 304, 311, 315, 318, 331-335, 341, 353, 369, 370, 373-375, 386, 391, 402, 415, 416, 418, 421, 424, 426, 443, 454, 458, 460, 463, 464, 469, 475, 478-483, 487, 488, 490, 493, 494, 541, 549, 553, 556, 561, 569, 575, 580, 581, 583, 584, xxv, xxvi, xxxiii; Hale "Birthplace," see Hale Homestead.
 Cowles, William, Mrs., 589.
 Crocker, John, 29.
 Cross, John Walter, 563.
 Cumberland, Richard, author of "The West Indian," 143, 396.
 Cunningham, William, Provost Marshal (British), 298, 310, 329, 406, 438, 452, 453, 507, 561, 594, xxxi, xxxii.
 Curtiss, ———, in Hale's class in 1769; 96-99.
 Cushman, Andrew, a soldier, killed, 323.
 Cutler, Manasseh (1742-1823), 428.
 Thomas (1752-1838), 113-116, 118, 120-122, 124, 125, 127, 151.
 Cutter, Maj., 181.
 Daggett, Henry (1758-1843), 136, 139, 141, 143, 152.
 Naphtali, Rev. Dr., President of Yale, 154.
 Thomas, innkeeper, Attleboro, Mass., 174, 200.
 Dana, James, Capt., 297.
 Samuel Whittelsey (1760-1830), 136, 153.
 Danbury, Conn., burning of, 323.
 Darling, Samuel (1751-1842), Dr., 114.
 Daugherty, see Deorrity.
 Davenport, Abraham, 48.
 John (1752-1830), Major, 104-107, 113-120, 124, 151, 154.
 Davies, ———, in Hale's class, 1769-1771, 96-103.
 Day, Jeremiah (1737-1806), Rev., 469.

- Dean, Christopher, 166.
 John, 166.
 Deane, Silas, 48.
 Deaty, Mr., 219; see Duty.
 Dedham, Mass., 29, 192, 551.
 Deerfield, Mass., Cooley teaches there, 11.
 Delaware, crossing of, by Washington, 321.
 Dennis, James, 61, 204, 209, 212, 213, 215, 227.
 John, 166.
 Deorrity, Deorty, Hugh, 67, 202, 207, 209; see Deaty, Duty.
 Desbrosses, Elias, 76.
 Deshon, John, 51.
 Richard, 29.
 Devotion, Lucy, 293.
 Dewey, Daniel, Capt., 463.
 Dexter, Franklin Bowditch, author of "Yale Biographies and Annals," 466, 501, 503, 505, 511.
 Dodge, Jeremiah, 166.
 Dodsley's "The Toy Shop," 395-397.
 Doolittle, Ephraim, Col., 182, 189, 194.
 Joel, 371.
 Dorchester, Mass., mentioned, 175, 177, 316, 320; attacked by British, 199.
 Douglass, Nathan, Capt., of New London, Conn., 56, 63.
 Dows, Humphrey, 293.
 Duck Island (Wethersfield), inoculation hospital, 19.
 Dudley, Asahel (1748-1830), 115.
 Thomas and Joseph, Govs., 526.
 Dunmore, John Murray (1732-1809), Earl of, Gov. of Va., 51, 195.
 Dupee, Charles, innkeeper, Wrentham, Mass., 174, 200.
 Duty, Mr., 293; see Deaty.
 Dwight, ———, 572, 573.
 Samuel (1744-bef. 1826), classmate of Hale, 96-107.
 Timothy (1752-1817); portrait, 496; account of, 496-497; letter to Hale, 70; Linonia member, 110, 114, 115, 119, 123, 124, 151; tribute to Hale in "Conquest of Canaan," 366, 339; mentioned, 294, 295, 357, 393-396, 398-401, 458, 491, 511, 550, 597, xxvi, xxvii.
 Dyer, Eliphalet, 48.
 Earl, Ralph, portraits by, reproduced, 459, 498, 499.
 East Haddam, Conn.; Hale teaches school. 1773-4, 156, 157, xxviii; his schoolhouse, 430, 431, picture and account, 514-515, dedicated in 1900, 597; Hale receives letters there, 7, 12-14; his poem laid at Haddam Landing, 90, 157, 434, 568, 575; mentioned, 8, 10; see Moodus.
 East Windsor, Conn., 298.
 Edson, Adam (c. 1750-1833), 136, 153.
 Edwards, Jonathan, Jr. (1745-1801), Rev., 294.
 Elderkin, Bela (1751-1829), 111.
 Diarca, 249, 280.
 Jedidiah, Major, 49.
 John, Lieut., Quartermaster, 209, 222, 249, 270, 279, 284, 368.
 Ellis, ———, innkeeper, 198, 222.
 Ely, Elisha, Army Surgeon, 80, 297.
 John, Capt., 37.
 Samuel (1753-1774), 118, 134.
 Emmet, Robert (d. 1803), 386.
 Thomas Addis (1828-1919), Dr., 386.
 Emmons, Nathaniel (1745-1840), Rev., 112.
 Entick, John, Rev., author of "The General History of the Late War," 402, 403.
Essex Journal, excerpt about Hale, 303, 345, 409, 410, 453.
 Evarts, William Maxwell, 110, 598.
 Fairchild, John (1751-1777), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154.
 Fairfield, Conn., 296.
 Fargo, Thomas, 255, 269, 274, 280, 285, 288.
 Timothy, 254, 268, 280, 285, 288.
 Farquhar's "Beaux Stratagem," 392, 393, 395, 396, 411, 505.
 Fellows, John, Col., of Sheffield, Mass., 175.
 Fenn, Nathan (c. 1750-1799), Rev., 136-143, 153, 395, 396.
 Finch, Francis Miles (1827-1907), 110, 595, 597; his Hale poem, 598-599.
 Fitch, Jabez, Jr., Lieut., 162.
 John, 229, 230.
 Jonathan, Steward of Yale College, 96-99, 103.
 Jonathan (1744-1773), 111.
 ———, at New Haven, 294.
 Flatbush, L. I., 199.
 Flint, Flynt, Mr., 218.
 Royal (1754-1797), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154, 176.
 Floyd, William, Gen., 509.
 Flushing, L. I., 440-442, 444, 445, 450, 544.
 Forbes, ———, innkeeper, 198.

- Force, author of "American Archives," 444.
- Fort Griswold, Conn., 520.
- Fort Washington, N. Y., 463.
- Fosdick, Thomas Updike, Sergt., 58, 67, 84, 223, 228, 231, 232, 238-240, 243, 245, 279, 284, 285, 287, 337, 388; letter to Hale, 55.
- Foster, Benjamin (1750-1798), Rev., 138-142, 153.
- Fowler, Bildad (— -1809), classmate of Hale; 96-107; member of Linonian Society, 122, 151.
- Samuel (1747-1823), 110.
- Fox, Louisa, 217.
- Franklin, Conn., 335, 351, 353.
- Fraser, ———, handled army supplies, 193.
- Fuller, Simeon, 171.
- G——, Betsey, 77.
- Gage, British General, 36, 93.
- Gardiner, David, 217.
- Garret, Amasa, Sergt., killed, 321.
- Garrett, John W., 446.
- Gibbs, Lemuel, 171.
- Gibson, Roger, 29.
- Gilbert, Elizabeth Hale (Rose) (1804-1886), portrait, 478; mentioned, 337, 483.
- Jasper (1785-1856), Dr., portrait, 482; letters concerning Hale, 333-344, 479, 482-483; mentioned, 34, 173, 200, 315, 388, 389, 392, 406, 478, 486, 561, 570, 575, xxxiii.
- Sylvester, 374.
- Gillet, Alexander (1749-1826), Rev., 116, 118, 119.
- Ginnings, Daniel, 221, 241, 268, 272, 280, 286, 288; testimony from pension files, 369-370.
- Stephen, 221, 230, 243, 272, 280, 285, 288.
- Glastonbury, Conn., 467.
- Goddard, Calvin, 367, 368.
- Goodrich, Chauncey (1759-1815), 295.
- Goodyear, A. C., owner of a Hale letter, 32.
- Gould, William (1752-1819), Dr., 114-116, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 127, 151.
- Gove, Mabel, 219.
- Nathaniel, Lieut., 162.
- Graham, John Augustus (1749-1796), 111.
- Granby, Conn. (Salmonbrook), 295, 296, 298.
- Granville, Mass., 296, 297.
- Gratz, Simon, owner of Hale letter, 39, 40.
- Graves, Henry Solon, xxi.
- Graves, Henry Solon, Prof., 412, 487.
- Green, Samuel, Col., picture of Hale as a school-teacher, 158; 157.
- Timothy, letters to Hale, 7, 12, 13; mentioned, 29, 32, 156, 337, 350, 388.
- Greene, Nathaniel, Brig.-Gen., 191.
- Greenfield, Enos, 166, 229, 232, 238, 250, 261, 276, 280, 282, 284, 286, 288.
- Greenly, A. H., owner of a Hale letter, 25.
- Greenough, William (1756-1831), Rev., 127, 129-131, 133, 134, 136, 139-141, 143, 152, 392.
- Greenwich, Conn., 296, 297.
- Gridley, Isaac (1754-1836), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 109; in Linonian Society, 121; account of, 501.
- Griffith, Harold Manley, 564.
- Griswold, Daniel, 111, 112.
- Hannah, 391.
- Matthew, Gov., 176, 320, 391.
- Matthew, 48.
- Grosvenor, Ebenezer, innkeeper, Pomfret, 198, 220, 221.
- Groton, Conn., 485, 541; fortified for defense, 49, 51, 57, 60; battle, 520.
- Groton School (Groton, Mass.), owner of a Hale letter, 26.
- Guillan, Henry Butler, 416.
- Gurley, John (1749-1812), classmate of Hale; 96-107; in Linonian Society, 121, 122, 124, 126.
- Mr., 179.
- H——, P——, letter to Hale, 76; probably "Polly," 59, 60, 72, 83; part of Hale's reply, 81; 568.
- Haddam Landing, Conn., see East Haddam.
- Hait, see Hoyt.
- Hakes, George, 166.
- Hale, Arthur, 159.
- Billy (1759-1785), brother of Nathan; to learn blacksmith trade, 17; mentioned, 279, 287, 293, 318, 335, 561, 573; Revolutionary service, 463.
- David (1761-1822), Rev., brother of Nathan; account of, 469; mentioned, 287, 318, 335, 403, 487; affidavit mentioning Nathan's service, 374-375.
- David, Jr. (b. 1791), 335, 461, 487.

"Hale Donation," 464-465.

Hale, Edward Everett (1822-1909), picture, 484; account of, 484-485; owner of Hale letters, 17, 84, 493; mentioned, 81, 159, 296, 466, 517, 541, 557, xxvi.

Elizabeth (1752-1813) (Mrs. Rose), sister of Nathan, see Rose.

Ellen Day, 81.

Enoch (1753-1837), Rev., brother and classmate of Nathan; account of, 466; at Yale, 96-107; in Linonian Society, 121, 124-126, 129, 131, 132, 134, 141, 151, 153, 387, 392, 395; letters from Nathan, 24, 77, 79, 83, 89, written by Nathan, 175, 179; letters to Nathan, 17, 89, 293-295, received by Nathan, 176, 180; diary entries pertaining to Nathan, 293-299, 301; diary entries pertaining to Hale Homestead, 424, 467-468; his account of Nathan, 337-338; letter to nephew Joseph Rose, 331-333; courted Alice (Adams) Ripley, and letters to her, 572, 577-584; mentioned, 11, 19, 95, 109, 159, 175, 279, 310, 312, 318, 334, 390, 392, 402, 403, 409-411, 433, 436, 437, 442, 449, 454, 458, 460, 485, 493, 495, 507, 541, 557, 560, 575, 576, xxvi, xxxi.

Hale Homestead, Barber's picture, 461; picture to-day, 564; pictures of interior, 565-566; picture in 1920, 567; "Holy Grove," 487; Enoch Hale's Diary entries, 467-468; mentioned, 424, 430, 457, 460, 461, 556, xxi.

Hale, Joanna (1764-1838) (Mrs. Howard, sister of Nathan, portrait, 470; account of, 470-471; mentioned, 293, 294 ("Anna"), 318, 333, 335, 338, 472, 473, 483, 488, 489, 490, 556, 560, 565, 575.

John (1722-c. 1787), uncle of Nathan, 304.

John (1748-1802), Major, brother of Nathan; portrait, 464; account of, 464-465; letter to Nathan, 32; Nathan writes letters to, 179, 294; mentioned in Nathan's Accounts, 215, 220; mentioned, 294, 318, 351, 403, 404, 463, 467, 489, 566.

"John Strong," 439, 440, 445.

Jonathan (1761-1761), 335.

Joseph (1750-1784), Ens., brother of Nathan; Revolutionary service, 463; mentioned, 171, 175, 176, 207,

219, 220, 224, 234, 293, 295, 296, 318, 335, 351, 353, 420, 449, 467, 475, xxxiii.

Laura, 318.

Nathan (1755-1776)

Army career, xxix, xxx; commissioned Lieutenant, 162-164; Captain, 164-166; mentioned in Col. Webb's Orderly Book, 167-170; other documents, 171-172; his Army Diary, 173-199; Army Accounts, 200-235; Receipts for Equipment, 236-278; Muster Rolls in his handwriting, 279-289; references in Pension Papers of men of his company, 367-375.

Army Trunk, 489, 560; pictured, 556, 566.

Ballad of his capture and death, 355-356.

Birthplace, see Hale Homestead.

Books, Linonia Library, in his handwriting, 151-153; his interest in, 377, 380, 382, 398-406, 497.

Camp Basket, 560.

Capture, on Long Island, 292, 435-445, 462, 536, 537.

Cenotaph in Coventry, picture, 548-549.

Clothing and effects returned to family, 299, 560-561.

College Diploma, 292, 298, 312, 313, 506, 507; M.A. Diploma, 294.

College Quarter Bills, 95-107; career at Yale, xxvi.

Commencement Day of his Class, and his debate on the Education of Daughters, 154-155, xxvii.

Commission as Captain, 432-434.

Description of, by Bostwick, 324-325, 412-414; by Gilbert, 334-335; personal appearance, 422-423, 477; ideal head, Pratt's statue, pictured, 552, 562; statue in capitol, Hartford, 553; head on federal stamp, 554-555.

Eulogies, 553; see Tributes below.

Execution and events preceding it: British Headquarters Order, 290-291, reproduced, 538, 539; Mackenzie's Diary Entry, 292; Enoch Hale's Diary Entries, 295-299, 301; Excerpt from *London Courant*, 300; item from *Kentish Gazette*, 302; account in *Essex Journal*, 303; betrayal by cousin, see references under Samuel Hale;

Hale, Nathan (continued)

left hanging, 301-302; William Hull's account, 307-310; Sergeant Hempstead's account, 311-314; Asher Wright's Testimony, 315-318; Elisha Bostwick's Narrative, 319-325; Hannah Adams' account, 328-330; Bamford's Diary Entry, 446; present author's account, 450-454; news brought to American Camp, 530-531; Lafayette's account, 536-537.

Family background, 457, 458.

Furlough, 426-428.

Hillhouse letter, discussed, 385-411.

Last Words, derived from Addison's "Cato," 376-382, 406-410.

Letters to and from, 1-88, 393-394, 601; his letter of June 3, 1776, reproduced, 557-559; letters written before execution, 298, 317, 329; a poor correspondent, 390, xxiii; list of letters mentioned in his Diary, 89.

Life and Career, account by present author, xxv-xxxiii.

Linonian Society Minutes, 108-144; Oration, 147-150; Hale active in Society, 121, 122, 124-130, 132-138, 140-142, 144, 145, 151-153, 394-397, xxvi, xxvii.

Memorial at Coventry, 331, 340, 343, 353, 421.

Miniature, alleged, 571-572.

Penmanship, 385; illustrated, 517, 558-559.

Portrait of Hale, see shadow portrait.

Romances, 568-570; alleged romance with Alice (Adams) Ripley disputed, 571-576, 583-588, 457.

Schoolhouse, East Haddam, 514; New London, 516.

School-teaching, 156-161, 385, 514-516.

Shadow portrait of, 415-429, 474, 475; illustrated, 476 and frontispiece.

Speech in Town Meeting, New London, 347, 408.

Speech-making, 407-410.

Sword, 560-561.

Tribute in *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), 1781, 326-327; Munson's poetic tribute, 357-363; tributes by Munson Jr., 364-365; Dwight's poetic tribute, 366.

Tributes from American Presi-

dents, 589-593; "The Martyrdom of Nathan Hale" by George Dudley Seymour, 594-595; Finch's poetic tribute, 598-599.

Verses by, 90-94; poem "To Alicia" not his, 587-588.

Visits uncle Samuel Hale, 156.

Watch, 34, 200, 216, 220, 343, 406, 521, 561.

Nathan (1742-1813), of Longmeadow, Mass., 405.

Nathan (1784-1863), Hon., son of Enoch, 466.

Rebeckah (1781-1860), daughter of Joseph and niece of Nathan, see Rebeckah (Hale) Abbot.

Richard (1717-1802), Deacon, father of Nathan; his letter to his brother concerning Nathan, 448-449; 345; letters to Nathan and Enoch, 493-494; mentioned, 318, 333-334, 392, 420, 424, 427, 428, 458-461, 463, 473, 489, 549, 553, 564, 583, xxv.

Richard (1757-1793), brother of Nathan; Revolutionary service, 463; mentioned, 32, 287, 296, 318, 335, 549.

Richard, son of Rev. Enoch, 338.

Samuel (1718-1807), Major, uncle of Nathan; letter from Nathan to, 25; visited by Nathan, 156, 514, xxviii; Enoch Hale writes to, 295; letter from Dea. Richard Hale, 448-449; mentioned, 304, 344, 345, 516.

Samuel (1747-1824), brother of Nathan; Revolutionary service, 463; mentioned, 318, 334.

Samuel (1746-1787), the Tory, cousin of Nathan, 156, 296, 303, 313, 317, 335, 342-345, 443, 448, 449, 520, 541, 545, xxviii, xxxii; his letter to his wife, 304-306.

Susannah (1776-1776), 336.

William, Hon., cousin of Nathan, 304, 448; his letter to Bradley, 344-345.

Halifax, British ship, connected with Hale's capture, 438-440, 442-445, 447.

Hall, Aaron (1751-1814), Rev., 115, 117, 119, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131, 132, 151.

John (-bef. 1778), 113, 114.

Stephen, 221, 258, 280, 282, 286, 288.

Street, Lt.-Col., 163, 167, 176, 180, 181, 190, 320.

- Hallam, Amos, 85.
 Betsey, 45, 66, 85, 86; letters to Hale, 48, 85, 89, 177, xxxii; letters from Hale, 89, 177, 179.
 Edward [Ned], 61, 85, 337, 388; Hale receives letter from, 89, 178.
 John, letters to Hale, 44, 48, 53, 56, 89; received by Hale, 176, 177, 189; letter from Hale, 89; written by Hale, 177, 189; mentioned, 47, 66, 85, 179, 337, 350, 388, 390.
 Lydia, 85, 569.
 Mr., 66.
 Halsey, Richard T. Haines, 300, 545, xix, xxiii.
 Hamilton, Alexander (1757-1804), Capt., portrait, 530; 309, 530-531.
 Robert, Col. Sir, 446.
 Hamlin, Jabez, 48.
 Jabez (1752-1776), Lieut., 113, 114.
 Hammon, ———, innkeeper, Newton, Mass., 196, 214.
 Hammond, Isaac, 166, 191, 205, 206, 244, 252, 280, 282, 286, 288.
 Zephaniah, 221, 223, (224?).
 Hammond-Smith, H. A., 416, 418-420, 476.
 Hampton, Conn., 370, 471.
 Hancock, Elisha, 166.
 John, 42, 320, 413, 434, 547.
 Hand, John, 238, 251, 262, 273, 280, 282, 286, 288.
 Josiah, 238, 260, 277, 280, 283, 286, 288.
 Harding, Chester, painter, 550.
 Warren Gamaliel, President, 554, 589-590.
 Hardy, Thomas, poem "The White-washed Wall," 429.
 Harkness, Edward S., 94.
 Edward S., Mrs., 236.
 Harland, Mr., of Norwich, Conn., 220, 406.
 Harlem (Haerlem), N. Y., 300, 312, 316, 336, 436, 441-443, 520, 527.
 Harlow, Thompson R., xix.
 Harmar, Gen., 500.
 Harris, Rebeckah, 463, 475.
 Hart, ———, a Loyalist of Boston, 305.
 Hartford, Conn., 298, 320, 340, 467, 488, 499, 553, 556, 561, 572, 573.
Hartford Courant, 314, 319, 339, 449.
 Harvard College, 93, 94.
 Harwinton, Conn., 294.
 Hatch, William, 166, 191, 192, 205.
 Haughton. Houghton, Lebbeus, 262, 275, 281, 283, 286, 288.
 Havemeyer, W. F., owner of Hale letters, 30, 41, 70.
 Haverhill, Mass., 346.
 Hawkins, Mary, 294.
 Hayes, ———, innkeeper, 214.
 Joel (1753-1827), Rev., classmate of Hale; 96-107; in Linonian Society, 121, 124-126, 131, 134, 140, 143, 151, 392.
 Heath, William, Brig.-Gen., 78, 79.
 Hedges, Timothy, 257, 276, 280, 283, 286, 288.
 Hempstead, Joshua, 212.
 Robert, 519.
 Sarah, 519.
 Stephen, Sr., 519.
 Stephen (1754-1831), Sergt., account of Hale's capture and execution, 311-314; portrait, 518; account of, 519-521; Hempstead House at New London, 430, 519; mentioned, 41, 52, 67, 196, 211, 217, 225, 227, 228, 239, 243, 246, 252, 255, 279, 285, 287, 338-340, 343, 433, 436, 441, 442, 506, 529, 550, 560, xxx.
 Hempstead, L. I., 439, 440, 444, 445, 544.
 Henderson, Mr., 433.
 Henkels, Stan V., 433, 601.
 Henry, ———, innkeeper, Norwich, Conn., 217.
 Hewitt, Reuben, Sergt., 165, 201.
 Hicox, Thomas, 166.
 Hide, Jonathan, innkeeper, Walpole, Mass., 174, 200.
 Hill, Ebenezer, Capt., 163.
 Isaac, Hon., 486.
 ———, innkeeper, 197, 198, 221.
 Hillhouse, David, 166.
 James (1687-1740), Rev., 391.
 James (1754-1832), classmate of Hale; his portrait, 412, 504; account of, 505; his diploma, with illustration, 506-507; in Yale, 96-107; in Linonian Society, 121, 129, 134, 151, 153; letter to Hale, 21; essay on letter, 385-411; personal appearance, 393; dines with Enoch Hale, 294; mentioned, 60, 110, 295, 337, 398-401, 411, 597.
 James Abraham (1730-1775), 391.
 William (1728-1816), 391.
 Hilliard, Henry, Corp., 165, 216.
 Joseph, Ens., Lieut., 162, 164, 201, 203, 206, 207.
 Hillyer, Andrew (1743-1828), Col., 112, 113, 115, 116, 118.

- Hinsdale, Theodore (1738-1818), Rev., of North Windsor, Conn., 296.
- Hix, Samuel, 166.
- Hoadley, George E., Conn. State Librarian, 236, 572, 576, 587.
- Hodges, Arthur S., xx.
- Hoes, Roswell Randall (1850-1921), 412, 413.
- Holbrook, I., projected a Hale biography, 341-344.
- Holcomb, Reuben (1752-1826), Rev., 127, 129, 130, 139, 141, 143, 153.
- Holly, Silas, 256, 276, 283, 288.
- Holmes, John, 166, 191, 205, 206, 226, 229, 230, 231, 244, 249, 259, 276, 281, 283, 286, 288.
- Holt, John, 58.
Peter, 166, 202.
- Hooper, Reynold, 227, 283.
- Hopkins, John Burroughs (1742-1796), Commodore, 51.
———, 572, 573.
- Hopping, Henry, 236, 248, 262, 273, 281, 283, 286, 288.
- Hosmer, Titus, 48.
- Hotchkiss, Caleb (1743-1784), 111.
- Houghton, see Haughton.
- Howard, Chauncey, grandson of Joanna Hale; 173, 331, 489, 556, 560.
Joanna (Hale) (1764-1838), sister of Nathan, 334; see Joanna Hale.
John, Capt., 472.
Nathan (1761-1838), Dr., account of, 472-473; portrait, 472; mentioned, 318, 335, 338, 340-344, 375, 470, 471, 488, 489, 565.
Lt.-Col. (British), 291.
- Howe, Frank L., 448.
William, Gen. (British) Sir, 192, 300, 303, 304, 310, 319, 329, 360, 435, 443, 444, 446, 451, 530-532, 545, xxviii, xxxi, xxxii.
Mr., died at Hartford, 180.
- Hoyt, Hait, Joseph, Capt., 167, 181, 191.
- Hubbard, Elizabeth, 352.
[Elizur, Lieut.?], 171.
Gov., 363.
Lucretia, 77; probably "Cretia," 72.
Lucy, 581.
Mary [Polly], see Mrs. David Nevins; perhaps "Polly," 72.
Richard (1818-1884), Gov., 553.
Russell (1732-1785), Capt., 29, 218, 524.
Tom (b. 1758), 525.
- Hubbell, William Gaylord, Capt., 189, 191.
- Hull, Mr., 35.
William (1753-1825), Capt.; his account of Hale's final service and death, 307-310; portrait, 534; mentioned, 49, 52, 55, 59, 64-66, 71, 163, 167, 179-181, 190, 195, 206, 209, 225, 234, 327, 330, 338, 376, 379, 382, 410, 438, 442, 443, 452, 531, 534, 535, 550, 551, xxx, xxxi.
- Humiston, Edward J., Dr., 438.
- Hunn, Zadock (1743-1801), 111.
- Huntington, Ebenezer (1754-1834), 71, 136, 138, 139, 153; Lieut., rose to Lieut.-Col. in the Revolution, afterwards Brig.-Gen.
Enoch, Rev., 491, xxvii.
Jabez, 48.
Jedidiah, Col., Brig.-Gen., 192, 503, 541.
Joseph (1735-1794), minister of Coventry, Conn., 7, 80, 156, 197, 293, 296, 467, 549; parsonage, 430; picture of parsonage, 491; prepared Nathan Hale for college, 334, 379, 426, 430, 458, 466, 493, xxvi, xxvii; account of, and epitaph, 491-492.
Mr., blacksmith, of Lebanon, 17, 215.
Samuel, 48, 293, 491.
- Huntington, L. I., 312, 406, 437-441, 443-445, 506, 520, 527, 560.
- Huntington Library (San Marino, Calif.), owner of Hale letters, 19, 36.
- Hurlbut, George, Sergt., Ensign, letters to Hale, 58, 61, 65, 66; mentioned, 54, 56, 57, 65, 164, 182, 191, 193, 201, 202, 205, 223, 225-228, 231, 232, 235, 240, 258, 267, 279, 284, 287, 350, 372, 390.
- Hutchinson, Israel, Col., of Danvers, Mass., 189.
- Hyde, Lt.-Col. (British), 291.
- Hyde & Co., 208, 213.
- Ipswich, Mass., 428.
- Isham, Norman Morrison, architect, 468.
- Jackson, ———, innkeeper, 196.
- Jacobs, ———, innkeeper, 197, 198, 214, 221.
- Jacobus, Donald Lines, 588, xx, xxii.
- Jamaica Plains, Mass., 198.
- Jennings, see Ginnings.
- Jennys, J. William, painter, 510.
Richard, painter, 546.
- Jewet, Joseph, Capt., 162.

- Johnson, Allen, Prof., xxiv.
 Elisha, 166.
 Guy, Col., 41, 44.
 Joshua (1753-1820), Rev., 136, 138-140, 143, 152.
 Mathias, 44.
 Obadiah, Col., 463.
 Robert, 166, 204, 217, 252, 256, 273, 281, 283, 286, 288.
 William S., 48.
- Johnston, Henry Phelps, author of "Nathan Hale 1776," 173, 304, 405, 415, 434, 438, 443, 447, 452, 520, 570, 576, 587; author of "Yale in the Revolution," 503.
- Jones, Elias, 111, 112.
 ———, innkeeper, 197.
- Judson, Adoniram (1750-1826), Rev., 136-138, 142, 152.
 Ephraim (1737-1813), Rev., of Norwich, 293, 299.
 Mr., 342.
- Keith, ———, innkeeper, 197.
- Kelby, William, 539.
- Kelley, Adj., killed, 322, 323.
- Kendal, ———, innkeeper, 197, 214.
- Kentish Gazette*, excerpt about Hale, 302, 454.
- Keogh, Andrew, Dr., Yale Librarian, 236, xix.
- Keyes, ———, innkeeper, 197, 214.
 Stephen (1753-1804), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154; mentioned, 18, 20, 53; in Linonian Society, 121, 128, 129, 141 ("Keith"), 143, 151.
- Killingly, Conn., 467.
- Kimball, Timothy (1754-1786), 127, 129-134, 137, 139, 152, 392.
- Kimberly, Thomas (1747-1777), 110.
- King, Milo S., xx.
- Kingsbury, Asa, Lieut., 162.
 Ebenezer (1717-1800), Deacon, 180, 197, 569.
 Martha Edgerton, 569.
 Thomas, Corp., 221, 237, 248, 260, 275, 280, 285, 287.
- Kittridge, George Lyman, 355.
- Knight, Isaac (1745-1818), 111, 112.
- Knollenberg, Bernhard, Yale Librarian, 108, 236, xx.
- Knowlton, Thomas, Lt.-Col., account of, 527; mentioned, 167, 169, 298, 307, 308, 317, 318, 323, 328, 334-336, 338, 339, 341, 420, 435, 436, 444, 463, 529, xxix-xxxi.
- La Farge, John, artist, 418.
- Lafayette, Marquis de (1757-1834), 292, 443, 450, 453, 540; portrait, 536; account of Hale's execution, 536-537.
- Lamb, Lucy (Bulkeley), 65.
- Lane, Mr., 220.
- Larabee, Enoch, 32.
- Latimer, Jonathan, Jr. (1724-), Major, 45, 164, 171, 174, 190, 192, 194, 196, 200, 201, 208-211, 215-217, 338.
 Lydia (Bulkeley), Robert's "Mammy," 65, 67.
 Robert (1760-), Fifer, 165, 190, 191, 202, 207, 208.
 Robert, Jr. (1762-1796), 67; Fifer, 165; letters to Hale, 64, 73.
 Robert Cathcart, xx.
- Law, Richard (1733-1806), 13, 29, 48, 408; Clerk of Conn. House of Assembly, 162.
 Richard (1763-), Capt., 347, 350, 408.
- Lawrence, Alice (Adams) (Ripley), see Alice Adams.
 Alicia, 584.
 Roderick, 584.
 Sarah, 584.
 William, 236, 571, 573, 574, 582-585.
- Learned, Robert C., Rev., 279.
 Rev., 180.
- Leavenworth, Eli, Capt., 52, 53, 167, 171, 175, 181, 196, 205, 213, 214, 224.
 ———, classmate of Hale in 1769-1771; 96-101.
- Lebanon, Conn., 17, 293.
- Ledyard, Ebenezer, 51.
 William, Col., 520.
- Lee, Andrew (1745-1832), Rev., 111.
 Charles, Gen., 179, 190, 192, 193, 321.
- Leechmore's Point, 195, 196.
- Leffingwell, Elisha, Ens., 162.
- Leonard, Samuel (1750-1807), classmate of Hale; 96-107; member of Linonian Society, 122, 124, 131, 133, 137, 152.
- Leslie, Capt. (British), killed, 322.
- Lewis, John (1746-1792), Rev., 113-120, 135, 151, 154.
- Lines, ———, 238.
- Linonian Society, Yale College; minutes, 108-144; library, 121, 128, 129, 497, 505; list of books in Hale's handwriting, 151; Hale's interest in library, 377, 380, 382, 398-401; produces plays, 394-397; centennial, 1853, 597; mentioned, 387, 392, xxvi, xxvii.

- Lisbon, Conn., 335, 353, 469.
 Litchfield, Conn., 509.
 Little, William (1749-1831), letter to Hale, 8; mentioned, 156.
 Lockwood, James (1746-1795), 111, 113, 121, 128, 151, 398 (wrongly identified as William Lockwood).
 William (1753-1828), of Wethersfield, 4; see also James Lockwood.
London Courant and Westminster Chronicle, excerpt about Hale, 300; 443, 545.
 Long Island, 316, 328; Hale on, 296, 297, 312, 316, 317, 329, 336, 338, 372, 536.
Long Island Star, 311.
 Lossing, Benson J., author of "The Two Spies," 365, 513.
 Lounsbury, Thomas Raynesford, 355, xxi.
 Lovatt, Joseph, 166.
 Luquiens, Huc Mazelet, 416, 417.
 Lyman, Daniel (1753-1809), 113-116, 120.
 Gershom Clark (1753-1813), Rev., classmate of Hale; 100-107; mentioned, 11; in Linonian Society, 121, 124, 125, 127, 132, 134-137, 139, 141, 143, 152, 392; visited by Hale, 197; goes to Camp, 296; Enoch Hale at his wedding, 577, 581.
 Dr., 467.
 Lyme, Conn., Enoch Hale writes from, 17, 402; receives letter there from Nathan, 25; mentioned, 19, 293, 320, 384, 402.
 Lyon, Asa Hall (1744-1785), 110, 112.
 McDougall, Alexander, Col., 199.
 McDowell, Mackduel, McDonel, David, 61, 166, 207.
 "M'Fingal," see Trumbull.
 Machias, Maine, 569.
 Mackenzie, Frederick (-1824), Lieut. (British), diary entry telling of Hale's execution, 292; portrait, 540; mentioned, 437, 438, 441, 442, 450, 454, 537, 539, 545, xxx.
 Mamaroneck, L. I., 445.
 Manchester, Conn., 352.
 Manley, John, Capt. of a privateer, 195.
 Mansfield, Conn., 318.
 Manwaring, David, 217.
 Martin, John, 244, 264, 274, 281, 283, 284, 286, 288.
 Josiah (1737-1786), Gov. of N. C., 51.
 Lawrence, 166, 207.
 Luther, 224, 265, 277, 281, 283, 286, 288; testimony in pension files, 370-371.
 Marvin, Elihu (1752-1798), classmate of Hale; 96-99, 101-107, 154; letters to Hale, 5, 5, 14, 17, 24, 59, 71, 74, 82; diploma, 507; mentioned, 77, 293, 389, 390, 404, 525, 568, 569, 575.
 ———, of Wilton, 323.
 Mathew, Edward, Brig.-Gen., 290.
 Matthews, Albert, 355.
 [John?], Hon., Member of Continental Congress, 195.
 Maynard, see Minard.
 Mead, Sylvanus, Ens., 163.
 Thomas (1755-1775), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154; letter from Hale, 15; in Linonian Society, 121, 124, 125, 129, 134, 136, 138-144, 151, 392, 394-396, 411; mentioned, 156, 172, 389, 434, 505, 514, 516.
 Titus, of Greenwich, Conn., 296, 297.
 Medcalf, Mr., 15, 16.
 Medfield, Mass., 198, 221, 222, 550.
 Meech, Elkanah, 241, 244, 246, 258, 281, 283, 286, 288.
 Mellaly, Michael, 29.
 Melony, Matthew, 228, 243, 251, 259, 276, 281, 283, 286, 288.
 Mendon, Mass., 198.
 Mercer, Hugh, Gen., of Penn., killed, 322.
 Merritt, Thomas, 281, 283, 289.
 Merrows, Mrs., 299.
 Merwin, Noah (1752-1795), Rev., classmate of Hale; 96-107; in Linonian Society, 121, 123, 124, 130, 139, 151, 153; mentioned, 295.
 Metcalf, see Medcalf.
 Methuen, Mass., 543.
 Middlebury, Vt., 370-371.
 Mifflin, Thomas, Major, Col., 44, 193, 202, 203, 293.
 Miller, Jeremiah, 29.
 Mills, Edmund (1751-1825), Rev., 136, 138, 144, 152.
 Minard, Abel, 166.
 Jabez, 166, 191, 202, 204, 206, 222, 223, 227, 230, 231, 241, 281, 283, 286, 288.
 Lemuel, Drummer, 208, 280, 285, 287.
 Samuel, 225, 227, 264, 281, 283, 284, 286, 288.
 Miner, tavern keeper, New London, 347.

- Missouri Republican*, 311, 520.
 Mitchell, John (1752-1825), 136, 152.
 S. Weir, 601.
 Stephen Mix (1743-1835), 394, 458.
 Mix, John (1755-1834), 136, 152.
 —, classmate of Hale in 1769-1771, 96-103.
 Monson, see Munson.
 Moodus or "Modos" (East Haddam), Conn., 15, 16, 425.
 Montgomery, Richard, Maj.-Gen., 43.
 Samuel (1754-1787), classmate of Hale; 96-107.
 Montresor, John (1736-1799), Capt., portrait, 532; account of, 532-533; 297, 300, 309, 338, 376, 379, 382, 410, 437, 438, 442, 443, 452, 453, 527, 530, 531, 535, 550, 595, xxxi, xxxii.
 Montville, Conn., 367, 368, 391.
 Moore, F., 355.
 Morgan, Isaac, 231, 232, 266, 275, 281, 283, 286, 289.
 Morris, Charles Newton, 569.
 James (1752-1820), 136, 139, 152.
 Morse, Jedidiah, author of "Annals of the American Revolution," 551.
 Moseley, William (1752-1806), 136, 142, 152, 153.
 Moss, Daniel, 112.
 Titus, Ens., 163.
 Moulthrop, John, 223, 225, 229, 235, 265, 281, 283, 286, 289; testimony in pension files, 372-373.
 Moylan, Stephen, Col., Quartermaster-General, 172.
 Muirson, Sylvester (— -1804), 104-107.
 Mumford, David, 29, 43, 48, 57, 59, 179; letter to Hale, 50.
 Capt., 217.
 Robinson, 29.
 Thomas, 29, 47.
 Munger, Theodore Thornton (1830-1910), Rev. Dr., 291, 553, 597.
 Munson, Æneas (1734-1826), Dr., of New Haven; letter from Hale, 26; poetic tribute to Hale, 357-363, 409; portrait, 510; account of, 510-511; picture of house, 512; mentioned, 381, 382, 516, 550, xxvii, xxviii; it appears that he spelled his name Eneas Munson, and his son spelled his name Æneas Monson.
 Æneas, Jr. (1763-1852), Dr., of New Haven; tributes to Hale, 364-365, 380; picture and account of, 513; mentioned, 511.
 Murray, Col., 529.
 Eleanor M., xx.
 Gen. (British), 45.
 Mystick, Conn., 49.
 Mystick, Mass., 176, 178, 179, 195.
 Neil, Simon, 283.
 Nelson, Levi, Rev., of Lisbon, husband of Mary Hale, the "Uncle Nelson" of Abiel Abbot, 353.
 Mary (Hale) (b. 1782), the "Aunt Nelson" of Abiel Abbot, 353, 421.
 Nero, Enos, 166.
 Nesbit, Allen, 395.
 Nevins, David (1747-1838), Ens., Lieut., Capt.; 42, 82, 83; portrait, 522; account of, 522-523.
 Mary (Hubbard) (1756-1820), portrait, 524; account of, 524-525; 522.
 Russell Hubbard, 523.
 New, Harry S., Postmaster-General, 554-555, 591.
 Newbury, Mass., 318.
 Newburyport, Mass., 345, 449.
 Newell, Simeon (1749-1813), 137.
 New Haven, Conn., 316, 372, 385, 386, 388, 391, 395, 411, 417, 418, 420, 430, 493, 505, 510-513, 540; visited by Enoch Hale, 294; Hillhouse writes from, 21; Munson receives letter at, 26; Williams writes from, 27, 28; Sill writes from, describing war preparations, 30-32; Alden writes from, 33, 52; Robinson writes from, 68.
 New London, Conn.; Hale teaches at, 157, 158, 336, 341, 385, 390, 391, xxviii; Green writes from, concerning Union School, 7, 12, 13; picture of school, 516; Hale's letter to Proprietors of School, 29; his letter of resignation, 40, 162; Hale's speech at Town Meeting, 347, 408; Hale writes from, 15, 24, 40, and receives letters there, 15, 18, 22-24, 29, 32, 33, 35, 37, 41, 66, 68, 73, 386; Hale's landlord and connections there, 19; houses there that knew Hale, 430-431; fortified for defense, 49, 51, 57, 60, 63; Saltonstall writes from, 41, 42, 45, 47, 54, 62, 75; Hallam writes from, 44, 48, 53, 56; Hale writes to Betsey Christophers at, 46; Fosdick writes from, 55; Hurlbut writes from, 58, 61; Church & Hallam write from, 76; Latimer

New London, Conn. (continued)

- writes from, 73; visited by Hale, 217, 293, 427; mentioned, 17, 21, 296, 316, 320, 341, 343, 391, 404, 425, 475, 569, 574.
- New Milford, Conn., 320, 386, 412.
- Newton, Mass., 196, 551.
- Newtown, Conn., 31.
- New York, N. Y.; Hale writes from, 77, 79; receives letters at, 83, 294; active in, 324; Hale's execution at, 295-298, 300, 310, 313, 316, 372, 374, 437, 438, 450-454; mentioned, 312, 320, 336, 338, 339, 354, 369, 371, 375, 418, 419, 435, 443, 534.
- New York Historical Society, 290, 451, 533, 539.
- New York Public Library, owner of Hale letter, 4.
- Nicholl, ———, classmate of Hale in 1769-1771; 96-103.
- Nichols, ———, classmate of Hale in 1769-1772; 96-104.
- James (1748-1829), Rev., 111.
- John (1751-1815), classmate of Hale; 96-107.
- Malcolm Parrott, 567.
- Niger*, British vessel, 439, 440.
- Niles, author of "Principles," 443.
- Robert, Capt. (Naval), 43, 44.
- Nixon, Thomas, Col., of Framingham, Mass., 189.
- Norwalk, Conn., 312, 313, 436, 440, 520.
- Norwich, Conn., Marvin writes from, 6, 14; mentioned, 13, 176, 220, 293, 294, 320, 341, 367, 404, 406, 427, 569, 575.
- Notomy, Conn., 49.
- Noyes, John (1757-1808), 17.
- William (1728-1807), "Squire," of Lyme, Conn., 17, 402.
- Olney, ———, of R. I., 174.
- Onderdonk, author of "Revolutionary Incidents," 438, 441, 444, 445, 447.
- Orcutt, Samuel, Rev., author of "History of New Milford," 547.
- Osborn, Josiah, 238, 251, 257, 273, 281, 283, 286, 289.
- Oyster Bay, L. I., 441.
- Packwood, William, Capt., 44, 56.
- Joseph, 29.
- William, 29.
- Padelford, Seth (1751-1810), Surgeon, 114-116, 120.
- Page, Joseph, Sergt., 165, 201.
- Paltsits, Victor Hugo, Dr., owner of Hale letters, 12, 17, 17, 24, 75, 85-87, xix.
- Parish, William, 221, 229, 232, 243, 258, 275, 281, 283, 286, 289.
- Parker, Francis H., 515.
- Jeremiah, innkeeper, Jamaica Plains, Mass., 174, 198, 201.
- Mrs., 219.
- Parsons, Lemuel (1753-1791), Rev., classmate of Hale; 96-107.
- Mr. and Mrs., 296.
- Samuel Holden, Col., 48, 81, 180.
- Patton, John, 166.
- Pawhig, Sias, 166.
- Peabody, Endicott, 26.
- Peale, Charles Willson, painter, 523; portraits reproduced, 522, 524.
- Pell, S. H. P., xx.
- Pennypacker, Morton, author of "General Washington's Spies," 439.
- Percy, E., Lt.-Gen. (British), 290.
- Perkins, Mary E., author of "Old Houses of the Antient Town of Norwich," 523.
- , innkeeper, Ashford, Conn., 197, 220.
- Perrit, Peter, Capt., 71, 167, 175, 177, 181.
- Perry, David (1746-1817), Rev., of Harwinton, 294.
- Joshua (1745-1812), Rev., 136, 153.
- Peters, Joseph, 166.
- Rev., of Hebron, 25.
- Phelps, Davenport, 136.
- Philadelphia, Pa., 57, 241; Mumford writes from, 50.
- Phillips, James, 229, 231, 232, 240, 242, 245, 261, 281, 283, 286, 289.
- Pierson, Hannah, Mrs., knew Hale at East Haddam, 156, 157, 515.
- Pike, Mr., 6.
- Pinchot, Gifford, xxi.
- Pitkin, William, 48.
- Platts, Frederick, 246, 247, 270, 277.
- Ploughed Hill, 189.
- Plumb, Daniel, 225, 228, 229, 240, 281, 283, 286, 289.
- William (1749-1843), Rev., 113-115.
- Plutonians. see Brothers in Unity.
- Pomfret, Conn., 198.
- Pond, Charles, Ens., Capt., 181, 312, 436. xxx.
- Poole, Elizabeth (Adams), see Elizabeth Adams.
- Thomas, 19, 45, 160, 177, 568.
- Poor, Thomas, Col., of Andover, Mass., 189.

- Porter, Arthur Kingsley (1883-1933), 553.
 Solomon (c. 1753-1821), 136, 142.
 Portsmouth, N. H., Hale's visit to uncle at, 25, 514, xxviii; mentioned, 344, 345, 448.
 Potter, Isaiah (1746-1817), Rev., 111, 112.
 Stephen, Lieut., 163.
 Pratt, Anne S., 95, xix.
 Bela Lyon (1867-1917), sculptor, 419, 420, 477; Hale statue, 82, 521, 553, 555, 563; picture of head and bust, 552; picture of statue, 562.
 Prentice, Stephen, Sergt., 165, 191.
 Prihoda, Alois Charles, xx.
 Prospect Hill, 178, 179, 182, 191.
 Providence, R. I., 21, 174, 320, 390, 391.
 Prudden, Nehemiah (1749-1815), Rev., 137, 139-141, 153.
 Putnam, Israel, Gen., 36, 94, 178-180, 193, 196, 443, 463, 530.
 William, 244, 245, 253, 263, 278, 281, 283, 286, 289.

 Quarme, Lieut., of British brig, 439.
 Quintumviri, Hale and four classmates, 15, 16, 505.

 Ramsay, Allan, author of "Travels of Cyrus," 379, 400, 401.
 Randolph, Payton, 180.
 Raymond, Joshua, Corp., Sergt., 165, 207.
 Read, Curtis Seaman, 433.
 William A., Mrs., 433.
 Reed, John (1751-1831), Rev., 117, 118.
 Joseph, Adj.-Gen., 530.
 Samuel, Deacon, innkeeper, Uxbridge, Mass., 197, 198, 214.
 Seth, Col., of Uxbridge, 189.
 Solomon (1753-1808), Rev., 136, 138, 153.
 Rehoboth, Mass., 174, 200.
 Rhall, Col. (Hessian), killed, 321.
 Richards, Anna, 19.
 Guy, of New London, 29, 199.
 John, 19, 29, 37-39, 71, 73, 160, 217, 218, 296, 568.
 Nathaniel, 66, 67.
 Richmond, George H., 433.
 Ridgefield, Conn., 31, 323.
 Ripley, Alice (Adams), see Alice Adams.
 Elijah, 33, 573, 583.
 Jabez, 294.
 Jeremiah, Judge, 556.

 Laura Maria (1840-1921), tribute to, 488-490; mentioned, 470-472, 556, 575.
 Mr., 220.
 Mrs., 293.
 Roberts, Kenneth, author of "Northwest Passage," 444, 542, 543, xx.
 Robertson, Arthur, 281, 283, 286, 289.
 Daniel, 181.
 Patrick, 61.
 Robinson, Peter, Sergt., 222, 227, 230, 232, 236, 237, 240, 242, 248, 274, 279, 285, 287.
 Samuel, Capt., 197, 467.
 Robertson [or Robinson], 1st Lieut. [perhaps Samuel, Jr.], 293.
 Deacon Hale's brother-in-law, 449; "aunt," of Nathan Hale, 197.
 Robinson, C. L. F., Mrs., 561.
 Douglas, Mrs., 589.
 Edward, 507.
 Eliphalet, 221, 254, 268, 278, 281, 283, 286, 289.
 William (1754-1825), Rev., classmate of Hale; 100-107, 154; letters to Hale, 10, 68; member of Linonian Society, 122-124, 126, 134-139, 142, 145, 152, 392, 395, 411, xxvii; lodges with Enoch Hale, 294; mentioned, 295; account of Hale's capture, 507.
 Rockwell, Eliud (-1774), 111, 112.
 Rogers, Ernest E., 88, 171.
 James, 544.
 James Grafton, Prof., article on Hale's capture, 435-445; note on Bamford, 446-447; account of Major Robert Rogers, 543-544; mentioned, 450, 539, xix, xxiii.
 Robert (1731-1796), Lieut.-Col. of Queen's Rangers, 438-442, 444, 445, 450; portrait, 542; account of, 543-544, xxiv.
 Roosevelt, Anna (Mrs. Cowles), 589.
 Corinne (Mrs. Robinson), 589.
 Theodore, President, 589.
 Root, Ephraim, 33.
 Nathaniel, 294.
 Rose, Elizabeth (Hale), sister of Nathan, 25, 81, 219, 293, 294, 299, 312, 331, 334, 337, 403, 467, 478, 483, 561.
 Elizabeth Hale (Mrs. Gilbert), niece of Nathan: portrait, 478; mentioned, 337, 483.
 Joseph, Capt., 81, 331, 333, 337, 478, 483.
 Nathan Hale (1776-1838), 338, 404.

- Rose, Samuel, Dr., 25, 197, 293, 318, 334, 337, 478, 483.
 Rosenbach, A. S. W., Dr., 466, 577.
 Rosseter, Dr., Surgeon's Mate, 176.
 Rowlee, Abijah, Capt., 171.
 Roxbury, Mass., Selden writes from, 36; Army Camp, 36, 58, 78, 79, 174, 175, 316; Hale receives letters there, 42, 71, 74, 75; mentioned, 177, 181, 189, 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 201, 320.
 Royce, Josiah, 305.
 ———, 110, 152.
 Russell, William Andrew (1755-1780), 295.
 Rye, N. Y., 442.
- Sage, Comfort (d. 1799), Lieut.-Col., 44, 176.
 Francis, Sergt., Lieut., 197, 210-212, 214, 215, 229, 235, 238, 239, 250, 263, 272, 279, 285, 287.
 Saltonstall, Dudley (1738-1796), Capt., 57, 61, 62, 241, 346.
 Gilbert (1752-1797), account of, 526; letters to Hale, 41, 42, 45, 47, 50, 54, 62, 75, 86, 87, 89; received by Hale, 176, 177, 179, 199; letter from Hale, 89; written by Hale, 177, 189; mentioned, 77, 336, 337, 346-348, 350, 388.
 Gurdon (1666-1724), Rev. Gov., 160, 346, 348, 526.
 Gurdon (1708-1785), Col., Brig.-Gen., 51, 56, 348, 526.
 Leverett, 157, 408; letters to Bradley, 346-349.
 Nathaniel, Capt., 348.
 Richard, 346.
 William Wanton (1793-1862), 19, 159, 160, 347; letter to Bradley, 349-350.
 Winthrop (1737-1811), 29.
 Saltzgaber, G. M., 319.
 Sampson, Ezra (1749-1823), Rev., classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154; mentioned, 35, 70, xxvii; member of Linonian Society, 134-136, 140, 153.
 Sands Point, L. I., 441, 444.
 Scheasucks, Reuben, 165.
 Thomas, 165.
 Schuyler, Philip (—1804), Maj.-Gen., 41, 43.
 Scott, ———, 115.
 William, Col., 322, 323.
 Scribner, Matthew (1746-1813), Rev., 136, 139, 143, 152.
- Seabury, David, 76.
 Sears, Rammenton [Remblington], Drummer, 67, 165.
 Seeley, Lieut., killed, 323.
 Selden, Ezra (1752-1784), classmate of Hale; 96-107; letter to Hale, 36.
 Seward, Anna, author of "Monody on André," 327, 362, 551.
 William (1747-1822), Rev., 113, 114.
 Sewell's Point, 189.
 Seymour, George Dudley, owner of Hale letters, 7, 10, 24, 49, 74, 77, 81, 557; letters to, from Presidents Taft, Harding and Coolidge, concerning Hale, 589-592; "The Martyrdom of Nathan Hale," from "The Book of the Yale Pageant," 594-595; picture of, in boyhood, 596.
 Henry A., Jr., 412.
 Thomas Youngs, Maj., 566.
 Sharp, Sharper, Pharaoh, 241, 242, 245, 273, 281, 283, 286, 289.
 Shaw, Amos, 166.
 Nathaniel, Jr. (1736-1782), 29, 51, 57, 75, 76, 88, 171; Shaw Mansion in New London, 431.
 Sheldon, Alicia, 571, 572, 576, 587, 588.
 Alicia (Lawrence), 584.
 Charles, 584.
 Elisha, 48.
 Shelton, Philo (1754-1825), Rev., 4, 137, 140, 141, 153.
 Sherman, Daniel, 48.
 Isaac, see William.
 Roger, 48, 493.
 William (1751-1829), 120, 128, 151, 153, 399 (wrongly identified as Isaac Sherman).
 Shipman, Edward, Capt., 162, 167, 171, 175, 181.
 Sill, Richard (1755-1790), letter to Hale, 30, 383-384, 408; member of Linonian Society, 138, 153.
 Slack, Eliphalet, innkeeper, Rehoboth, Mass., 174, 200.
 Small-pox, inoculation, 19, 29.
 Smith, Ezra, 237, 250, 259, 276, 283, 289.
 George D., 433.
 Lloyd Waddell, 22.
 Nathaniel, a soldier, killed, 321.
 Rev., of Roxbury, 175.
 Southington, Conn., 296.
 Southworth, ———, innkeeper, 197, 214.

- Spencer, Joseph (d. 1789), Gen., 78, 79, 175, 180, 196, 198.
Joseph, 48.
- Sperry, Watson, 319.
- Spicer, Mrs., 240, 241.
- Spink, Asa, Corp., 229, 230, 239, 244, 261, 271, 279, 285, 287.
- Spooner, William, 234.
- Sprague, James, Lieut., 317, 339.
William Buell (1795-1876), Dr., 74, 433, 434, 601.
- Stamford, Conn., 296, 297, 312, 316, 338, 437.
- Stark, John (d. 1822), Col., 189.
- Starr, Jared, 47.
- Steele's "The Conscious Lovers," 394, 396, 397.
- Stephens, Jared, 166.
- Sterling, Lord, Gen., 78-80.
- Stevens, Aaron, Lieut., 162.
- Stewart, Duncan, 29.
- Stiles, Ruth, 155.
- Stokes, Anson Phelps, Rev. Dr., 91, 458.
- Stone, ———, innkeeper, 197, 214.
- Stonington, Conn., a ship aground, 42-44; defenses, 60; Belcher writes from, 40; mentioned, 320.
- Stratton, Strayton, ———, innkeeper, 196, 197, 214.
- Strickland, Emily M., 488, 490.
- Strong, Asa, 299.
Elizabeth (1728-1767), mother of Nathan Hale, 334, 460.
Elizabeth (Strong) (1704-1792), Hale's grandmother, 80, 430, xxv.
Elnathan, 295, 298.
John (1605-1699), Elder, 461.
Joseph, Capt., 460.
Joseph (1729-1803), Rev., of Salmonbrook, Granby, 295, 296, 298, 301.
Joseph, 182.
Nathan (1717-1795), Rev., of North Coventry, 295, 296, 299.
Mr., 197, 494.
Rev., 467.
- Stuart, Isaac W. (1809-1861), author of "Life of Hale," 173, 304, 311, 315, 331, 351, 354, 388, 389, 434, 438, 441, 443, 444, 475, 479, 489, 497, 515, 571-573, 575, 582, 587, 588.
- Sullivan, John, Gen., 78-80, 175, 182, 191, 193, 198, 241.
- Sunderland, Mass., Cooley teaches at, 11.
- Swift, Seth (1749-1807), Rev., 127, 132-135, 137, 139-142, 152, 395, 396.
- Taft, William Howard, President, 433, 554, 589.
- Talbot, Daniel, 166, 194, 209, 216, 217.
- Talcott, Jerusha, 499.
Joseph (1669-1741), Gov., 424, 460.
Samuel (1711-1797), Col., portrait, 459; mentioned, 499.
- Tallmadge, Benjamin (1754-1835), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154; portrait, 508; account of, 508-509; letters to Hale, 1, 3, 20, 23, 30, 37; Hale's poem to, 90; mentioned, 82, 389, 574, xxvii.
Jeremiah, 239, 247, 253, 263, 281, 283, 284, 286, 289.
William, 171.
- Taylor, [Joel?], a soldier, killed, 321.
John, Rev., second husband of Hale's sister Elizabeth, 334.
Major (1743-1805), 111.
- Terrill, John, 324.
- Thacher, James, Surgeon, 513.
- Thanksgiving, 1775, 189-191.
- Thomas, John (d. 1776), Gen., 320.
- Thompson, Benjamin F., author of "History of Long Island," 438, 443, 444.
Charles, 320.
- Thomson, Gen., 78, 80.
- Throop [Troup], Benjamin (1712-1785), Rev., of Bozrah, Conn., 334.
- Tilghman, Lt.-Col., 531.
- Todd, Paul, 324.
- Townsend, William, classmate of Hale; 96-107; member of Linonian Society, 122, 152; mentioned, 295.
- Tracy, Phineas, 7, 13, 14.
Phineas Lyman (1755-), Ens., 162, 163.
Uriah, 569.
- Trumbull, John (1750-1831), author of "M'Fingal," 294, 340.
John (1756-1843), Col., painter, 566; portraits reproduced, 496, 508, 528, 530.
Jonathan (1710-1785), Gov., 48, 450.
Joseph, Col., Commissary-Gen., 177, 196.
- Tucker, John, 224.
- Tullar, David (1748-1839), Rev., 127, 130, 133-135, 138-140, 142, 144, 145, 152, 411.

- Tupper, Benjamin, Lieut.-Col., 169, 170.
- Turner, Samuel, 175.
- Tuttle, Nathaniel, Capt., 167, 171, 178, 181, 240.
Nathaniel, a soldier, 237, 244, 250, 277, 281, 283, 286, 289.
- Tyler, Moses Coit, 355.
John, Lt.-Col., 171.
- Uncas, Mohegan chief, 460.
- Union School, see New London, Conn.
- Uxbridge, Mass., 198.
- Vanderlyn, John, portrait painter, 412; portrait by, reproduced, 504.
- Vandervort, Mr., 57, 240.
- Van Slyke, Cornelius, Lieut., 43.
- Van Vleck & Kip, 76.
- Van Wyck, Abraham, Capt., killed by lightning, 199.
- Varnum, James Mitchell (d. 1789), Col., 181, 192, 403.
- Vassell, Col. (Loyalist), 93.
- Wainwright, Mabel Wyllys, 459.
Philip S., 459.
- Waite, Henry M., Chief-Justice, 77.
Marvin, 77.
- Waldo, John (1750-1786), Surgeon, of Coventry, 296, 298, 454, 541, 580.
- Walker, William (1749-1768), 111.
- Wall, A. J., xx.
- Wallace, at Rhode Island, 42, 49.
———, 176.
- Walpole, Mass., 174, 200.
- Walworth, R. H., Chancellor, 85, 569.
- Ward, [Jonathan?], Col., 84.
James, 61, 111, 166, 208, 210, 213, 215, 226, 233, 254, 271, 281, 283, 286, 289.
- Warren, Mrs., author of "History of the Rise and Progress of the American Revolution," 314.
- Washington, George, Gen., painting, 528; description of crossing of the Delaware, 321; his connection with Hale's fatal mission, 529; mentioned, 78, 80, 177, 179, 293, 300, 307, 310, 319, 320-322, 328, 335, 338, 339, 371, 374, 376, 387, 401, 436, 446, 450, 519, 527, 530, 531, 537, 544, xxx, xxxii.
- Waterman, ———, of R. I., 174.
Asa (1743-1789), Capt., 14, 15, 404.
- Waters, Dr., 297.
- Watertown, Mass., 175, 196.
- Watrous, Josiah, 51.
- Waungumbaugh Pond, Coventry, Conn., 299.
- Webb, Charles, Col., references to Hale in his Order Book, 167-170; mentioned, 45, 49, 54, 78, 80, 163, 167, 171, 176-178, 181, 189, 190, 196, 198, 207, 210-212, 214, 224, 225 (Col. Charles, *Webb* omitted), 235, 284, 286, 297, 307, 312, 316, 319, 320, 334, 336, 338, 339, 350, 368, 370-373, 412, 426, 435, 437, 443, 547.
S., 52.
Samuel B., Lt.-Col., 531.
- Weeks, Joseph, 237, 239, 243, 249, 277, 283, 289.
- Weiners, Godfrey A. S., 433.
- Welch, Moses Cook (1754-1824), Rev., 117, 124, 133, 151.
- Welles, Benjamin (1756-1813), Surgeon, 138, 141, 143, 152, 153.
Roger (1753-1795), 136.
Thomas, 127, 132, 152.
- West, Jeremiah (1753-1806), 127, 129, 130, 133-143, 152, 392.
- Westhampton, Mass., 332, 334, 578, 581; First Church of Christ, owner of Enoch Hale Diary, 467.
- Wethersfield, Conn., 62, 81, 91, 298; Tallmadge writes from, 4, 24, 39; Williams writes from, 18, 19; see Duck Island.
- Wetmore, Edmund, president-general, S. A. R., 419.
- Wheeler, ———, 111.
Nathaniel, 171.
- White, Andrew D., 597.
- White Plains, N. Y., 297, 312, 320, 544.
- Whiting, Ebenezer, innkeeper, Roxbury, Mass., 174, 198, 201.
John (1753-1782), 127, 153.
- Whitman, Jonas (1749-1824), 116, 118.
- Whitney, Capt., Suttler, 190, 201, 206-208, 225, 235.
- Whiton, "Squire," 294.
- Whittelsey, Nathan, Ens., Lieut., 196, 235.
Newton (1754-1785), classmate of Hale; 96-107; member of Linonian Society, 139, 152; mentioned, 295.
Chauncey (1717-1787), Rev., 294.
- Wierner, Mr., owner of a Hale letter, 20.
- Willard, Joseph, Lieut., 203.
- Williams, Davidson, 242, 252, 261, 274 (David), 281, 283, 286, 289.

- Williams, Ebenezer (1755-1777), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154; letters to Hale, 12, 17, 18, 22, 27, 35; in Linonian Society, 121, 124, 125, 127, 129-131, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141-144, 131, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141-144, 151, 152, 392, 395-397, 411; Enoch Hale writes to him, 294; mentioned, 20, 29, 160, 295, 337, 388, 568, 574, 575.
- Elisha Scott (1757-1845), Rev., 136, 143.
- Ezra, 283.
- Mrs., 294.
- Nathaniel, 61.
- Samuel William (1752-1812), 116, 118-120, 122, 124, 127, 129, 133, 134, 392.
- Solomon (1752-1834), Rev., 111-116, 123, 124, 126, 151.
- William, 48.
- Willington, Conn., 339.
- Willson, William, Fifer, 223, 244, 247, 256, 271, 280, 285, 287.
- Wilton, Conn., 323.
- Wilton, N. H., 351, 354, 421, 475.
- Windham, Conn., 197, 216, 219, 316, 368-370, 427, 467.
- Windsor, Conn., Robinson writes from, 10; mentioned, 21, 390, 391.
- Winter Hill, see Cambridge, Mass.
- Winthrop, John, 29.
- John, Gov., 526.
- Lt.-Gov., 346, 348.
- Waitstill, 526.
- Woburn, Mass., 49.
- Wolcott, Erastus, 48.
- Oliver, 48.
- Simeon, Surgeon, 175, 190.
- William, of East Windsor, 296, 298.
- Wood, ———, innkeeper, 198, 221.
- Woodbridge, Christopher, Corp., 61, 68, 166, 204, 208, 212, 213, 216, 224, 227, 233, 236-238, 248, 260, 275, 280, 285, 287.
- Enoch (1750-1805), 129, 152.
- Joshua Lamb (d. bef. 1808), classmate of Hale; 96-107; mentioned, 53; member of Linonian Society, 122, 124, 134, 153; Hale calls on him, 178.
- Woodhull, Nathan (1756-1810), 134, 152, 392.
- Woodland, Samuel, 166.
- Woodruff, ———, 111, 112.
- Woolsey, President of Yale, 125.
- Susan, 125.
- Wooster, David, Gen., 190, 323.
- Worden, Henry, 281, 283.
- Wrentham, Mass., 174, 200.
- Wright, Asher, account of, 479; mentioned, 80, 81, 221, 232, 235, 264, 281, 283, 286, 289, 297, 339, 351, 427, 433, 480, 481, 486, 556, 560; his account of Hale, 315-318; affidavit mentioning Hale, 369-370; his testimony in pension files, 373-374; picture of Memorial, 480.
- Wright, Mary, 318, 335, 463.
- Nathaniel, 215.
- R. N., 315, 317, 318, 479.
- Wyllys, George (1590-1645), Gov., 499.
- George (1710-1796), Sec'y of Conn., 162, 163; portrait, 498.
- John Palsgrave (1754-1790), classmate of Hale; 96-107, 154; account of, 499-500; mentioned by Hale, 16; mentioned by Hillhouse, 22; gives Enoch Hale news of Nathan's execution, 298, 329; mentioned, 389, 390, 453, 505, 507, 537, xxxii.
- Susanna (1750-1794), 155, 500.
- Yale University, Quarter Bills, 95-107; military training of students, 31, 35, 384; Commencement Day (1773), 154; (1776), 294-295; owner of Hale documents, 15, 16, 47, 73, 91, 94, 171, 236; plays produced, 394-397; picture of, 1786, 495; Connecticut Hall, 430, 458; Hale tablet at Battell Chapel, 549; Pratt statue of Hale, 552-553, 562-563; Hale's career at, xxvi; see Linonian Society.
- Yates, Capt., 43.
- John, Lieut., 224, 320.
- Yeomans, William H., Mrs., 487.
- Young's "Memoirs," 181, 403.
- Ichabod, 166.
- , Eunice, 581.
- , Nabby, 581.
- , Sally, 55.

MEMORANDA

MEMORANDA

MEMORANDA

MEMORANDA

MEMORANDA
